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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1798.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES II.—
Part II.



L O N D O N:

Printed by S. HAMILTON, Falcon-Court, Fleet-Street;
FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

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ANNUAL REGISTER

OF GENERAL ECONOMY

HISTORY

POLITICS

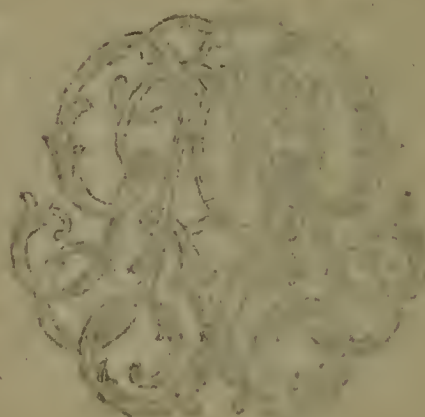
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By JOHN HANCOCK.



LONDON:

Printed by J. HANCOCK, at the Office of the Annual Register, No. 1, Pall Mall.

P R E F A C E.

OUR readers will find in the present volume, what they will doubtless consider as a novelty in this publication, a retrospect of European politics for the year 1797.—The reasons for this arrangement will be sufficiently obvious. It is our duty, and our earnest desire, to furnish our readers with the most full and accurate information on every topic which regards the history of the present times; but the materials for such information as this are not to be collected from the public prints, nor from any common sources; they are to be sought in the cabinets of statesmen, and the port-folios of ministers. It is not always in our power to command the necessary documents in time to gratify the curiosity of our readers, nor within that period which we do not wish to exceed in bringing our annual volume before the public. This was precisely the case last year, and yet we were unwilling wholly to disappoint the public. We, therefore, produced such a sketch of the latter transactions of the

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year as we were able to digest from the materials that came under our inspection. In the narrative now published, under the form of a retrospect, some errors will be found to be corrected, and a fuller light thrown upon some of the most important events. We shall probably be under the necessity of occasionally adopting a similar plan during the continuance of the present war. We are confident it will render our work more valuable to posterity; nor can it be the less agreeable to such of our contemporaries as wish to know the truth.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
K N O W L E D G E, L E A R N I N G,
A N D T A S T E,
I N G R E A T B R I T A I N,
During the Reign of KING CHARLES II.

PART II.

THE reign of Charles was inglorious in almost every instance; yet it was distinguished by the establishment of a society, which has been perhaps more respectable in its character, and more useful in its exertions than any similar institution in Europe. The humble origin* of the Royal Society has been already noticed; but it belongs to this part of our undertaking to enter more fully into the detail.

To assert that the great proficiency in natural science, which has been the glory of the British nation, is to be wholly attributed to the exertions of this association, would be bold and hazardous; but it is certain that little progress had been previously made in that interesting branch of human knowledge. Except the solitary speculations of Bacon, little had hitherto been effected; but the recommendation of that

* See our History of Knowledge, &c. under the Usurpation.

great man, to refer every thing in physics to the severe test of direct experiment, cleared the path of science, and opened the way to real discoveries.

Alchemy had been a favourite study in the two preceding reigns. The theatre, which is, in general, "a brief chronicle of the times," and the best record of manners and national character, of national folly at least, attests this fact. Johnson's *Alchemist* is read and acted, though the object of ridicule, which is the foundation of the piece, is no longer interesting.

It is however matter of surprise, that industry, even without the aid of science, should have effected nothing. Not one useful discovery is recorded as rewarding the labours of the English alchemists, though their brethren on the continent contributed in no small degree to the improvement of practical chemistry.

Even mathematical science, for which the English philosophers have since been so justly celebrated, was, antecedent to the period of which we are treating, in no very flourishing state; but the age which produced the Royal Society was also distinguished by some excellent mathematicians; and Oughtred, Ward, and Wallis, led the way to Barrow, Newton, and Halley. Thus, though classical learning, theology, and metaphysics, had been cultivated with success in the preceding ages, the reign of Charles II. may be regarded as the dawn of English philosophy.

The commencement of the Royal Society is referred by its historian Sprat to "some space after the end of the civil wars;" but more correct information affixes the date to the year 1645. At that time some ingenious and inquisitive men, among whom was the celebrated mathematician Dr. John Wallis, and the no less celebrated Dr. (afterwards bishop) Wilkins, agreed to meet weekly on a certain day, to converse on subjects of natural and experimental philosophy.

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The meetings were sometimes held at the apartments of Dr. Jonathan Goddard, a physician of some eminence, in Woodstreet, on account of his having an operator in his house for the purpose of grinding glasses for telescopes; sometimes at a house in Cheapside, and sometimes at Gresham-college. From these meetings, the great topics which at that period divided and distracted society, politics and theology, were excluded; and the sciences which chiefly engaged the attention of the society, were geometry, astronomy, anatomy, physic, chemistry, navigation, magnetism, and mechanics. This society was sometimes distinguished by the name of the Invisible or Philosophical College.

The society in this infant state experienced something of the unsettled nature of the times; and about the year 1648 it was nearly dissolved by the removal of Dr. Wilkins, who was appointed warden of Wadham-college; of Dr. Wallis, who was nominated Savilian professor of geometry; and of Dr. Goddard, who was made warden of Merton-college. Those who remained in London continued to meet as before, and the Oxford members joined them when they visited the metropolis. The meetings, however, were continued with more spirit, and, probably, more regularity at Oxford, "in Dr. Wilkins' lodgings (to use the words of Sprat) in Wadham-college, which was then the resort for virtuous and learned men." The university, as the same author informs us, had several men of eminence at that time attached to it in various offices and stations; and it was resorted to by others, whom the distresses of the times drove to take refuge from the din of arms, and the detestable contests of party and politics, in the quiet shades of that celebrated seminary. Their first object was, as it had been in London, to enjoy society in peace, to contribute to each other's mutual entertainment and instruction, and to avoid those unpleasant topics which spread only discord and calamity wherever they were agitated. The principal persons who formed this small but illustrious assembly, were Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards lord-bishop of Exeter, Mr. Boyle, sir William Petty, Dr. Wil-

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kins,

kins, Mr. Matthew Wren, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Willis, Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Rooke.

These meetings, however, were still little more than social or conversation parties. They had no rules or fixed method of proceeding; yet experimental science engaged more deeply their attention than speculation and conjecture. The folly of both of these was too apparent in the metaphysical writers of the day for wise men, such as constituted this little society, to engage themselves in. They were more commonly employed in experiments of chemistry and mechanics. Their instruments, however, were few; and their discoveries in chemistry seem to have been of little importance.

In the year 1658, the society was dispersed from various causes, and its members were called to the exercise of different functions in different parts of the kingdom. The majority of them, however, had resorted to the metropolis; and here their meetings were resumed at Gresham-college, an institution at present shamefully abused, by being made a sinecure for idle and indeed merely nominal professors. They generally met at the Wednesday's and Thursday's lectures of Dr. Wren and Mr. Rooke, for such were the men who, at that period, occupied those stations. Here they were joined by several other eminent persons, among whom were the lords Brouncker and Brereton, sir Paul Neile, Mr. John Evelyn, Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Slingsby, Dr. Timothy Clark, Dr. Ent, Mr. Balle, Mr. Hill, and Dr. Crone. The calamities of the times again dispersed our philosophers; and even the place of their meeting was, in the year 1659, perverted into a barrack for soldiers.

The meetings were resumed when the public affairs assumed a more quiet aspect after the restoration, and they were joined by a great number of persons eminent in every branch of science. The accession of new members obliged them now to think of adopting some regular mode of conducting their debates; and, in a private conversation, on the

28th of November, 1660, between lord Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Bruce, sir Robert Moray, sir Paul Neile, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Petty, Mr. Balle, Mr. Wren, and Mr. Hill, the first idea was suggested of forming a regular college for the promotion of physico-mathematical and experimental science. As a preliminary to such a measure, a set of regulations were drawn up, simple and plain, adapted to the character of the men, and the frugal manners of the age. The meetings were to be continued weekly, at *three o'clock in the afternoon*, during term time, in Mr. Rooke's chamber at Gresham-college; and, in the vacation, at Mr. Balle's in the Temple. An admission-fine of *ten shillings* was levied on each of the members, who also engaged to contribute, at the rate of *one shilling* a week, whether present or absent, towards the expenses of the institution. A list of additional members was, at the same time, given in, among whom we find the names of sir Kenelme Digby, Mr. Evelyn, celebrated for his attention to the practical and philosophical part of botany, and Cowley the poet, who had been created a doctor of physic at Oxford in the year 1657.

Thus the society continued to prosecute, with a most laudable zeal and industry, every branch of useful knowledge. The experiments, as Sprat informs us, were made by themselves, or at least repeated, whenever the results were communicated from a distance. It was at first determined not to increase the number of the members; and the stated number was fixed at fifty-five; but this order was afterwards judiciously rescinded. It was also resolved, that no person should be admitted to the society without a scrutiny, in which the candidate should have the votes of at least two-thirds of the members present, except such as were of or above the degree of a baron; and all such were to be admitted, at their desire, as supernumeraries, provided they conformed to the rules of the society. The same privilege was afterwards extended to the fellows of the College of Physicians, in consequence of the college indulging them with the use of their hall.

On the 5th of December, sir Robert Moray informed the society that the king had been made acquainted with the design of the meeting; that his majesty had signified his approbation, and was desirous of giving it encouragement. About the same time it was resolved, that the standing offices of the society should be three in number, a president or director, a treasurer, and a register—the former to be chosen monthly, and the two latter to continue in office for the space of a year. Two servants, with salaries, were also appointed, an amanuensis, and an operator.—The salary of the former was forty shillings *per annum*, and of the latter four pounds.

As a specimen of their proceedings in this infant state, it may not be unpleasant to the reader to mention that the subjects which chiefly engaged their attention at this period were a series of experiments on pendulums, by Dr. (afterwards sir Christopher) Wren; experiments for the improvement of shipping, under the direction of Dr. Petty, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Wilkins, and Dr. Wren; an experiment on the recoiling of guns by lord Brouncker; and a series of queries were drawn up by the same nobleman, in conjunction with Mr. Boyle, and sent to Teneriffe, chiefly relating to experiments for measuring the height and examining the atmosphere and climate of the Peak. His majesty, about the same time, sent two loadstones to be examined by the society; Dr. Goddard produced some chemical experiments on coloured fluids, produced from fluids nearly or altogether colourless; and Mr. Evelyn, some curious observations on the anatomy of trees, which were followed by a discourse of sir Kenelme Digby on the vegetation of plants.

The society, however, did not confine its attention to subjects of mere philosophy, but extended it to the arts and manufactures. Besides the experiments on shipping, already noticed, Dr. Petty produced a series of observations on the cloathing-trade: experiments were also made on refining, japanning, gilding, and other arts. Among other phænomena produced before the society, was a young man born deaf and dumb,

dumb; and taught by the celebrated Wallis to speak plainly. The doctor, with some humour, describes this occupation, in a letter to Mr. Oldenburg.—“ I am now employed,” says he, “ upon another work, as hard, almost, as to make Mr. Hobbes understand mathematics. It is to teach a person dumb and deaf to speak, and to understand a language,” &c.

From this specimen of its proceedings, the reader will perceive that the society was not less diligent or flourishing previous to its incorporation, than it has been at any subsequent period. Some persons have in truth doubted, whether this circumstance has been, or not, of real service to the society; but it must be remembered, that though not of actual use, it may have been productive of eventual good. It served, probably, to preserve the unity of the society, and to prevent it from breaking into different clubs or assemblies. It also gave it some consequence in the eyes of the public, and of foreign nations; and possibly contributed at once to its respectability and permanence. The act of incorporation passed the great seal on the 15th of July, 1662.—The only alteration of importance in the regulations of the society was, that the elections were made annual; William lord viscount Brouncker was appointed the first president; sir Robert Moray, Mr. Boyle, Mr. (afterwards lord) Brereton, sir Kenelme Digby, sir Paul Neile, Mr. H. Slingsby, sir William Petty, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Ent, Mr. Aerskine, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Christopher Wren, Mr. Balle, Mr. Matthew Wren, Mr. Evelyn, Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Dudley Palmer, Mr. Oldenburg, were nominated of the council; and of these Mr. Balle was appointed treasurer, and Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Oldenburg the first secretaries. Such was the rise, progress, and establishment of this respectable society.—We shall now return to give a short account of the state of science in its various branches at this period so propitious to the cause of philosophy in general.

Among the mathematicians of the age, the first place is generally assigned to Dr. John Wallis. He was the son of a clergy-

a clergyman at Ashford in Kent, and was educated at Emmanuel-college, Cambridge. He was chosen fellow of Queen's, in 1640, there being no vacancy in his own college, and about the same time entered into holy orders. He was eminent for having discovered the art of decyphering, and incurred some scandal after the restoration, for having decyphered the letters of king Charles, which were taken in the cabinet at Naseby. In 1644 he acted as one of the secretaries to the assembly of divines at Westminster, and in 1649 was appointed Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford. While he continued in this station, he had a mathematical controversy with Mr. Hobbes, who, however, was but a weak antagonist, opposed to Wallis. His mathematical works were considered of so much importance to science, that in the year 1699 they were collected, and published in Latin, by the university of Oxford, in three volumes, folio, and dedicated to king William. He was not only eminent as a mathematician, but published some excellent works on language, the study of which led him from theory to undertake the arduous task of teaching the dumb to speak: of his services and reputation in the Royal Society we have already treated.

Next in reputation to Wallis was Dr. Seth Ward. He was born in Hertfordshire, and educated at Sidney-college, Cambridge; he was patronised warmly by Dr. Samuel Ward, then master of that college, though he was not related to him. On the commencement of the civil wars, Mr. Seth Ward voluntarily became an associate in the misfortunes of his friend, whom he accompanied to prison, and continued with him till his death; he was also ejected from his fellowship for refusing the covenant. After leaving college, he resided some time with the celebrated Oughtred, at Aldbury in Surry, where he prosecuted his mathematical studies with such success as laid the foundation of his future eminence. On the hopes of the royalist party being extinguished, Mr. Ward became more accommodating to the times, and from his great reputation as a mathematician he
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was appointed Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, in the room of the celebrated Greaves, distinguished for his work on the Egyptian pyramids, who was ejected, but who had sufficient influence to recommend Mr. Ward to be his successor. Ward then entered himself of Wadham-college, from respect to Dr. Wilkins, who was the warden. After the restoration, he was successively appointed bishop of Exeter and of Salisbury. As a divine, we have before spoken of him with commendation; as a mathematician, his excellence is still acknowledged. Mr. Oughtred says, he was the first man in Cambridge who expounded his *Clavis Mathematica*, which he republished, with additions, at the importunate desire of the author.

Besides these, we may mention, as men scarcely less eminent, the extraordinary bishop Wilkins, and sir Christopher Wren, of whose character we shall afterwards have occasion to treat, when we come to speak of an art which was peculiarly his own, and in which his reputation yet remains without a rival.

The same æra which produced the Royal Society was distinguished by the invention of an instrument which has been of great importance in natural and experimental philosophy, we mean the *air-pump*. It was the invention of the honourable Robert Boyle, who was assisted in perfecting the mechanical part of it by the ingenious Mr. Robert Hooke, so eminent afterwards for his microscopical experiments. Independent of this noble invention, there is, perhaps, not any name which deserves to stand higher in the records of English philosophy than that of Boyle.—He gave a new turn to the researches of chemistry, and directed it, from the absurdities of the alchemists, to the views and purposes of sound philosophy. His experiments on air laid the foundation for that system which is now generally received with respect to the general properties of that, and indeed of all other elastic fluids. The soundness of his judgment rendered him superior to all the tinsel of false philosophy.—He was as ad-
verse

verse to the jargon of Aristotle as to the reveries of the alchemists, and defined that fashionable philosophy as “having in it more of words than of things, promising much, and performing little.”—His observations on colours were useful preliminaries to that beautiful system which was afterwards perfected by the genius of Newton. There was, in short, scarcely an interesting topic of natural philosophy which did not engage the attention of this indefatigable inquirer; and scarcely any which he did not improve. His tracts in defence of the Christian religion are not the least valuable of his writings; and, indeed, in every respect, his whole life was devoted to the glory of God, and the benefit and instruction of his fellow-creatures. He may, with justice, be regarded as the father of modern philosophy.

After the name of Boyle we may mention that of sir Knelme Digby—

“Digby the great, the valiant, and the wise.”

A man of a genius as active, and of acquirements as universal almost as those which are ascribed to the famous Pico, prince of Mirandola. His philosophy was not, however, the cool and temperate reasoning of Boyle.—It was mingled too much with imagination, and his superstitious zeal in favour of his “Sympathetic Powder,” which was to be a cure for almost all diseases, has fixed a blot on his character, which has rendered his philosophical publications less objects of general attention than they deserve.

Sir William Petty is chiefly known for his great and acknowledged skill in political arithmetic; yet, even this was one of the least of his accomplishments. Perhaps no man, not excepting the late Dr. Franklin, ever possessed a mind so happily adapted to practical and useful science; and, indeed, he was not only one of the most extraordinary men of his age, but that Britain ever produced. Like the man, whom, in modern times, he most resembled, Franklin, he was the son of a plain tradesman, and was born at Rumsey
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in Hampshire. At a very early age he displayed an uncommon genius for mechanics ; but after his grammar education, and some subsequent instruction at the university of Caen in Normandy, he was appointed to a situation in the navy.— But before he had arrived at the age of twenty, having saved about sixty pounds, upon the strength of this sum he set out to travel for his improvement ; and after spending three years abroad, and maintaining all the time his younger brother, such was his great œconomy and industry, that he returned to England with ten pounds more than he took with him. About this time he invented an instrument for double writing, by which the operator was enabled to produce an accurate copy of a manuscript, while in the act of writing the original. This instrument has since been more successfully employed in the art of drawing and designing. After this, he removed to Oxford, and in 1649 was created a doctor of physic. He was soon after appointed physician to the army, and was also physician to three successive lord-lieutenants of Ireland. This profession, however, he afterwards abandoned, and, on the division of the forfeited estates in Ireland, was appointed to take the surveys, which he did with singular accuracy, and gained considerable property by his services on this occasion. After the restoration, he was in considerable favour with government ; received the honour of knighthood, and was a member both in the English and Irish parliaments.—The object, which most engaged his attention at this period was, how to improve the arts of ship-building and navigation ; and he constructed a vessel to sail against wind and tide. To enumerate his various experiments and discoveries would occupy more of the volume than we usually appropriate to this division of our work. He was one of the founders and one of the most active members of the Royal Society ; and yet, while so much of his time was devoted to science, his private business was more than most men would be able to conduct : it consisted in the management of a large estate, both in lands and buildings, in working of mines, and a considerable trade in lead, iron, and fish. His labours were crowned with extraordinary success.—He died

died at the age of sixty-five, possessed of immense property, and was the founder of a noble family, in which genius as well as patriotism seems to be hereditary.

Among the philosophers of this age we may class most of those who have been already noticed as the founders of the Royal Society, particularly bishop Wilkins, and Mr. Hooke, the friend and assistant of the illustrious Boyle.

It may, perhaps, be information to those of the present day, who assume a name, of the real import of which they are essentially ignorant, that these *real philosophers* were Christians. Their learning was united with its natural concomitant modesty. They did not apologise for vice and impiety, because they loved to practise them; they did not cavil at the scriptures, while ignorant of the very languages in which these scriptures were composed; or deny the God of Nature, while they were totally unacquainted with all Nature's operations. Their philosophy was not rhapsody and wild conjecture; it was the philosophy of fact and experiment. Their labours were directed to the welfare of society, and not to its undoing; they were the friends of religion, of order and good government, because they were the friends of virtue and of truth *.

* Sprat's History of the Royal Society; Birch's History of the same; Rapin's History of England; Biographia Brit.; Biographical Dict. &c. &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1798.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1798.

CHAPTER I.

Great Britain. State of Public Affairs previous to the Meeting of Parliament. Secession of the Whig Members. Observations on that Circumstance. His Majesty's Speech. Debate on the Address—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons. Debates on the Negotiation at Lisle—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

FROM the commencement of the French Revolution, every succeeding year has been replete with new and extraordinary incidents; the circle of civil anarchy has gradually extended; state after state has been swallowed up in the vortex; and a general ruin has seemed to impend over the face of Europe. The British empire, of all the adjacent states, had alone enjoyed domestic tranquillity, till the year 1798 brought the calamity within our own borders; and where French arms could not conquer, French principles had almost been victorious. Though less interesting, perhaps, to the rest of Europe, the annals of the present year are certainly important to Englishmen, and, when detailed by the pen of candour, we trust they will be found not wanting in instruction.

Our last volume closed with an event, which every friend to hu-

manity must deeply regret, the abrupt termination of the negotiation at Lisle. Between that time and the meeting of the British parliament a very short period intervened, in which not a circumstance occurred which is deserving the notice of the historian. On the opening of the session on the 2d of Nov. 1797, the friends of liberty could not fail to regret that the benches of opposition appeared almost completely deserted. The memorable secession, which had taken place towards the conclusion of the preceding session, was still religiously observed by the most distinguished leaders of the whig party; and even the ministers themselves regretted, that the nation was deprived at this momentous crisis of that assistance which their brilliant talents might have afforded to their country.

In answer to the charge of a de-

reliction of their duty, it has been urged, with plausibility at least, that the violent state of party politics rendered such a measure indispensable on the part of opposition. "In times when every man who censured the measures of administration was regarded as in league with the enemy, for what end, it was argued, should we incur so black a censure? If we declare our sentiments, we are proclaimed as the enemies of our king; if we tacitly acquiesce in the measures of the minister, we voluntarily take upon us a share of the responsibility. We have done our utmost to prevent the war; we have urged repeatedly the necessity of bringing it to a speedy termination; we have not persuaded our opponents—events must now take their natural course—we cannot aid with counsel, it shall not be said that we embarrass by opposition."

The first topic alluded to in the speech from the throne, was that which naturally engaged the attention of every man interested in the welfare of his country. "His majesty expressed his sincere concern that his endeavours to restore peace had been rendered ineffectual. The public declaration, and the papers laid before them, had fully proved that every step had been taken on his part to accelerate its conclusion; and the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation were, he added, to be ascribed solely to the evasive conduct, inordinate ambition, and, above all, to the inveterate animosity of the enemy against these kingdoms.

"His majesty professed to have the fullest reliance (under Providence) on the magnanimity and courage of a free people, sensible that they were contending for their best interests, and determined to render themselves worthy of the

blessings they were struggling to preserve.

"Compelled as we were by necessity to persevere in the war, till a pacific spirit prevailed on the part of the enemy, we had the satisfaction of knowing that we possessed means and resources proportioned to the objects which were at stake; that during the period of hostilities, and under the pressure of accumulated burdens, our revenues had continued highly productive, our national industry had been extended, and our commerce had surpassed its customary limits.

"The public spirit had been eminently displayed: the troops of every description had acquired the admiration of their country; and the successes of the navy had been crowned by the decisive victory of admiral lord Duncan.

"The state of the war, joined to the happy consequences of our recent success, would admit of some diminution of expense, consistent with the vigorous efforts which our situation required. In considering the best mode of defraying that expense which would still be unavoidable, it was necessary to bear in mind, that the present crisis demanded the most spirited exertions, and the value of temporary sacrifices could be only estimated by comparing it with the importance of supporting public credit, and convincing the enemy that we were able to continue the contest as long as it might be needful for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms."

In the house of lords, the earl of Glasgow moved the address: in examining his majesty's speech, and the declaration which had preceded it, he said it was most clearly apparent, that our sovereign had been actuated all along by principles of justice and moderation.

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Those documents pointed out the malignant and insidious conduct of the enemy throughout the whole of the war; this conduct it was, on their part, which left it no longer in the power of his majesty to indulge his beneficent inclinations towards peace; and in pursuit of this object he had gone as far as was compatible with the safety of his people, and the dignity of his crown. Much as that event was to be desired, his lordship hoped that there was yet spirit enough in the country not to accept it at the price of the honour of the British empire. His majesty had himself proposed a treaty for peace to the enemy; and after it was abruptly terminated, he had taken the first opportunity of renewing it, and with the most earnest solicitude for that event, directed his minister to continue at Lisle as long as possible, namely, till a positive order from the directory obliged him to return.

From this review, it was obvious, that the prolongation of the war was to be attributed solely to the ambition of France. What, in truth, was the avowed state of the negotiation so lately terminated? The enemy had required a restitution of all the conquests our valour had achieved, and this, not as the price of peace, but negotiation? Such, with their pretended candour, were the terms they had the hardihood to propose; so that we, who had every thing to give and nothing to receive, must resign all as a preliminary to treaty! By this procedure we were called upon to surrender our national dignity; and if these were the conditions of peace, he was persuaded that the last resources of the country would be cheerfully brought forth, rather than submit to compromise our safety, independence, and honour.

But what was the situation of the contending parties when this arrogant pretension on the part of the enemy was advanced? Was it in a moment of humiliation, defeat, and disgrace? No; it was in the full career of our conquest that they had dared to bring forward their insolent demands: their fleet was perfectly annihilated, which, his lordship said, left no doubt upon his mind, that they must see the impotence of all their schemes in any way to injure this country. The late splendid victory of lord Duncan showed what our navy could accomplish; and whilst we could command such heroic efforts of valour, we should, under divine Providence, determine to rely upon them: we had prowess, and we had resources; our commerce was extensive, our finances were unimpaired; and, generally speaking, *our military operations had been successful*. A nation thus circumstanced had no ground for despondency: he therefore was decidedly of opinion that the conduct of ministers was politic and proper, and such as eventually would best conduce to an honourable peace. He concluded with moving an address to be presented to his majesty, returning thanks for his most gracious speech.

Lord Gwydir said, that the powers of language had been so often employed to describe the complicated nature of this war, that words had lost their effect by repetition; but the magnitude and importance of the object remaining the same, he thought it necessary to declare the principles which had governed his public conduct. He had supported the war from its commencement, because he had esteemed it a just and necessary war: every event, every circumstance had confirmed his opinion; and from this

conviction he called upon their lordships to support the address.

Three times had his majesty's ministers gone to the utmost verge that prudence or honour would admit, in the hope of ending this unexampled contest by negotiation: the result was well known; and he was at a loss to imagine a reason for our ambassador having been received, unless it was to afford the jacobin party in France an opportunity of adding insult to injury. It had been stated from high authority, that a point of honour was almost the only rational cause of war: a dispute for trade, or territorial possession, might be easily compromised, or given up; but the honour of a country gone, its importance must fall with it, and it would soon become the derision of mankind. Had the object of the war been changed? Certainly not: the means of carrying it on had varied, but the preservation of Great Britain had from its commencement been the one grand pursuit.

The aim of France was universal dominion; and whether they pursued it by war or treaty, the object had been never varied.

With professions of justice, good faith, humanity, they had thought no actions too atrocious to be committed; and indulging their imaginations in ideal victory over this country, they already considered it as a conquered enemy, and would listen to no terms but such as they should dictate. The laws which they had made applied only to themselves; occasional possession created of itself indefeasible right; but when this doctrine came under discussion with their adversaries, it was exactly reversed as applied to them, and they instantly demanded a previous unconditional restitution of every thing that had been taken either from themselves or their pre-

tended allies. Had these haughty terms been acceded to, our dishonour would have been sealed, but peace would have been yet more distant. No negotiator could have proposed such conditions but with a view of forcing a continuance of the war. So much for the justice of their theory and practice.

His lordship said it would be waste of time to comment on their good faith, either in the treaties they had dictated and broken, or the alliances they had formed and abused; but it would be well if Europe would take warning, from these treaties and alliances, of what they might expect.

Far different had been the conduct of this country: the state of the funds, the pecuniary difficulties under which we had exerted and maintained our public credit, must have convinced our allies of the efforts we made to supply their wants: we had more than fulfilled every engagement, and in the negotiation we proposed, their interests had been combined with our own.

Perhaps it was wise to learn by negotiation the extent of the insolent demands of the faction in France; perhaps it was necessary to prove to this country that peace was impossible, in order to rouse that vigorous exertion which its interest and honour required. The ministers had gone to every length which prudence and dignity permitted—if not farther; and after the reception of such advances, the nation would be degraded in the eyes of the world, if it hesitated one moment in resenting the insult, and accepting the challenge.

Earl Fitzwilliam rose, and with much warmth concurred in the same opinion; but there were some words in the address, he said, to which he could not agree, because, he

he said, he conceived that they tended to weaken the principle upon which the house might wish to come forward with their support of his majesty. Every expression implying approbation of the steps which had been taken to restore peace should be omitted; nor would he ever lend his sanction to the carrying on a negotiation with a power so anomalous, so dangerous to the safety of Europe, as the French republic.

His lordship much lamented that his majesty had been advised to make a declaration two sessions ago, affirming that France was then in a state to maintain the relations of peace and amity; whereas between that government and ours there subsisted no common principles; and only the restoration of monarchy could render it capable of existence with safety to the other powers of Europe. He believed this declaration had contributed to the continuance of the war, had weakened energy, had engendered distrust amongst the allies, and that its consequence had been the treaty of Udina.

He wished particularly to call the attention of the house to the object of the French government: it was the lust of universal empire; it had debased their old establishment; it distinguished their new. It was unnecessary, he said, to trace its revolutionary progress in all their conquests, intrigues, and negotiations; but all were strongly and incontestably marked with this characteristic feature. He begged their lordships to recollect the professions of liberty and equality with which the Dutch and all their dependencies had been amused and deceived; their conduct to Avignon (and Avignon had never been their enemy); neither did Geneva stand in that situation; the neutra-

lity of Venice, and the complaisance of Genoa towards the French government, did not protect them from the rage of jacobin profelytism. Their treatment of the Italian states also, and their conduct to America, demonstrated their aim. Friendly as well as neutral powers had been deprived of their rights by Buonaparte, on no other pretence than the convenience or advantage of the republic. Disorganisation in all its extent had uniformly succeeded every establishment they had been able to overthrow. An incompatibility of coalescing with any power whatever was their own incommunicable prerogative; it was for the privilege of regenerating the constitutions of other nations, and profelyting other states, that they threw away all their old forms, burst upon every people in their vicinity, and convulsed them with their enthusiasm; and wherever they penetrated by art or arms the revolutionary mania followed them.

Never had such swarms of banditti issued (continued his lordship) as had issued from the cultivated empire of France, and overspread the surrounding kingdoms with madness and with guilt! And was this the nation with which England was ready to make engagements? The character of its rulers evinced what we might expect from their warmest professions. These were formed upon the spirit of the people, and had presented within these two months a dreadful picture of the cant of liberty, and the horror of despotism. Was not their late proscription of 65 deputies, and their disfranchisement of 33 departments, for whose representation they had arbitrarily and openly sent creatures of their own to the council of five hundred, an instance of this? In fact, the councils were

not the representatives of the people, but of the directory; and this pretended representation extended even to the subordinate municipal officers. Of this primary principle in democracy how much had they boasted, and how little had they realised it!

Was the expulsion of such a number of those chosen by their constituents meant to exemplify their doctrine, or to explain it? did equality consist of such outrages on the rights and feelings of each other? and had we any reason to expect better conduct than they adopted amongst themselves? Here, therefore, his lordship said, he was pledged to the house and to the public to make no peace where peace could neither be honourable nor lasting. It deserved consideration, whether it were not better to prosecute the war on its original ground, or, by ending the one, basely to relinquish the other? The war, it was true, had cost this country many millions; but the taxes were paid, our resources rising, our trade increased, and our commerce flourishing. What was the situation of the enemy in this respect? All the armies they had raised, all the magazines they had filled, all the treasures they had expended, all that they had done, had been effected, not by any well digested plan of equal contribution, but by making the property of individuals answerable to the exigence of the state. With our revenue it was far otherwise; more money had been offered to government than the minister had occasion for; and any sum might have been obtained to carry on a war, of which the people felt the justice and necessity. In fact, all its resources had rather improved than diminished. Where were not our manufactures exported? in what

sea was not the British navy triumphant? and were all these instances of our glory to be surrendered for the amity of a government incapable of accepting, cementing, or realising it? Could we hope for better treatment than any of their other allies? Had they indeed been true to each other, had they been animated with as much zeal to defend, as the French to attack, this war might have been terminated happily long ago: by our own mismanagement, by mutual jealousy, we had ruined the cause we wished to have protected, and the desertion of one led to that of another; but though left in the field alone, we yet occupied such vantage ground as might enable us to hold them for a length of time in perfect defiance. Was not the emperor (the most relied on continental bulwark!) a beacon to the people of this country? He, whose duty it was to have preserved the empire, instead of proving himself the father of his people, was actually, by the ascendancy of the French in his councils, become a *jacobin*: the king of Prussia might also turn such, and fall in with the schemes of this ambitious republic, which already called out for a Transrhene republic on the borders of Austria and Prussia!

Earl Fitzwilliam concluded with exhorting their lordships, if they venerated patriotism, liberty, or laws, to resist all terms of coalescence with this regicide government. He reminded them of his majesty's words in a former speech, "that we fought for order, morality, and religion;" nor could we consistently submit to conditions of peace, until the *old* monarchy was restored in France, and an hereditary sovereign seated upon the throne of his ancestors.

Lord Grenville professed himself

to be entirely of opinion with his noble friend, that there was no safety for any people by being at peace with the French; and the horrible picture which he had so eloquently drawn of the nature of their friendship was justified by the history of their conduct towards the nations whom they had ruined. The calamities they had endured were not so much occasioned by making peace, as by continuing at peace with France: they had sought safety in a temporising system; and, by ignominious compliances with bad principles, had laid themselves open to the miseries which had followed.

It was not by compromises, however humble, nor sacrifices, however extravagant, that security could be obtained against such a system; it was by a vigorous resistance of their principles, a manly disregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own constitution, that we could secure to ourselves the blessings of our established government.

But he differed from the noble earl as to the inference he had drawn, that this country never could with safety make peace with the French republic. For himself, he never once encouraged such an idea, or expressed such a sentiment; on the contrary, he believed that peace might now be both practicable and permanent, and obtained upon conditions consistent with the honour of this empire; nor had his majesty's ministers declared that no peace could or ought to be made with the republic, only, that it was more likely to be durable under a monarchy. His lordship dwelt some time upon this point, affirming that however we might have preferred to treat with one kind of government rather than another, we had never made any

government a *sine qua non* of negotiation. He objected to the amendment which would make the revival of the old monarchy in France the condition of our treaty, and he considered it as opposite to the very part in the address which the house would wish to support; viz. a declaration that they highly approved of his majesty's endeavours to negotiate with the French republic in order to restore peace; and that it now was evident, from the insolent spirit of the enemy, to whom the continuance of the war was to be attributed.

The marquis of Landdowne, in an animated speech (wherein he deplored the precipice on which we stood), entreated their lordships to surrender up their prejudices, and contemplate the danger of their situation. The declaration, he said, had made a serious impression on his mind; unaccompanied as it was with documents, he read it with a perfect confidence that the main facts stated were true; but what did they prove? That the French directory had no intention to make peace with us, but were implacably hostile to the government of this country! This was a most important matter, for then the question was, what were we to do in that predicament? The noble earl says, continue the war;—but how? Great Britain was not to be placed on a footing with the petty states which the drunkenness of the French révolution had disturbed; nor ought we to be diverted from the contemplation of our own case by such references. He left them, with all the predictions which had so fatally deluded their lordships, of the impossibility of the French continuing their system. We were come to that point when we were to act for ourselves; and it was needless to remind the house
of

of the principle of those who had carried on the war, which had been, that we could not make any impression on France without a continental ally. If this were true, what must we do when the French had made a *jacobin of the emperor*.

The marquis observed, that he should not have presumed to have called his imperial majesty by this name, but he borrowed the expression from the noble earl.

Could we go on without an ally for any purpose of offence? We could not hope to recover the king of Prussia; he might become a jacobin also. He long ago had wisdom to quit the scene, and now we found that even the emperor had withdrawn. He hoped, however, that we should find him a man of honour in his engagements; and that the money advanced in this country, which our ministers had constantly declared was not a subsidy, but a solemn loan, would be paid with punctuality and honour. But the consideration which he particularly wished to impress, was, that we were called upon to persevere in the contest, without the means so frequently stated as essential to its success. Our resources were affirmed to be rising; but were they actually so? The papers which he had read respecting the trade with Portugal, and the wine trade, afforded proof of a lamentable decay; it was not merely that they were not productive, but that they were deficient. It was not then because our sailors had conquered, because we had demonstrated to all the world the character of our natural strength, that therefore we had the means of carrying on an offensive war against France without a continental ally. Our sailors, indeed, had shown the true *vis animi* of the British marine; they had shown that the country

could rise, in spite of the mismanagement of ministers, like the natural strength of youth, which in a casual sickness resists all the blunders of physicians. But what could our naval exploits avail in such a contest? They made us masters of the sea indeed, but where should we land? If we had the seas, France had its ports: it was necessary to the circuit of commerce that the markets should be open. What then was our relative situation? We had ships that traversed and commanded the ocean; the French had armies that traversed and commanded the shores: we could ship our manufactures, but where could we expose them to sale? What sea was there between Paris and Hamburg, or Paris and Hanover, or Paris and Lisbon? The French occupied, and they would occupy, every point of contact with the main land of Europe. We had talked of a counter-revolution; were we yet weak enough to cherish this puerile expectation? if so, he begged leave to refer their lordships to a most able pamphlet, written by a late comptroller-general of France. Mons. de Calonne asserted (and his authority was of weight), that the assignats and mandats had produced the contrary effect to what was expected; that it was quite ridiculous to talk about the property of a nation, where all its property was afloat. Its very paper, which we idly supposed the source of ruin, was not merely a genuine resource for the time it lasted, but by our attacks upon it became the principle of salvation to France; it worked out its own cure; and that country, from having more paper than all the world put together, had now less than ours.

The marquis declared solemnly he was himself no jacobin; he came

came not to the house to give his opinion in the spirit of a Frenchman—but in this dreadful crisis he knew but one means, but one chance for safety, but one powerful resource left to the nation—a *change of ministers*. He yet had confidence it would be tried; for the chief magistrate of our government it was not great talents which were required, so much as that plain integrity and humane attention to the good of the people, which rejects all personal considerations, and seeks only their happiness. In this view he did not despair of the public zeal, if his majesty would enter into a serious inquiry concerning the most likely methods to restore peace; and every honest man would tell him that a change of ministers was the most likely method. Let us suppose in what manner the directory of France would reason on this subject; might it not be in this strain?—“We have convinced the powers on the continent of Europe of the folly of the crusade they undertook against us; we have sent armies into the field whose victories have surpassed those of ancient Rome at its pinnacle of glory; we have magnified the power of our country upon the basis which gave rise to the war; we are young in the enjoyment of our liberties, and all the means of a vigorous government are in our hands; one obstinate nation only, under hot-headed councils, persists in its attack upon us, and charging us with every species of atrocity, denounces us to all the world as the authors of the war which has so long deluged Europe with blood. We, who only wanted liberty, have conquered the powers which wanted plunder, and have aggrandised ourselves at the expense of our assailants. This power, which thus perseveres against us, is brought to

embarrassments which it can neither palliate nor conceal; it stands upon a tottering base; the very shadow of a descent on Ireland convulsed its bank; and at the very moment that it threatens to pour forth vengeance upon us, it is ready to sink under the efforts it has already made. Shall we yield to this insulated foe, who has no armies with which it can wound us? Even in asking for peace they mean hostility—they seek an armistice which shall give them time to take breath, and attack us to more advantage again—they are insincere—they are our only enemy, and now is the moment to save France from their designs.”

It was possible (the marquis said) that the directory would hold such language; which, though it could not be wholly justified, had too much truth on its side. They had too much reason to doubt our sincerity, even in our professions of peace; for in all the instances where commissioners had been appointed to negotiate, a dark game had been played which contradicted the public profession of the British cabinet. Thus when a commissioner was sent to Switzerland, and Mr. Wickham opened a correspondence with the French, they discovered it was only for the purpose of negotiating a loan. Again, when lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris, whilst we were making professions of peace there, we were negotiating a hostile treaty with Russia, for such it was now known was the fact, and the treaty was ready for signing when the empress died. And last of all, our negotiation at Lisle was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary insurrection in the interior in France, which produced the convulsion of the 4th of September, and in which they said that they discovered the hand of the English minister.

minister. The marquis disclaimed having any personal knowledge upon the subject; but remarked, that people must be wilfully blind who did not perceive that the French had charged our ministry with the fact, and that our declaration was shy of disproving the charge. What then would an honest adviser of his majesty say? but that ministers who had thus conducted themselves, and thus exasperated the enemy, were less likely than other men to procure peace for the country. They would entreat his majesty, at least, to try the experiment; they would deprive the enemy of the advantage of asserting with probability, that the war was continued only because the British cabinet was insincere. But it might be asked, upon what basis peace ought to be concluded? It was his opinion, that if it was concluded in a total abandonment of every idea of promoting internal insurrection in France, he should not be very anxious in specifying the conditions. Neither East nor West Indian colonies, no, nor Trincomale itself, was sufficient argument for the continuance of the war. As to West India settlements, the recent events had materially changed our policy with regard to them. When we enjoyed all their consumption it was far different; but now that it was in a great measure transferred to America, which would one day take those islands to itself, and when the enlightened spirit of humanity had done so much towards the emancipation of the negroes, and the French revolution had introduced principles of insubordination, he would not contend a day about any object in the West Indies. Respecting the Cape of Good Hope, about which so many lofty expectations were formed, the whole was found to be a dream.

The whole was then reduced to Trincomale; and though he must acknowledge that it was of enormous value to the defence of the eastern empire, and the thing for which we ought to negotiate, and to procure if possible, yet it was not worth further slaughter: we had gained the East without it, we had taken it before now, and given it up, nor was it worth another campaign, which would cost us 30 millions.

Let us engage the European powers (those on whom we could prevail) in a *defensive* league; in fact, our system ought to be purely defensive; nor was a defensive war a great evil to this country, compared with that which we had been doomed to suffer. Our means for such a system were large; our nautical skill, and our nautical capital, would maintain to us the true sovereignty of the seas, for it would secure to us the empire of its commerce: let us regain the opinion of Europe, which we had lost by our pride and rapacity, let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations (for in the end we should be forced to do it, and with an ill grace), and by thus recognising the commercial liberty of the world, we should be the first to profit from it. His lordship then touched upon the state of Ireland; the representation of its grievances, he said, if true, demanded instant redress; and if it were delayed there remained but one alternative, a feudal union, or separation. People who were to be governed by us, had a right to the security of their property and quiet; and there was no means of restoring both, but by making peace with this mighty nation, who, to the enthusiasm of liberty, had all the resources of a country before them. They were not exhausted as we were; they had not run through all the classes of taxation; the

the combat was unequal, and he dreaded the event. Peace was necessary for our deliverance; by this alone we might lessen our expenses, and pave the way for the amelioration of our internal state; we might satisfy the people that their representation was substantial, not by holding out the nonsense of universal suffrage, but by gradual reforms growing out of the constitution itself. We had a prince of experience on the throne, who had friends able to give him sound advice: and the marquis concluded with a wish, that by acting upon their counsels he might yet rescue his people from the fate which seemed impending, and that we might owe the national safety to his paternal care.

Lord Mulgrave admitted, that if peace could be obtained by a change of ministers, they ought to be changed immediately, whatever merits they possessed; but he did not believe this desirable consequence would follow such a change. Supposing it to take place, who was to succeed them? The noble marquis undoubtedly had abilities and experience as a statesman that well qualified him for the situation of a minister; but who would place confidence in him after his speech of that evening? In his moderate manifesto, speaking as a member of the directory, he had insinuated every thing that was degrading to the dignity of this country; in his second character of a *passionate* member of the directory, he had gone still further, and, with the fury of a jacobin, levelled the British character to the ground, and triumphed in its degradation.

He dissented from the marquis respecting the means we yet possessed of retaining the West Indies, as well as their value, and also the Cape of Good Hope and Trinco-

male. But what had been the counsel recommended? a defensive alliance with all the powers of Europe. But against France the noble marquis had taken care not to be understood. Lord Mulgrave said, it was an axiom that defensive war led to offensive conduct, and consequently provoked all the dangers of offensive war without its advantages; and by this plan all security was to be given up before we could be certain of peace. The war ought to be carried on; and there was no utility in removing the ministers, nor could he suppose we should sink under our present difficulties, whilst the courage, energy, and resources of the nation remained as they did at present.

The duke of Norfolk, after approving of the conduct of those lords who had absented themselves from the house, observed that parliament had of late been much neglected by his majesty's ministers; and on the present occasion still less regard than usual had been shown to what was due to their lordships. His grace then referred to that part of the declaration which had stated the exorbitant demands of France, requiring that his majesty should give up, without compensation, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguard of his empire; nor was this demand brought forward as the price of peace, but of negotiation.

He remarked, that this proved the enemy was in the wrong, but not that the minister was in the right. The declaration and the papers were said to have proved, "that every step had been taken on his majesty's part to accelerate peace, and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation was solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct and unwarrantable pretensions of the French."

His

His grace observed, that no such papers had appeared before their lordships. The address implied that it had been satisfactory, whereas it never had been seen. This was a mode of voting approbation of the conduct of ministers before they knew what it was; and therefore he moved an amendment, of which the substance was, that after thanking his majesty, might be added, "when their lordships were satisfied with the contents of these papers, no co-operations of theirs should be wanting to carry his majesty's intentions into effect."

Lord Grenville said the motion was most irregular; he had no objection to discuss the subject of it, but not in its present form. It was the custom of parliament to come to a vote on the speech from the throne, and to lay the documents to which it referred before the house afterwards; this would be done the next day, and he would predict that their lordships would be clearly satisfied that every thing had been done on the part of his majesty which had been stated in the declaration.

The question was then put and carried.

In the commons, Mr. W. Bootle moved the address; he professed to do it with more satisfaction, because whatever difference of opinion there might have been respecting the cause of the war, there could be but one, as to the necessity of its continuance, when our enemies had left us no alternative.

The restoration of tranquillity and of uninterrupted commerce were objects of as much importance to the sovereign as to the subjects of a commercial country; and we could not doubt the pleasure with which his majesty would have come to parliament, to have inform-

ed them, that an honourable treaty of peace had been the fruits of his second negotiation; that he had met with an enemy equally disposed for conciliation, equally desirous to act up to their loud professions, and to make those mutual sacrifices and compensations which the custom of negotiation required.

Very different was the present case: his majesty indeed might tell us with truth, that, animated with the desire of conducting to the tranquillity of Europe, he had again stepped forward in a manner which would have satisfied a reasonable enemy; that he had even risked the dignity of these kingdoms by the renewal of his advances, and offered to make sacrifices which the relative situations of the powers at war did not warrant; but his offers had been treated with contempt, his terms unattended to and unanswered, and, after a long and fruitless attempt to bring the enemy to negotiation, his ambassador had been dismissed with insult.

To all this he had submitted, to prove to his subjects the sincerity of his wishes for peace.

Mr. B. said, that it did not appear to have been any question of terms, any resistance of aggrandisement on our part, nor a desire of it on theirs, but an inveterate resolution to preclude all negotiation whatever.

That an enemy should have demanded such sacrifices as no country had at any time yielded to another, as the price of peace, would at most periods have been a sufficient reason for a king to throw himself on the support and affections of his subjects: there might possibly be occasions which would justify the surrendering much more than the relative situation of two countries would make fair or reasonable, provided by such surrenders.

ders peace could be purchased; but that which would be most difficult for the sovereign of a free people to avow, that which would argue him insensible to the duty which he owed them, would be to acquaint them, that in yeilding to every exorbitant demand, in sacrificing all that had been acquired by their valour, in giving up their commercial and political interests, he had exhausted the means of negotiation *without attaining the ends of peace*. He trusted that a British king, in applying to a British parliament, need not apologise for having avoided unprofitable concessions and fruitless disgrace. That all concessions would have been unprofitable, and that in sacrificing the honour of the nation he would equally have failed in securing its tranquillity, no man could entertain a doubt who looked not at the king's speech, in which he had so solemnly appealed to his subjects and to the world, but who had looked at the conduct of the French government.

Since the revolution of last September, the directory had taken no pains to conceal their intention of continuing hostilities—to remove all doubt upon the subject, they took the negotiation out of the hands to which it had been entrusted, and sent creatures of their own to Lisle, with pacific professions in their mouths, but charged expressly to break it off, or at least to advance propositions which had been before rejected by us and abandoned by them, and which they knew could never be accepted. It was evident that their object was not to treat more advantageously for themselves, that would have been excusable, but to render all treaty impossible, to retract whatever the former situation of affairs in France had induced them to concede, and

to show that it was not the mode of peace, but peace itself that they disclaimed.

Mr. Bootle declared it as his opinion, that no line of conduct on our part could bring about this desired object; at the same time he hoped that we should not show an inability, or want of inclination, to carry on the war, but willingly declare our intention of supporting his majesty in the measures he might judge necessary towards the good of the kingdom, and the preservation of its constitution. Let us (said he) give our enemies to understand, that whatever divisions may have existed before, they have now united all Englishmen in one general sentiment. Let us no longer give them reason to hope that they may destroy this their Carthage, against which they have so repeatedly denounced vengeance, or carry into execution their iniquitous plan of revolutionising this country, and of forcing upon us the example of the defenceless states of Germany and Italy.

The choice was now before us; we might disband our armies, our victorious navies, and oppose no resistance to the invading foe; we might resign our lives and properties to the disposal of France, and rank ourselves in the number of her dependents; we might expect to see the throne, and the laws of the realm, overturned and trampled under foot, and prepare the contributions which would be levied upon us to defray the expenses of our own ruin; to all this we must submit, or resolve to continue the war!

Mr. Bootle proceeded to consider our present situation: we were, he said, engaged in no continental war, nor did we depend on the faith of other powers; we fought upon our own element, where we had long

long been used to conquer, and to regard ourselves with reason as sole and exclusive masters. Nor were our claims ill-founded: in the annals of all maritime wars, in which we had been engaged, we should find that a long and uniform habit of victory had inspired us with ideas of our own superiority. British sailors fight with a consciousness of this superiority, and with a spirit arising from it unknown to other nations.

The events of the last three years supplied ample materials for triumph and exultation; we had swelled the list of prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars, we had ruined the commerce, and crippled the navies of our enemies; we had kept possession of the sea against three formidable and allied powers, blocked up their ports, whilst superior fleets lay mouldering within, inactive; and when the reproaches of their countrymen had forced them to battle, the result had invariably been what they had dreaded, and what we had expected.

Mr. Bootle then moved an address of thanks, which was as usual an echo of the speech.

Mr. Drummond seconded the motion: he said he was truly sorry that he had not now to congratulate the country on the cessation of the storm which had so long convulsed Europe: the evils of war were dreadful to humanity; but there were evils still greater, and those were in store for England if she did not call forth all her energy in resistance to a ferocious and implacable enemy, who had unequivocally professed a determination to her extinction, and spurned from her every proposition, however reasonable, for peace. As a proof of this, he called the attention of the house to the negotiation at

Lille; dwelt much upon the arrogance of the enemy, which increased in proportion to our solicitude to conciliate, from the first refusal at Basle, to the late dismissal of lord Malmesbury. He pointed out the extravagance of their ambition after having subjected Flanders, organised Holland, attacked Venice, Genoa, and many states of Italy and on the Rhine, pillaged Germany, adding two new principalities to their republic, and concluded with modestly desiring to destroy England!—to strip her of her commerce, her consequence, and her honour!

“If (said he) the enemy obstinately and inveterately determine to refuse peace upon a fair footing, and to agree to mutual compensation for mutual wrongs, we are under the necessity of repelling force by force; and let us meet them with one hand and one heart, and with all the energy which the love of country and of liberty can inspire.”

Mr. Bryan Edwards rose, and prefaced his speech by cordially assenting to that part of the address which related to the victory obtained by our fleet under admiral Duncan; but declared it as his opinion, that notwithstanding this brilliant victory, parliament had never assembled at a more perilous period; we were (he said) engaged in a war expensive and bloody beyond example; with an enemy who seemed determined to continue the contest, more for our ruin, than their own advantage;—our people, galled under the weight of excessive burdens, divided among themselves, unanimous only in their disapprobation and distrust of parliament; our strongest support, Ireland, now in rebellion, or only kept down by military force.—With no better prospect in our view, how dreary and

and afflicting was the scene! how feeble the consolation which a single victory could supply! Brilliant and decisive as it was (adding one to the many distinguished proofs which this war had afforded of the superiority of our navy), it was, after all, but the triumph of an hour; a triumph which may have disconcerted indeed a hostile expedition, but had certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidst our public rejoicings, what heart could reflect without sorrow upon the havoc of that day!—could meditate upon its advantages, without feeling for the men who fell!

This war had been attended with a waste of wealth, and prodigality of blood, not to be paralleled in the history of human depravity. Two hundred millions of money had been the waste of four years; and two hundred thousand the number of lives which had been lost. He then proceeded to inquire what prospect did the king's speech hold out to us? Was it the effectual relief of our burdens? No. Was it the hope of harmony in Ireland?—No. Was it *indemnity for the past, and security for the future*?—No. Was it peace?—No; but the reverse. It promised us the renewal of that devastation we lamented—or had cause to lament; it menaced us with more carnage, more tears, more sighs, and, perhaps deeper, of widows, sisters, and children! But it would probably be asked, had no efforts been made to obtain peace? None, suitable to the occasion; none, founded in sincerity, and breathing the genuine spirit of sweet concord.

If we recurred to lord Malmesbury's first mission to Paris, we might without hesitation pronounce that the minister was not sincere: the terms which the French would have granted, and he refused, were

such as he would now gladly accept, and which they decline to give. The French would have granted peace, on condition of holding what they then had; but the minister would be contented with nothing short of the restitution of Belgium; and the safety of England was sacrificed to the interest of the emperor.

Mr. Edwards instanced, as one of the proofs of ministerial error and diplomatic absurdity, the sending the same man (lord Malmesbury) a second time to negotiate, who had once (as it was asserted) been disgracefully dismissed from Paris, and thus aggravating the contumely it brought upon this country.

He would, for the sake of argument, he said, suppose, that the failure of that attempt was not owing to the unreasonable demands of our minister, but to the extravagant expectations of the French. But was it not one of many instances of bad judgment, to place his lordship again in a situation to be treated with contempt? Mr. Edwards declared, for his own part, he thought it would have been a happy circumstance if that noble lord had been empowered at the outset to make the offer of restitution desired by France; and it surely ought to weigh against the professions of the minister, who did not thus empower him.

But to examine the question another way: were the conquests we had made of sufficient value to justify the hazard and loss which we must sustain by a farther prosecution of the war? No! Sir Francis Baring (continued Mr. Edwards), whose acquaintance with the British interests in the East could not be doubted, had stated in the house, that the Cape of Good Hope, instead of being an advantage, would

be a burden, both grievous and unproductive. He had also stated, that Trincomale, in Ceylon, could not be preserved, unless we were masters of the whole island: an acquisition utterly hopeless; and that the fortifying of that port would cost more than the whole would be worth;—so much for the east. Now, as to the West Indies, he would affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if it were in our power to take the whole of the French islands, so far from being advantageous, they would be untenable, or ruinous. Whoever would review the conduct of the French in that quarter, would discern that no hope could be entertained from them as good subjects. Some of the islands were ceded to us by treaty in the year 1761, and continued thirty years in our possession, and under our protection; yet at the end of that period the French inhabitants seized the first opportunity to revolt; instigated the negroes to rise and murder their masters; and, urged by that monster Victor Hugues, they committed the most horrid massacres; and by them the governor was, together with several planters, led out to a cruel death. In such circumstances we might possibly have a barren depopulated territory, but we could have no more: and it was a subject of serious consideration for the house, and of awful caution to ministers, to beware of lavishing human blood on such unprofitable conquests. Besides, there was another argument, which no sophistry could evade; another power, which no human means could resist:—the hand of the Supreme Being, armed with plague and pestilence, was held out against us, to scourge our cupidity and ambition.

And could we, without guilt, persist in sending our gallant fel-

low-subjects to St. Domingo?—Send them, knowing it was impossible to conquer an island 400 miles in length and 165 in breadth, filled with hosts of enemies, and guarded against us by pestilence!

Mr. Edwards concluded his speech with lamenting the absence of Mr. Fox, whose talents, transcendent as they were, were the least of his merits. He expressed his fears that this distinguished patriot had retired wearied, and without hope, in silent and prophetic anguish. And when that man despaired, who had once, in spite of parliamentary majorities, saved this country from a war with Russia, what remained for others of inferior endowments, but, like him, to retire from the scene, mourn over evils which they could not prevent, and expect the dissolution of an unhappy kingdom!

Mr. Wilberforce said, he was far from participating in the poignant grief expressed for the absence of Mr. Fox; if, indeed, the presence of this gentleman, and the exertion of his acknowledged and great abilities, could extricate the country from the difficulties in which it was involved, the want of his advice might be severely felt, and should be bitterly lamented. Every body knew that the nation was in a critical situation; but was this condition to be retrieved by a dereliction of public duty? For himself, he avowed, that so far from imitating an example so unwarrantable, the love of his country induced him to pursue a line of conduct very different; he would punctually attend to the discharge of his duty, and, however discouraging the prospect, would exert his best abilities to perform it with patience and attention, prompted by an inward sense of right, not by motives of personal ambition.

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As to the proposed address, it presented such general assurances, as all descriptions of gentlemen might consent to, who were sensible of the blessings of our constitution. Ministers were sincerely solicitous for the restoration of peace; indeed the only charge against them was, that they proceeded in a posture too humiliating to accomplish their end. But this humiliation was pardonable, for it was not degrading: it did not tend to encourage the enemy to consider this submission as a symptom of weakness; but after what we had experienced of their rancorous and hostile disposition, we ought to guard against it with renewed vigilance: it had stimulated them to unremitted efforts to wrest out of our hands those possessions which were the resources of our trade; and if any of them should be surrendered as the price of peace, it should be not to Holland, not to Spain, not to France, but to our country. Peace was the object we pursued, but not with due attention to the relative situation of the nations: without having this point in view, we might frustrate our own purposes; of this we should be well aware, whilst we professed ourselves willing either to make peace when the most brilliant success had crowned our arms, or vigorously to prosecute the war, if the ambition and obstinacy of the enemy reduced us to it. This should be our conduct, whether we regarded ourselves as Englishmen, or members of the constitution; and we should feel it our duty to stand at our post to the last; nor imitate the example of those, who, under circumstances of difficulty and danger, would pusillanimously desert it.

Sir Horace Mann coincided in all the honourable gentleman had said.

He declared himself astonished to hear ministers accused of insincerity, when it so plainly appeared that it was the French who were averse to peace; they had actually banished two directors who had evinced pacific dispositions, and left us no alternative but perseverance in the contest. He thought our situation such as to arouse all the energies, and call forth the unanimity of the British heart, and therefore supported the address.

Mr. Nichols declared, he was heartily disposed to lament the absence of Mr. Fox, however he might expose himself to censure for his regret. He much extolled the talents of this accomplished statesman, who had toiled for a number of years in opposing a majority of that house, which supported the American war; the termination of which was principally to be ascribed to his unwearied perseverance. By that war the house of Brunswick was deprived of a valuable portion of its dominions—heaven forbid (said Mr. Nichols) that it should sustain additional privation by listening to the sinister counsel by which it has long been governed! He then expatiated on the censure and obloquy which had been the recompence of Mr. Fox's labours; and was instancing the conduct of parliament respecting the India bill brought forward in 1783, though that bill contained a true statement, and showed the company to be four millions in arrears; he was proceeding to give an history of his whole parliamentary conduct, when he was called to order by the speaker, who observed, that he seemed quite to have forgotten the question under discussion.

Mr. Nichols instantly apologized; said it was his sincere wish to support royalty, nobility, and

the rights of the commons, the whole of which were in extreme danger; but while he saw it necessary to wage a war, *pro aris et focis*, he could not stifle his resentment against a minister by whose rashness it was begun, and through whose incapacity its progress had been disgraced by disaster and defeat. We were now without allies, our very existence was threatened, and he could not believe the endeavours in a late negotiation had been sincere. What were the obstacles which defeated those endeavours? Our refusal to surrender the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Trincomale. But why did we wish to retain them? Was it their value? Surely not, neither was it a point of honour to do so; the same reason might be urged for retaining Martinique, Demerary, &c. which we should not hesitate to resign. Was it our interest to continue the war for the sake of keeping what would soon cost us more than they were worth? If such were our intention, let us look into the state of our finances. From July 1796, to July 1797, an addition of two millions six hundred thousand pounds had appeared in the dividends, which was equal to eighty-seven millions and a half in the three per cents, and thus there would be four millions addition to them if the war continued another year. He could not pretend to say how this could be borne by the landed property, but the funds must give way, and the middling class of the people be ruined; and all these calamities were to be endured to secure the Cape of Good Hope! Whilst our ears were stunned with public rejoicings for victories which availed little, our finances required the most serious attention: we owed it as a duty to recommend to his ma-

jesty a change of ministers; they had long been tried, and tried to no purpose; nor would the people join cordially in the cause, until they were convinced that every thing was done which could possibly be attempted. Ireland at least would not join; the cruel treatment which she had experienced must alienate her affections, and without peace the nation could expect no prosperity.

Mr. Nichols professed himself ready to join any description of men to promote the attainment of this object, and to support the constitution of his country in its present establishment of royalty, nobility, the commons, and episcopacy.

Sir William Young said, the leading feature in the late negotiation had been overlooked; it was, that we should surrender all our conquests, and then treat perhaps for our navy. Such was the terms imposed on Carthage of old, and what was the consequence? *Delenda erat Carthago*. It was obtaining the sybil's leaf at a double price; but he would never consent to measure the stake of a man merely by his wealth; it consisted in his children, his relatives, his liberty, his opinions as well as his property; and he called upon liberal minds to support the statement of the stake of a man in the welfare of his country.

Mr. H. Brown made an observation upon one part of Mr. Edwards' speech, that we were only unanimous in complaining of our burdens. He said, it was upon good authority he could affirm that the taxes of the country were never better or more cheerfully paid than at present. But taxes ought not to be considered abstractedly but relative to our situation, and this ought to afford us great comfort; for viewed in this point, our prosperity

prosperity was a permanent cause, producing great resources.

The address was carried without a division.

The next business which occupied the attention of parliament was the unfortunate negotiation at Lisle. On the 8th of November, the order of the day for taking into consideration the papers relative to the negotiation of Lisle being read in the house of lords, lord Grenville said, there could be no difference of opinion upon the subject; every one must feel that the honour and safety of the country admitted but of one line of conduct. The house was not now called upon to bear testimony to any merits however high, or to bestow respect and attention where they were most due; but to discharge a duty of a more extensive kind, and of more general importance. They were called upon to perform a most solemn act of deliberation, and to follow it up with a pledge of most sacred obligation; it included a promise of support to our common sovereign, whose throne, whose sacred life, the honour and independence of the country (involving at the same time the cause of civil society), the welfare of Great Britain, and of Europe, were at stake.

The impression which the perusal of those papers had made upon his mind was indelibly fixed in every heart, and if there were any lords who had absented themselves on this occasion, it was because they were unwilling to confess what they had no longer the confidence to deny.

His lordship contended that the steps taken by this country during the negotiation were open, fair, and manly, and such as would best conduce to an honourable peace. The papers would substantiate best this

assertion. Let the reciprocal conduct of the two governments on this occasion be compared, and it would instantly be seen to which party the failure of the negotiation was to be ascribed: let the publications of the enemy respecting that event be considered, contrasted with the mode taken by the government of Britain to promulgate the circumstances belonging to it; these papers exhibited a full, explicit, and detailed account of the whole transaction, and evinced that the principle of compensation was understood at first to be the basis of negotiation, and that the French took an early opportunity of receding from it.

The preliminaries of peace (continued lord Grenville) had been solemnly agreed upon between them and the emperor; both parties obliged themselves to invite their respective allies to meet in a general congress to settle it: this agreement was openly violated. Even *in limine* it was obvious that they accepted the proffer of negotiation, merely because they knew that such was the general temper of the people of France that they could not venture to refuse it. However, they would only consent to enter into it for a definitive peace with this country, and in the first instance desired it might be a separate peace; but *that*, his majesty immediately rejected, being determined to guard the interests of his ally the queen of Portugal, and to put the republic on an equal footing, intimated that he would allow them to treat for Spain and Holland their allies. This point adjusted, another difference rose, contrary to the established usage of all negotiation—they objected to the taking into consideration the treaties existing with other nations, though France was a

guarantee to them. Anxious to restore peace, his majesty overlooked these difficulties, new and unprecedented as they were.

The directory, defeated in their first objects, were obliged to proceed in the negotiation. In the passport sent over for the person whom his majesty should appoint to treat, the form was a direct and intentional departure from positive agreement and established custom; it expressly guarded against a preliminary, and limited the object to a definitive peace, though the moment the negotiation was opened they departed from their own stipulation, and commenced with the proposal and discussion of those very preliminary points: to prove the kind of temper which the enemy brought to the negotiation, they flung out base and unworthy insinuations against the person appointed to conduct it; this indeed only deserved contempt, but it showed a spirit eager to bring forward new causes of animosity, and multiply obstacles. His lordship then adverted to the negotiation itself: his majesty had (he said) with an unexampled liberality, directed, almost in the first interview between the plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed account to be given in of the terms upon which he would conclude peace. The paper was on the table, and every one might read and determine for themselves on its nature and character; might judge whether it was a full and fair statement of honourable treaty, or a *project in blank*: lord Grenville particularly wished it might be compared with the representation given of it by the enemy in a paper of high authority, and published officially. This project however being delivered, the French government found itself embarrassed; no answer was return-

ed, because this would have disappointed the schemes of the directory: had they been serious in their wishes for peace, would they have brought forward the topics which they did bring forward? would they have stated the points of his majesty's title as king of France? the restoration of the ships taken at Toulon, or a renunciation of the mortgages of this country upon the Netherlands? But the point on which the failure of the negotiation turned was the renewal of a proposal which had been declared inadmissible; the complete renunciation of every thing which had been taken during the war, not only from them but their allies: they demanded, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to ask, and to declare all that we would concede. It would not have been merely folly, it would have been treason in any minister to have complied with a demand so derogatory to the honour, and so fatal to the interests, of his country.

It would easily be recollected in what circumstances, amidst what violence the French constitution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the 4th of September, was established; it would be recollected under what military violence the first elections were conducted: in no sense was any freedom permitted, or the voice and sentiments of the people of France possible to be collected, till the month of April last, when a considerable change in the temper of the councils, as well as in the people at large, was observed: a majority in the legislative bodies seemed disposed to put an end to the miseries of the country, to remove the evils of which some of them had been the authors, to atone for the crimes of which many of them had been guilty, and to re-

store

store some degree of order and tranquillity to the unhappy people of France.

They wished also to oppose that revolutionary principle which the directory endeavoured to spread with too much success over Europe. These views, however, ill accorded with the schemes of the latter: but had they broken off the negotiation upon the terms we offered, immediately had they thrown off the mask, and revealed their determination of prolonging the miseries of their own country on jacobin principles, and by jacobin means, they would have put the councils on their guard, they would have made all France and Europe the judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated the event which they were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another project of their own, they must have disappointed the object which they had in view, that of breaking off the negotiation without specifying any terms, and throwing the whole odium of the failure upon us. At the moment they were practising every evasion, creating every delay, refusing to deliver in a counter project, they held a language directly opposite in their messages to the council. In these, they threw the charge of procrastination upon us, wishing to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed; and whilst their plenipotentiaries were daily apologising to us, for the extraordinary delays which took place, they unhappily succeeded in their designs, and the frail fabric of the constitution of 1795 was overturned. It was clear to every one who had watched the progress of events, that it was at Paris, not at Lisle, that the result of the conferences would be determined; it depended on the disputes

which agitated the councils and the government; and if the directory succeeded, the event might easily be foreseen.

This formed the only excuse for our ministers having submitted so long to the evasions of the enemy; and their hopes of attaining peace at last favoured the deception which the directory wished to pass upon the people of France, by so long keeping up the appearance of negotiation, and cherishing the expectations of success.

When the revolution of September arrived, and they had accomplished their project at Paris, they immediately changed their system; and avowed their object. Every thing which had been done was retracted; their views were evidently not confined to their own country, or to the rupture of the negotiation; they went further, they declared it was our constitution, our laws, our religion, and our liberties, with which they were at war; it was our public glory and our private happiness which they laboured to subvert, and to establish in their stead French liberty, French principles, and French anarchy, with all its train of horrors! With such avowals, his lordship said, he was at a loss to conceive what palliations could possibly be offered for the conduct of the enemy: he well knew and lamented that every measure of the French government, in its relation to this country, found more able and ingenious apologists here than in France; and even what seemed too flagrant for defence was justified by more plausible arguments, and placed in more favourable lights, than the talents of the friends of the directory on the other side the water could produce.

This was no moment for humiliation;

liation; it was not the period when the dignity and honour of the nation ought to be sacrificed; nor was it the season to despair: the resources of the country were great and powerful; public and private happiness were at stake; every man in that assembly in particular must know that his property and his existence depended on the issue of the contest which we had to maintain: but with the interest of the first class of men in the state, the happiness of the lowest was consulted; the sufferings, the persecutions, the horrors to which the first orders in France were doomed, though they began with the noblesse, were spread over all, and felt even by the humblest peasantry of the kingdom; nay, had been the source of more calamity to them, than to the unhappy nobility whom we every day saw groaning under their distresses: and this was the sentiment with which the people of this country at large were inspired; they were convinced that a vigorous effort was essential to secure an honourable peace, that there was no safety without resistance, no hope but in courage and magnanimity. His lordship concluded this speech, of uncommon length, with strenuously recommending perseverance in the conduct we had hitherto pursued, and entreating the house to carry the declaration of these resolutions to the foot of the throne, with solemn pledges to defend, at every hazard, his majesty's person and government, with the liberties and happiness of England.

The earl of Darnley said, he approved of the moderation, as well as dignity, with which the late negotiation on our part had been carried on, and censured the conduct of the French on account of its duplicity; there was nothing in the relative si-

tuation of the countries at present to justify our despondency. He could not see how it was possible for the enemy to prosecute hostilities offensively, when he considered the deplorable state of their navy, and the triumphant condition of ours: the resources of our country were adequate to the contest, and he expected the most perfect unanimity amongst their lordships.

The address was carried *nem. diss.*

On the 10th of November the same subject was taken into consideration by the house of commons.

Sir John Sinclair, though he professed entire acquiescence as to its general tenor, moved an amendment to the address of thanks, because certain phrases appeared to him exceptionable, indicating an intention that there should be no end to the war. He expressed astonishment at the mean manner in which the negotiation had been conducted. When it was first proposed, he intended to have moved the house that no negotiation should have been set on foot till the French minister had given a *contre project*. He now regretted not having done so, but he was deterred by the fear that it might have been an impediment. Ministers by neglecting this in the onset, had brought much disgrace upon the country. He appealed to the papers whether the charge was unfounded, for by those it would appear that the most unwarrantable insinuations and foul calumnies upon our executive government had been patiently born by our ministers. He was sorry to see the country so lowered. Whilst he lamented our management, he was obliged, he said, to censure no less the language of the declaration and address, as being at once full of rashness, and ineffectual to any good

good purpose; they not only professed to keep up perpetual hostilities, but made charges which were not justified by the papers.

The house was told that the preliminaries proposed by the French government were frivolous and offensive; but on looking into them, they would find that the first of those was, the abandonment by our king of the title of king of France; the second, the restitution of the ships taken at Toulon; and the third, the relinquishment of our mortgage on the Low Countries: but for his part he could not see any thing in the papers that showed an express demand of those points on the part of France. The declaration stated, that it was not their wish to make peace; whereas it appeared on the face of the papers that the French plenipotentiaries took much pains to prove the reverse, and this the house would find acknowledged by lord Malmesbury in his first and second letters. Another charge was, that it was their intention to overthrow the government of England: sir John declared, that if he believed this to be the disposition of France, he would vote for the address as it stood; but it was his opinion that such an intention might be transiently expressed, only under the irritation of supposed wrong. France might probably be inveterate against us, believing that we were inveterate against her; the directory might profess a design to overturn our government, because we had endeavoured to overturn theirs, but at the same time, showed they had no objection to peace, if we would leave them alone. To prevent the perpetuation of these sentiments between the two nations, he moved an amendment, expressing the resolution of the house to support his majesty in the war, to

expunge the words denoting an inveterate animosity, and to declare, that whenever France was disposed to treat on reasonable terms, we would not refuse to negotiate.

Lord Temple sincerely lamented that the negotiation had ever been attempted, and as sincerely rejoiced when it had been broken off; for he saw infinitely more danger (he said) in the conclusion of a peace with the present rulers of France than in the continuation of war: indeed the disposition of those men was so manifested in all their conduct for the last four years, that any one might have foreseen the event of the overture. It was a matter of utter indifference to England what form of government might take place on the other side of the water, provided it was such as promised permanency. His only wish was that peace should be lasting, and for this reason he entertained hopes of pacification when the moderate party was gaining ground; but the moment it gave way, an end was put to all accommodation. The same animosity which actuated them in the beginning of the contest was visible at Lisle, and had been avowed by the directory since the negotiation had been broken off; they had declared that *delenda est Carthago* must be the determination of the contest. Of the extent and inveteracy of their designs, there could be no stronger proof than their decreeing an army to march to the coast opposite to our shores, and dignifying it with the name of the Army of England; not to mention their scoffing at the rights of nations, and disclaiming all right to be bound by the most solemn treaties. What confidence could be placed in men who had broken them already? who had transferred nations who relied upon them to the

the dominion of other powers ; offered assistance to the rebellious of every country ; deceived their own people with the name of liberty ; sent off the legal constitutional representatives of the nation into banishment without proof of their guilt, or even trial, and imprisoned a printer for invectives against their war minister ?

The chancellor of the exchequer rose : he expressed disappointment that the concurrence of the house upon such a subject as was now submitted to their consideration, should not be unanimous, and much surprise at the proposed amendment of the honourable baronet. The continuance of the war was to be ascribed alone to the implacable animosity, to the insatiable ambition, to the unwarrantable pretensions of the present frantic government of France. Was it the business of a British parliament to content itself with mere lamentation of the miseries of war, forgetting that it was the duty of the representatives of a great nation to state the source of those miseries. Our calamities proceeded from the rancorous spirit of the enemy ; and to them, not to us, the guilt and responsibility of future extremities were to be imputed. Ministers had exerted every endeavour to procure peace ; and from the commencement of the negotiation to its final rupture, the whole of the intermediate delay was owing to the evasive conduct of France. Mr. Pitt reprobated with much sarcasm what he called the tendernefs of the honourable baronet, who chose rather to disguise the truth, than risk the tremendous evil of offending such an enemy, by using language which might displease them ; compromising the character of the country, leaving it doubtful to Eu-

rope to whom the rupture of the negotiation was to be ascribed, and fearing to pursue that manly conduct which truth and dignity required, lest we should cherish a spirit of endless animosity.

So far from this being the proper inference, the very reverse was the case : he who scrupled to declare that the government of France had acted in direct contempt of every principle of justice ; he who blinked the discussion of this important point, deprived us of the most consolatory reflection which we could enjoy amidst inevitable calamity and necessary war. It was from the consideration that it was the government, not the people of France, who were to blame, that we now might indulge hopes of a more favourable change of circumstances. Was there a word in the address which breathed the spirit of endless animosity ? Surely not ! on the contrary, his majesty assured the people of this country, he declared to France and to Europe, that he did not forego the hope of pacification, and that he was prepared to renew his endeavours to effect it whenever the enemy should discover a temper more corresponding to his own. Nay more, whilst the declaration disclaimed all enmity against the French nation, it professed to have no objection to treat even with those who exercised at present the functions of government. Even after the distinguished successes which had crowned his majesty's arms, he was willing to conclude a peace with that very government, upon those moderate terms which he proposed in the moment of our greatest difficulty. Mr. Pitt then went over all the grounds of the negotiation, which, as they have been detailed in another place, would be tedious and unnecessary

unnecessary to relate: he avowed in very strenuous terms the sincerity of ministers, fully proved (he said) by the concessions which they had made, merely to obtain peace: we had offered to France all that we had conquered in the West Indies, the strong Island of Martinique, St. Lucia, Tobago, that part of St. Domingo occupied by our troops; in the East Indies, Pondicherry and Chandernagore, with all their settlements and factories in that quarter. And in return for what were all these sacrifices offered? for peace alone! to an enemy too, whose forces had never separately met the military strength of this country without adding to our national glory and renown—an enemy whose fleets had never encountered ours, but to increase the list of their defeats—an enemy whose commerce was extinguished, whose navy was annihilated, whose financial distress, however palliated by their partisans here, was loudly proved in the groans of the people, in the contentions of the councils, and in the acts of violence of the executive government. Of the allies, Spain had felt the war into which she had been compelled to enter, only in the triumphs she had added to this country, and her own disgrace. One island had been taken from her by us, for which, in the circumstances she stood, she could have no claim for compensation: but the island Trinidad was claimed on another ground, as a condition of our guaranteeing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, which, by solemn treaties, could not be given up without the consent of this country. To Holland we offered to restore all the sources of her commerce, every thing valuable to her prosperity; and only required that which would

have enabled France to subjugate the other possessions of Holland, and to harass our own establishments in the East. All that we demanded was, to secure what we already possessed, that which was essential to our ancient establishment and naval power. On reviewing the state of the two countries, let the world judge the value of the concession on one part, and the force of the claim upon the other: compare the mutual means of offence and resistance, the power of the French to take from us, and the ability of this country to retain; and upon that comparison decide whether the *projet* of his majesty did not manifest proofs of sincerity and moderation?

The chancellor of the exchequer proceeded here to make a statement of the arrogance and the duplicity of the French. Endless delays ensued, he said, to give a colour of attention to the wishes of their nation for peace: time was consumed in sending for instructions to Madrid, and to the Hague; and the consideration of the different points studiously protracted: after the negotiation had assumed this shape, what was done, what progress was made, when every pretence for delay was removed? They then required that we, whom they had summoned to treat for a definitive treaty, should stop and discuss preliminary points, which though discussed and settled, we did not know but the next moment might be wholly laid aside. They led the conferences to vague and secondary points; insisted that his majesty should resign the title of king of France—a harmless feather at least, which his ancestors had so long worn on their crowns; they demanded restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, or a compensation;

penfation ; and a renunciation of any mortgage which this country might poffefs for the loan to the emperor. The French plenipotentiaries were immediately informed that this country had no fuch mortgage ; that there could be no conceffion where there was no claim ; and that the point was not worth talking about.

We next were called upon to fubfcribe as a preliminary, that we were prepared to give up every thing we had acquired during the war. Such a preliminary could not be admitted by any man who was not difpofed to adore the idol of the French power in prostrate bafe- nefs. His majesty did not hesitate in refufing to comply with fuch in- folent demands.

The directory, however, did not then adhere to the extravagance of them ; a long delay to amufe their people took place : they pleaded it as a proof of the fincerity of their pacific intentions, and pretended that they were under the neceffity of fending to their allies an account of what paffed, that they were endeavouring to prevail upon them to put an end to the calamities of a war into which they had brought thofe allies, and who have ever fince been in a ftate of abject fub- jection to them, whatever import- ance they affected to give them in this negotiation. They then di- rected their plenipotentiaries to in- form Lord Malmefbury that they had obtained an answer, but it was not fatisfactory ; and they were obliged to fend another meffenger.

It was thus they concealed their infincerity till the dreadful cata- ftrophe of the 4th of September ; and even fome days after that violence broke out in Paris, they promifed to produce their *projet*. ftill pacific in their professions, and inimical in

their defigns. The fttep which they took after this laft affurance was, to renew in a more offensive form the demand which had been rejected by lord Malmefbury two months before ; in which rejection they had acquiefced, and we in the interval had been waiting for the propofals which were to come from them. This demand was, that lord Malmefbury fhould fhew to them his powers, his inftructions, and the ufe he was to make of them : as an inducement to comply with this modeft requifition, they affured him, that though this demand was made, it would never be urged to carry it into effect. Mr. Pitt faid, there appeared little reafon for cen- furing minifters for not trufting fuch affurances from fuch an ene- my. He would leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a negotiation in which it was a preliminary to refign every thing—in which it was de- manded to reveal every thing re- quired ; that our ambaffador fhould make known, not only his powers but his inftructions, before even they had explained a word of theirs ; and whilft they informed us, that we were not to expect to hear what their powers were until we profefled ourfelves ready to accede to any thing which the directory might pleafe to dictate. Lord Malmefbury returned for answer, that his powers were ample : they then went no further than to fay, if he could not fhew his inftructions, he fhould fend to England for the power ; to which he replied, that he fhould not have it, if he fent. In this they feemingly acquiefced, and amufed us for two months ; at the end of which time the pleni- potentiaries fay, not what they faid before—fend to England for powers to accede to propofals which you have

have already rejected, but go to England yourself for powers to obtain peace. Such was the manner in which the prospect of peace was to be opened and broken off; for the gross attempt to deceive all Europe by the affectation of moderation, in ordering the French ministers to remain at Lisle for ten days, was unworthy a comment: they said they expected an ambassador to return; they knew it was impossible he should after their stating as a *sine qua non*, that we should throw ourselves at their feet for mercy before we knew what terms they should be in the humour to dictate to us. But it is essential that we should know (continued Mr. Pitt) the real aim of the enemy: it is not our commerce, it is not our wealth, it is not our colonies in the west, or our territories in the east, nor is it our maritime greatness, or the extent of our empire: No! the object is *our liberty!* the basis of our independence, the citadel of our happiness—*our constitution!* They themselves have declared it—openly avowed that our government and theirs cannot subsist together, and their endeavour is to destroy it. Should they come amongst us, they would bring with their invading army the great pestilence to man, the genius of French liberty, which contains in it every curse to society. In the place of our glorious principles and equal laws will be a hideous monster whom nothing can content but the annihilation of the British empire. And are we under circumstances to be afraid or ashamed to declare in a firm and manly tone, that we will defend ourselves? are we to shun the truth, and forget the energy which belongs to Englishmen? If therefore we value property, liberty, law; if we value national

power or domestic happiness, we shall resist these demands with indignation. There was not a man (he said), let his enjoyments be ever so considerable, who ought not to sacrifice any portion of it to oppose the violence of the enemy; nor one whose stock was so small that he should not be ready to sacrifice his life in the same cause. We owed it in gratitude to Providence, whose goodness had placed us so high in the scale of nations, and caused us to be the admiration of Europe, with most of the governments of which ours was a happy contrast. The means of our safety were still in our hands; our blessings were many; and the preservation of them was our highest duty. He trusted that we never should abandon it, to whatever extremity we might be driven; but cheerfully enter into a pledge for the sincere performance of it, declaring our determination to stand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion of our country.

Mr. Pollen, after complimenting the minister on his eloquent and able speech, professed his belief in the sincerity on our part during the late negotiation; he imputed its failure solely to the French government, whose power the sudden return of peace must inevitably have overthrown. Of many of the past measures of the ministry he had disapproved, but he now felt the necessity of throwing a veil over the past: when we looked forward, the prospect was too serious to permit us to waste time in vain regrets: we now were called to a situation which required all our intrepidity and all our firmness. There was no longer a question of consuming our strength in an unavailing struggle to maintain the balance of power and the former system of European politics.

politics. A more urgent care pressed home on our feelings, and should engage our whole attention. The danger was imminent, and every thing valuable was to be defended—our laws, our liberties, and our constitution, which it was the fixed object of the enemy to overturn; and above all we had to deprecate and prevent what would cover us with inextinguishable shame—the permitting the French to invade our kingdom, violate our females, and enslave our children. The address had his most cordial support.

Mr. Martin much applauded the speech of Mr. Pitt; it was more convincing, he said, than any he had heard upon the subject: indeed, if the French would have acceded to any reasonable terms, it was his opinion that they should not be rejected; but when he saw they were determined to dictate the conditions, we ought not to permit ourselves to be trampled on, but evince the spirit which became a great nation. He thought the present amendment unnecessary, and that the original address was more consonant to the nature of our present circumstances.

Mr. N. Edwards rose to say, that in his county, Rutlandshire, the best possible disposition prevailed amongst the inhabitants, and that the lord lieutenant of it was distinguished for the institution of the yeomanry corps. In many of the villages he knew, from personal observation, and from repeated assurance, that the people were ready to make every sacrifice for the defence of the country. There were a body of villagers, to the number of more than a thousand, prepared to come forward whenever danger threatened, and to defend our frontiers: this, perhaps, might be deem-

ed a piece of information of too private a nature to be mentioned in the house; but he brought it as a symptom of the zeal and alacrity which animated that part of England.

Mr. Lloyd rose to express, he said, his detestation of the perfidious conduct of the directory: and although the county of Flint, as a mineral county, suffered in a particular manner from the continuance of the war (it having almost entirely put an end to the lead trade), yet there would not be found in the kingdom a set of men more ready to oppose the tyrannic rulers of France, or more willing to repel their attacks, than those men whom he had the honour to represent.

Lord Carysford cordially concurred in the sentiments of the address: the French system was set up for the annoyance of Europe, and Europe could bear witness to the moderation and justice of our cause. Our resistance was pointed against the exorbitant pretensions of the enemy; and it was in unison with the principles upon which we had acted from the beginning, as we had uniformly declared, that whatever form their government might assume we would not decline entering into any negotiation consistent with the honour and security of this kingdom. To this pledge we strictly had adhered; and the system of moderation upon which we had proceeded should unite all men of every description in a cordial and vigorous defence of our laws, rights, and constitution. Such an unanimous co-operation would have the double good effect of silencing the calumnies which were circulated abroad by the enemy, and of reviving our spirits at home, if indeed they were permitted to droop.—There was nothing in our situation

to excite despair; and whence could it arise? from the empty threats held out against us by the French? We had tried their strength in many conflicts, and the trials were crowned with complete success. France had aspired to universal dominion, but their attempts had always been repressed by the valour of this country. One circumstance, it was true, seemed to justify our alarms for the continuance of the war—it was an unproductive contest: we had much to lose, and nothing to gain; nor could we expect to make any successful impression on the enemy's territories; but we had already conquered all their foreign possessions, though any attempt on France herself was not likely to succeed: and any on their part respecting an invasion of England would prove equally impotent and ineffectual. He was sorry to see that Ireland was in a different situation; but notwithstanding its present disturbances, and the attacks of the French, he was satisfied they would meet with the same reception as on a former occasion, if they endeavoured to land there. He expressed his wishes that the house would carry to the throne full and forcible assurances of their united determination to exert the vigour, and call forth the resources of a country, not to be equalled by any other nation in Europe.

Dr. Lawrence, in a long and elaborate speech, blamed the minister for having offered so much to the French as the price of peace. If the directory had accepted the terms which were offered, in what a situation (he said) should we now have been! Had our project of a definitive treaty been then signed, how should we now have stood? Did they not still profess the same principles which we so often pronounced

fatal to all regular establishments? did they not uniformly act upon them? were they not as ready as ever to pour forth their hordes, to propagate them with the bayonet through every other nation? Had the negotiation succeeded should we not now have been left upon the good faith of a power which never had regarded any compact, any obligation, any public law of Europe?

No peace with men of such opinions could be secure till they knew that we had the ability to resist and avenge every infringement of it; nor was that ability to be displayed by a passive system of defence, but by pursuing the war with spirit and resolution.

It had been said that we had better give up for ever the right of searching neutral vessels, and make that concession the ground of a new defensive league, than wait to have it extracted from us. But the day in which any such treaty should be signed would be fatal to England. It was to our naval power that we owed the rank which we held as a nation — our maritime superiority which had hitherto enabled us to maintain the balance of European power, not to alarm and subjugate other kingdoms, but for the preservation and general benefit of all. If once we gave up the clear undoubted right, which even America in her present dispute with France had recognised, of stopping and searching the vessels of countries in peace with us, our naval force would have little against which it could operate in any future war. An enemy unable to meet us in arms on the ocean, by surrendering his navigation, might secure his whole commerce in neutral ships from our victorious force; and it was chiefly by distressing his commerce that a naval power could so
act

act as to compel a peace. It was thus by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, Louis the XV. was contented to restore all his conquests that he might be released from the pressure of our maritime power on the trade of his kingdom. Dr. Lawrence said, he thought it his duty to call the attention of the house and the nation to the danger which lurked under the specious language of "the freedom of the seas," which we had been recommended to acknowledge, as if the right which we had invariably exercised was an act of usurpation and injustice. There was one point more which he thought it proper to notice; the chancellor of the exchequer had called his majesty's title of king of France a harmless feather. In his own opinion, no ancient dignity, which for so many centuries had shed lustre on the English crown, ought to be considered as a mere light unsubstantial ornament. If we suffered that feather to be plucked, he feared that three other feathers, which were nearly connected with the crown, would soon follow. A great nation could never safely submit to be disgraced. He wished the house to recollect the time when that title was first used; in the reign of Edward III. then it was that we had the first full regular record of the proceedings in parliament. Whether it was from the peculiar favour of Providence that we might have always before us an example to fix our wavering courage in moments of terror; but so the fact was, that the first conferences of the two houses, which appear upon the rolls, are of that epoch, and exhibit a situation of the country far less favourable than the present in every thing but the spirit of Englishmen. Allowing for the relative value of money, much larger sums had then

been spent in gaining the princes and states of the Netherland to our side than in the present war; yet no reliance could be placed on the allies whom we had so gained. No effectual aid was derived from their co-operation, and, in fact, they soon after deserted us. Commerce we had none; our revenue was not to be mentioned; then, as now, we were obliged to resort to an issue of foreign coin, to supply our circulation. We had scarcely any specie of our own. We had acquired nothing from the enemy; we had lost our natural dominion of the sea, our coasts were insulted and plundered. Harwich had been set on fire, the Isle of Thanet, Folkestone, and Dover, had suffered more lightly, Hastings more severely. Southampton had been burnt to the ground: a great part of Plymouth, with all the great ships in that harbour, shared the same fate; and the Isle of Jersey had been conquered (as the records of the house confessed) to the great slander of the land. Within our own island, the Scots, not as now united to us, but the fast allies of our enemies, were threatening our borders, whilst in many of our counties and cities existed a desperate knot of conspirators, bound together by oath, upon the first intelligence of those disasters which they wished to their country, to rise in a general insurrection to rob and massacre their peaceable neighbours. What then was the conduct of parliament? the commons resolved that the government had sufficient power to protect the internal peace of the land; they proposed methods of external defence; they agreed in the necessity of a large supply, and they declared their own good will to grant what the exigencies of the state demanded. But to give greater effect

effect to the measure, they advised that another parliament should be summoned, and promised on their loyalty to retire each into his own country, and there use all their influence to bring up the public mind to the exigences of the present situation. And what was the result? what was the conclusion of a war of twenty years? a peace dictated by Edward as he was marching back from the siege of Paris. Upon that glorious example Englishmen should fix their eyes, gaze, till they kindled into the zeal and intrepidity which glowed in the hearts, and distinguished the conduct, of our ancestors. What would be the event of our present contest was only known to that Being who sees every thing in their first causes and ultimate consequences. It was our part to discharge our duty with fortitude in obedience to his moral law; and what that duty was no man could hesitate to pronounce—danger with glory, or ruin with disgrace. He concluded by pointing out to the honourable baronet, who moved the amendment, his total want of support, and joined in the requests which had already been made to him, to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that he coincided in regretting an amendment had been proposed, and wished that nothing had been said expressive of a want of unanimity. It appeared, however, that with this exception all assented to the address, though with different views. For himself, he must say, that he could not lament that the negotiation had been commenced, nor rejoice that it was broken off; on the contrary, he sincerely regretted with the king's minister, and the people at large, that it had such an unpromising issue. So far from rejoicing

at the obstinate temper of the enemy, he thought it matter of serious concern; and he looked out with anxiety to the time, when, under the influence of returning reason, the French nation would negotiate with an earnest desire of that peace which was still more necessary to them than to ourselves. In the meantime he would tell the people that they must content themselves to bear considerable burdens, because all they possessed, and all that was valuable to them in life, was at stake; that as the conduct of the enemy proclaimed that the failure of the negotiation proceeded not from the king's ministers, but their own ambition, Englishmen should feel the necessity of coming forward to preserve their constitution, should reflect on what their happiness depended; and to secure those objects, should join hand and heart together, proclaiming to the world, that however divided before, they would unite for general safety. Of this universal harmony of sentiment he thought the unanimity of that night a happy omen, and he hoped the honourable baronet would withdraw his amendment, in order to give that beginning its full force.

Sir John Sinclair said, that he had not proposed it without due consideration, but he candidly confessed he was not insensible to the weight of the arguments he had just heard. He sincerely wished for unanimity, and assured the house that he was willing to sacrifice not only his opinion, but any thing else which he possessed, to the welfare of the country; and would therefore cheerfully withdraw his motion.

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the address passed nem. con.

CHAP. II.

Bill for restraining the Payment of Cash at the Bank continued. Produce of the Taxes for 1797. Army Estimates and Supplies for 1798. Account of the first Budget and the Ways and Means. Treble Assessment Bill. The Outline of it as passed into a Law. Debates upon it. The Resolution agreed to. Read a first time. Debates on the second reading—On the third reading. Introduced into the House of Lords, and passed. Debate on Mr. Nicholl's Motion, that the Salaries of certain Offices shall be applied towards carrying on the War. Mr. Coke's Motion for limiting the Fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer for a certain time—rejected.

IF the political business of the session was little interesting and little important, the magnitude of the details respecting the national finances have amply compensated for this deficiency. The year 1798 may be considered as the termination of the funding system in this country; a system which was now found inadequate to the emergencies of the times, and could no longer support the enormous weight which, without a new plan of political economy, it would have been necessary to lay upon it.

Nov. 15. The first financial measure of the chancellor of the exchequer this session, was a motion for a committee to inquire into the expediency of continuing the restriction upon the bank, which had been laid in the preceding session by an act, intitled "An act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the restriction contained in the minute of council of the 26th of February, 1797." He pointed out many obvious circumstances which rendered the adoption of this measure necessary. Mr. Hussey, in a subsequent stage of the bill, contended against the necessity of the restraint which had been laid upon the bank, with respect to payments in specie, and urged several

arguments to prove the present measure to be replete with the most dangerous consequences, and could by no means reconcile to his mind the idea of continuing the restriction to the extent of time proposed, one month after the close of the present war. The minister replied, that, though by the bill the restriction was nominally continued during the war, still it empowered the bank, at any intermediate period, to resume its payments in cash, by communicating its intention to the speaker of the house of commons, and giving one month's notice. It was necessary, he said, to hold out to the enemy, that the country was prepared to meet all the efforts of desperation; but it did not follow that the restriction would be continued during the whole war. The bill afterwards went through the several stages in both houses with little further opposition, and was passed into a law.

Previous to the accustomed detail of the supplies, and ways and means, for 1798, the reader will probably not be displeased with the following statement of the total amount of customs, excise, stamps, and duties, for one year, ending the 10th of October, 1797, which were laid before the house:

Customs,

		£.
Customs, excise, and stamps	- - - - -	11,509,030
Incidents	- - - - -	1,831,606
Duties imposed in 1793	- - - - -	209,101
Ditto in 1794	- - - - -	914,241
Ditto in 1795	- - - - -	1,152,626
Ditto in 1796	- - - - -	1,096,990
Ditto in 1797	- - - - -	760,044
Total - -		£. 17,473,638

The total charge on the consolidated fund for one quarter,	}	4,304,838
ending 10th of October, 1797, was - - - - -		
Surplus of ditto for the same, was - - - - -		857,101
		<hr/>
		£. 5,161,939

On the 20th of November, the house having formed itself into a committee of supply, the secretary at war moved the usual resolutions on the army estimates. A charge, he said, had taken place this year, upon several articles which was not proportional to the articles themselves. This circumstance originated in the increase of pay voted to the officers and soldiers in the preceding year, which had created an obvious increase of expense. Notwithstanding this increase on the face of the estimate, he was happy to state to the house, that, compared with the estimate of last year, there was in the sum total a saving of about 652,000*l.* But to ascertain the real difference of the expense of last year and the present, it was necessary to take out of the estimate that sum which was classed last year among the army extraordinary: this sum was 300,000*l.* so that the difference of the estimate amounted to 952,000*l.* This was not all; another change had taken place, arising out of the increase of pay last year. Troops on foreign stations were furnished by government with provisions, and on this account 2*d* per day for each man

was stopped, in consequence of the new regulation of pay. This sum might be supposed to be 100,000*l.*; making in all, with the former two articles of 652,000 and 300,000*l.* a saving of above one million.

The whole of the regular force, he said, would amount to 78,627 men. These consisted of guards and garrisons, that is, the regular forces in Great Britain, and the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, which amounted to 48,609 men, and of the troops in the plantations, including all other regular force, except that in Ireland and the East Indies, amounting to 30,018 men. The militia and fencibles had been a little reduced, and amounted to about 55,291 men. The fencible cavalry would bear some reduction, as several of them had been sent to Ireland; these, however, amounted to about 6911 men, making in all, of regular and irregular force, 140,829 men.

In consequence of the suggestion of the committee of finance, it was proposed to change the fees which had been hitherto received into fixed salaries. For his own part, however, he doubted whether this would be a real advantage to the public.

It had been falsely represented, as if the fees at present amounted to a permanent and regular sum. Nothing could be more erroneous. They depended upon peace or war, and varied even during the years of war. The secretary concluded with moving the first resolution, relative to the amount of the troops under the denomination of guards and garrisons. Upon this question, general Fitzpatrick arose and suggested a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. It had often been observed, he said, that in this country, where we boasted of so high a degree of liberty, the condition of the soldier was worse than in any other place in Europe. Here the soldier was bound to serve for life. In other parts of Europe the service was limited. He urged several reasons why the period of service should be fixed, the principal of which was humanity, as it

was well known that men were too frequently entrapped into the service. This idea was not new; he had voted for such a measure twenty years ago, when brought forward by colonel Barré, and then the period of service was fixed at six years: if that bill had then passed, the nation would now have felt an additional security in knowing that there were spread over the country a large body of men accustomed to the use of arms.

The secretary at war objected strongly to the measure thus proposed by the hon. general; and the several resolutions of supply were then moved and carried.

The house again formed itself into a committee of supply on the 22d of November, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved the following resolutions for the ensuing year, viz. That there be voted

	£.
For the civil establishment of Canada - - - -	7,150
For Nova Scotia - - - - -	5,915
For New Brunswick - - - - -	4,550
For the Island of St. John - - - - -	1,900
For Cape Breton - - - - -	1,840
For Newfoundland - - - - -	1,232
For Bermudas - - - - -	580
For the Bahama Islands - - - - -	4,100
For Dominica - - - - -	600
For New South Wales - - - - -	6,157
For the suffering clergy and laity of France - - - -	168,000
For pensions and allowances to the American royalists - - -	44,000
For secret service abroad - - - - -	150,000
For bills that are or may become due for the settlement of New South Wales - - - - -	36,000
For maintaining convicts at home - - - - -	33,325
For bills on Douglas harbour - - - - -	2,500

On the 24th of November, Mr. Pitt introduced what may be called his *first budget*, for in April he brought up another. He stated to the committee the general outline

of the measures which he proposed as the foundation for raising the supplies, and for meeting the exigences of the ensuing year. As the principle of that part of the intended

intended plan to which he was most desirous to direct the attention of the committee was new in the financial operations of this country, at least for more than a century, he did not then call for a decision upon the business, but went fully into an explanation of it. The question was, by what means the house was to provide for the annual expenses in such a manner as to enable the country successfully to resist the avowed intentions of an arrogant foe to destroy its liberties and constitution, to cut off the sources of its wealth, its independence, and glory? The house, in pledging itself to support the honour and interest of the country at every hazard, had acted from the dictates of sober reflection, and spoken the language of indignant feeling. He then stated, under the usual heads, the amount of the supplies which would be required. He began with the sums which would be necessary for the service of the navy. There had already been voted for this branch the sum of 12,539,000*l.*; and the estimates for the present year had been made out in a new form, intended, with more correctness than formerly, to present a full view of the expense that would be necessary. Instead of the former allowance of 4*l.* per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expense had been taken into view. But even in their present shape the estimates were not to be considered as so accurate as to exclude the possibility of any excess. Besides the above-mentioned sum, there was a navy debt, owing to the excess of the preceding year above the estimate, amounting to three millions. This, however, formed no part of the expense for which it was then necessary to make a cash provision. It would only be requisite to pro-

vide a sum equal to the interest; and in the then state of the funds, that provision could not be calculated at less than 250,000*l.* By a regulation adopted the year before, to prevent the depreciation of navy and exchequer bills, by providing that the period of payment should never be very distant from their date, there would be on their monthly issue of 500,000*l.* a floating debt of 1,500,000*l.* to be funded, arising out of the excess of the estimates for the year 1787. There would likewise be a similar sum of 1,500,000*l.* falling due in the year 1799; but for these no cash provision was necessary, nor were they included in the supplies to be raised. The sum of 12,539,000*l.* was all that entered into the account of the supplies under this branch for the ensuing year.

The expense for the army, excepting only barracks and extraordinaries; had likewise been voted. This article he took at four millions, besides the vote of credit, making an excess of about 1,300,000*l.* at the end of the year. The account of the extraordinaries was taken at 2,500,000*l.* The charge under the head of barracks was estimated at 400,000*l.* The expense of guards and garrisons, and the general articles included under this head, had already been voted, amounting to 10,112,000*l.* The ordnance, he said, might be taken at 1,300,000*l.* and the various articles of miscellaneous service at 673,000*l.* There remained only two articles to be noticed, the sum of 200,000*l.* appropriated for the reduction of the national debt, and about 680,000*l.* arising from deficiencies of grants. From the whole then, it appeared, that the sum now to be provided for was about *twenty-five millions and a half*. Supposing
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the statements of the expence of the army and navy to be correct, there would be a reduction on these branches to the extent of two millions and a half; and including the reduction on the head of extraordinaries, the savings upon the whole amounted to the sum of 6,700,000*l.* But notwithstanding this diminution there still remained the above mentioned sum of 25,500,000*l.* to be provided for, as the *supplies* of the ensuing year. He then proceeded to state the usual articles which composed part of the annual *ways and means*. These were the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and the land and malt. The former he took along with the lottery, at so very small a sum as 700,000*l.*; making, with the land and malt, the sum of three millions and a half. There then remained the sum of twenty-two millions to be supplied by some other means. After considering the burdens which had already been imposed upon the people, and the sums which had been added to the national debt, it would be found to be no light matter to raise such a sum. In the first place, however, the bank would agree to advance on exchequer bills, to be repaid at short periods, the sum of three millions. According to the received system of our finances, the ordinary mode of providing for the remaining 19 millions of the supplies would be by a loan. But in lieu of this he should propose a new mode; namely, that of raising, by a general tax, seven millions of this sum within the year. The other twelve millions, he said, he should propose to raise by the usual way of loan.

It had been understood for a considerable time that a great increase of the assessed taxes was in

agitation. He then went into a long detail of his intended plan. Those who contributed to the assessed taxes composed a number of about 7 or 800,000 house-keepers and masters of families, including a population of nearly four millions, on whom the proposed sum would be raised. The number of those who were not included at all, on account of their poverty, he estimated at 500,000 house-keepers and masters of families, covering a population of between two and three millions.

The assessed taxes, as far as could be ascertained, amounted to about 2,700,000*l.* Therefore the proposed additional assessment would amount, on the whole sum of the assessed taxes, to something less than a treble contribution. If he had not been deceived in the inquiries he had made, the greatest contribution would not exceed a tenth of the income of the highest class of those by whom it was to be paid; and no man would think such a sacrifice too great for such a cause. To prevent evasion, he proposed, that not future but past assessments should be made the basis of the new contribution: because, *prima facie*, the most impartial evidence that can be obtained, of the ability of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the state, was the amount of his expenditure of income before he had any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. After having given the outlines of his plan for the treble assessment, he adverted to the remaining sum of twelve millions, to be raised by loan. Four millions, he said, might be borrowed without making any additional debt. for the sinking fund would pay that sum.

For the other eight millions he proposed

proposed a different provision; namely, that the increased assessed taxes be continued till the principal and interest be completely discharged; so that after seven millions should be raised for the ensuing year, the same taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the sinking fund, would pay off all that principal and intermediate interest. His propositions, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furnish a current supply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt. "This (he said) would speak a language to the enemy that, by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and showing them the absurdity of their designs, would afford the best chance of shortening the duration of the war, and of lessening the duration and weight of our taxes." He acquiesced in

what had so often been said, that it would have been *fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced*; and, that it was not terminated, was much to be lamented; but if the nation was arrived at a moment which required a change of system, it was some encouragement for the people to look forward to benefits, which on all former occasions had been unknown, because the means of obtaining them had been neglected. He concluded with moving, "That it was the opinion of the committee, that there should be paid a duty, not exceeding treble the amount of the duties imposed by several acts of parliament now in force, on houses and windows, &c. &c."

For the sake of perspicuity, the following recapitulation is given of Mr. Pitt's calculations.

SUPPLIES.

	£.
Navy - - - - -	12,539,000
Army - - - - -	10 112,000
Ordnance - - - - -	1,291,000
Miscellaneous services - - - - -	674,000
Reduction of debt - - - - -	200,000
Deficiency of grants - - - - -	680,00
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Total - £.	25,496,000
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WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Growing produce of the consolidated fund - - - - -	750,000
Land and malt - - - - -	2,750,000
Exchequer bills - - - - -	3,000,000
New loan - - - - -	12,000,000
Increase on assessed taxes - - - - -	7,000,000
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Total - £.	25,500,000
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Mr. Tierney rose, and declared, that after having heard the speech just made by the chancellor of the

exchequer, he could never again face his constituents with confidence, if, by remaining silent, he gave

gave it any sort of countenance. He trusted that the minister was now become sensible of his former inaccuracies. He had stated in the preceding session, that the new sources of supply he then proposed would not only make up for former deficiencies, but would amply meet the expenses of the current year; and yet the issuing of *navy bills*, one part of his plan, had increased the calculation one million and a half: he had proposed five millions for the *extraordinaries* of the *navy*; and yet with this sum voted, which he considered as a most ample supply, it now appeared that he had formed erroneous calculations, to the amount of three millions; for the expenses of the navy had exceeded the estimate to the extent of that sum. He opposed the minister's proposal of the bank's advancing three millions, in the same manner as he had opposed the measure lately adopted by the house, for continuing the bankruptcy of the bank. He wished to be satisfied upon what grounds the bank refused the people payment in specie, whilst at the same time it increased its advances to government. The present measure would occasion an emission of paper to a considerable increased extent; and he was afraid it would have this tendency, that it would be expected of the bank to advance still more and more, whenever future demands were made upon it.

With regard to the measure of raising seven millions towards the supply, by additional taxes within the year, he contended that it would have an effect upon the enemy, very different from what the chancellor of the exchequer had supposed in his statement to the house; for it would serve to show that our funding system was, in the

opinion even of the minister, approaching its end. They would see the same man, who had brought his country to the extremity of ruin, now virtually confessing his inability to pursue former methods of raising the supplies, and crouching, as it were, to the bank to help him out of his difficulties. He asked, what was to be done in the next year of the war? For with the present administration, he held it impossible the country could have peace: the right honourable gentleman wanted the requisites to bring about a peace; he wanted the confidence and respect not only of France, but of Europe. It was impossible that France could have any confidence in the pacific disposition of the present cabinet, composed as it was of men avowedly united by no other bond of union than that of hatred to the French republic. "In what congress could an English ambassador sit, deputed by the present administration, which must not present to him the plenipotentiaries of courts which had either insulted, deceived, or deserted, his employers."

Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Curwen also opposed the plan of the minister. The former observed, that it had been stated by the right hon. gentleman, that in consequence of his measures, the number of stockholders had been increased all over the country. He allowed the truth of that statement; but considered it as one of the calamities of the present war, and the funding system by which it had been carried on, that their number was increased. Hence no money could be raised by the tradesman for the purposes of his business; while the money borrowed by government was enormous in amount, and borrowed

rowed at enormous interest, the trade of the country must be extremely prejudiced. In fact, there was now instituted a monopoly more severe, more oppressive than any monopoly that had ever prevailed: it was the monopoly of borrowing, entirely vested in the hands of government. He took this opportunity of giving notice to the house, that if the chancellor of the exchequer should persevere in his present plan, he would hereafter make a motion, for compelling *placemen* and *pensioners* to bear a very large part of the burdens to be imposed by it. Those gentlemen might recollect a resolution adopted in the reign of queen Anne, that no placemen or pensioner should receive more than five hundred pounds a year during the war. He concluded by observing, that if the minister's plan was adopted, and seven millions were raised within the year, and seven millions more within a year and a quarter, he was convinced the consequences would be, that the middle classes of house-keepers would be completely crushed.

Mr. Curwen contended that the war was no longer a war of necessity; and it became gentlemen to consider, whether as a war of indemnity, that indemnity was worth the price at which it was to be bought. Peace without indemnity, he believed, might have been obtained long before. It was not a war in which Great Britain was compelled to enter for any injury sustained by herself; it was merely on account of her allies, the Dutch, and to procure indemnity for them, that we entered into the war.

Mr. Dundas and Mr. Vansittart offered several arguments to prove that the French had been called upon to state their terms; but had

absolutely refused any answer to our *projet*; that it was not any difference about terms that broke off the negotiations for peace, but the implacable hatred of the enemy against this government;—that they demanded indeed that we should begin by giving up every thing that we had taken in the course of the war, and then they would condescend to tell us what more they had to ask.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the 4th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer stated the particulars of his plan for increasing the assessed taxes, of which before he had only given the outline. He began with reminding the committee that he had stated the product of the assessed taxes at present to be 2,700,000*l*. Some had not been collected hitherto; but he believed that they would not fall short of their estimate, which was taken at 600,000*l*. These were the additional assessments of the preceding session, of which the actual returns had not then been made. He apprised the committee, that the assessed taxes consisted of two descriptions, which deserved a separate consideration. The first comprehended the tax on houses, windows, the commutation tax, and the two additional 10 per cent. duties upon the amount of these; making in all the sum of 150,000*l*. This was but a small proportion of the whole sum collected by the assessed taxes; and it showed that care had been taken to avoid too hard a pressure upon those whose circumstances would not bear it. The other description contained all the same charges upon houses, windows, the commutation act, and the 20 per cent. additional duties; while 1,300,000*l*. was raised upon male servants, horses,

horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. It was his intention, therefore, as these were chiefly articles of luxury, to, triple the duties upon the latter, while he took care to have the proportions of the former modified. He next stated to the committee the different proportions of contribution which he proposed to affix to the different classes of those house-keepers, who came under his first description, of subscribing only to the house, window, and commutation taxes; he afterwards stated the different proportions of additional assessment, which those were to pay who came under his second description, of contributing not only to the house, window, and commutation taxes, but also to the taxes raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches.

To detail at length the history of

the various alterations which the bill underwent in its various stages, would be tedious and uninteresting, and would carry this publication greatly beyond its usual limits. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that the following were the outlines of the bill when it was passed into a law, which were all founded upon Mr. Pitt's first propositions to the committee.

Persons paying assessed taxes were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of those persons paying for male servants, carriages, and horses, on or before the 6th of April 1798, and were to pay in the following proportions.

Where the old duties were under 25*l.* per annum, an additional duty equal to *three times* the present amount; that is to say, the additional sum of *seventy-five pounds*.

<i>£.</i>	<i>£.</i>	
From 25 to 30 per an.	3½	times the amount.
From 30 to 40 per an.	4	ditto.
From 40 to 50 per an.	4½	ditto.
From 50 and upwards	5	ditto.

The second class consisted of persons paying duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches.

Where these taxes did not a-

mount to one pound, the persons were exempt from the additional duty.

Persons paying under 2*l.* were to pay an additional duty equal to *one fourth* of the present amount.

Persons paying 2*l.* and under 3*l.* *one half* the present amount.

Ditto	3 <i>l.</i> and under 5 <i>l.</i>	<i>three fourths</i>	ditto.
Ditto	5 <i>l.</i> and under 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	<i>equal to</i>	ditto.
Ditto	7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> and under 10 <i>l.</i>	<i>one and a half</i>	ditto.
Ditto	10 <i>l.</i> and under 12 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	<i>twice</i>	ditto.
Ditto	12 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> and under 15 <i>l.</i>	<i>twice and a half</i>	ditto.
Ditto	15 <i>l.</i> and under 20 <i>l.</i>	<i>three times</i>	ditto.
Ditto	20 <i>l.</i> and under 30 <i>l.</i>	<i>three times and a half</i>	ditto.
Ditto	30 <i>l.</i> and under 40 <i>l.</i>	<i>four times</i>	ditto.
Ditto	40 <i>l.</i> to 50 <i>l.</i>	<i>four times and a half</i>	ditto.
Ditto	50 <i>l.</i> and upwards,	<i>five times</i>	ditto.

The

The third class consisted of persons keeping boarding schools (not less than ten boarders), ready-furnished or lodging houses, shops, and licensed victuallers.

Those persons of this class, the

amount of whose last assessment for duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks and watches, did not amount to three pounds, were exempt from the additional duty.

Where the amount of such taxes was three pounds, and under five pounds, an addition *equal to one tenth* of the amount.

£.	s.	£.	s.	
5	0	7	10	an addition of <i>one fifth</i> .
7	10	10	0	ditto of <i>one fourth</i> .
10	0	12	10	ditto of <i>one half</i> .
12	10	15	0	ditto of <i>three fourths</i> .
15	0	20	0	ditto equal to the <i>amount thereof</i> .
20	0	25	0	ditto equal to <i>one and a quarter thereof</i> .
25	0	30	0	ditto equal to <i>one and a half thereof</i> .
30	0			an additional duty equal to <i>twice</i> the present amount.

To this bill there was added also a scale of reduction of duties on account of income.

Persons whose annual income was less than 60*l.* upon proof thereof were to be exempt from all additional duties.

Persons whose income amounted to 60*l.* and under 65*l.* were to pay an additional duty of only 120th part of such income. Those whose income was 100*l.* and under 105*l.* to pay an additional duty of one fortieth part, and so on, in an increasing ratio, to incomes of 200*l.* per annum and upwards, which were to pay an addition equal to the tenth part of such income. No abatement of the treble duty was to be allowed to persons with an income above 200*l.* per annum, unless they made a declaration upon oath, purporting that the charge exceeded one tenth of the party's income; because the chancellor of the exchequer, in his opening of the business, had declared that he did not intend to burden an income of 200*l.* and upwards with more than an additional duty of one tenth part of such income.

He estimated the amount of this additional assessment at seven millions; and contended that there could not be a plan which embraced more necessary abatements, allowed more just and necessary exemptions, or which regulated the proportions of wealth, circumstance, and situation, with more fair and equal justice. The question was, ought we, or ought we not, to encounter great and extraordinary difficulties for the defence of our country, the preservation of our property, the safety of our families, the security of our freedom, and the innumerable other privileges which we enjoy? We ought to make any voluntary sacrifice, rather than submit to the insolent dominion of an enemy who would exult in our destruction; we ought rather to consent to the loss of our present ease, and the loss of a part of our property, however large, to enjoy repose in future with the remains, the whole of which would be otherwise completely swallowed up.

In the course of the debate which ensued upon the introduction of the bill, Sir W. Pulteney thought the

the plan of raising the supplies of the year within the year was very proper, and therefore declared himself ready to support the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, as far as it went. But he was afraid that, notwithstanding every modification that could be suggested, there would still be a considerable inequality in the operation of the tax. There was no doubt but some men of large property spent less than men of inferior fortunes, and consequently would pay less to this tax.

He was inclined to carry this principle of providing the whole supply farther than the right hon. gentleman had done; and he was sure that the burden would be less felt by the community at large, if the plan had been formed upon a larger scale. In the first place, if the whole sum of twenty-one millions had been raised within the year, government would not have had occasion to borrow any money; and by that means individuals would have had it more in their power to have raised money upon their property than they had then, when the high interest given by government precluded them from borrowing at 5l. per cent. the legal interest of the country. It was well known that the consequence of monied men obtaining such large interest in the public funds was, that the country was in a manner drained of money. If the plan was adopted in the extent he proposed, this inconvenience would be avoided, and a great saving would be made; for government now paid 8 per cent. for money, and that expense of course fell upon the country at large. But it might, he confessed, with great propriety be asked, what security the public had, that, after advancing so large a sum

of money, it would be better disposed of than that which they had already given. The chancellor of the exchequer had stated, on a former night, that great reductions had been made in the expenditure of the country without diminishing its force. He had estimated this saving at six millions. Would not the people naturally ask why these six millions had not been saved before? It followed from hence that the public gave their money too readily and too liberally.

He then adverted to the war; and allowed that the enemy had spoken in a tone sufficiently high to rouse the spirit of every Englishman; but he did not approve of the idea of a defensive war, because he did not think it could be carried on longer with advantage to this country. What was the reason, he asked, that, at such a crisis as the present, we had not been able to preserve one ally? He disapproved of the lofty and imperious tone assumed by people in office to foreign powers, and was not surprised at those powers being offended at it. Why did we not endeavour at this time to stir up the powers of the continent, to support a cause in which they were much more interested than we were? He concluded with observing, that upon the grounds which he had stated, he should support this measure; though he should have done it with greater pleasure, if it had been carried to a greater extent.

The principal speakers in opposition, who opposed the bill upon its introduction into the house on the 4th of December, were Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Plumer.

Mr. Nicholls objected to the measure, as it did not appear to him

him either just or necessary. If it was considered as a tax upon luxury, it was not just, because it was not optional; the tax was unjust, because it was retrospective. If it were considered as a tax upon expenditure, it was also unjust, because expenditure was not proportional to property. The chancellor of the exchequer had calculated, that a man who should pay thirty pounds, was a man of one thousand a year; the largest sum proposed to be paid was four hundred, and of this there were only two instances: according to this rule, then, there would be only two persons who spent thirteen thousand a year; and surely it would not be contended that there were not any more in this country of much more considerable fortune; but the right honourable gentleman had said, that it would be expedient to lighten our unfunded debt, and to raise the supplies within the year. This declaration came with a bad grace from a gentleman who had, during his administration, increased our national debt one half, by an addition of 185 millions. The tax, he said, would crush the middle orders of the people. He instanced the case of coach-makers, who would lose a considerable part of their employment by the adoption of the bill; they would be in the same situation as the watch-makers now were. He boldly asserted (notwithstanding a laugh against him) that this tax was not necessary, because the war was not necessary. Mr. Nicholls then alluded to the insincerity of ministers in their professing a desire for peace. Until they disavowed the opinions they expressed at the beginning of the war, he never would believe them sincere in their endeavours for its discontinuance. His reason was

this, some of them coincided in opinion with the late Mr. Burke; and his opinion was, that the representative government of France ought to be annihilated; for if not, French principles might be propagated here, and the commons might assume a power they did not possess before. To prove how far the opinion of Mr. Burke went, he read an extract from the 71st page of that gentleman's charges against Mr. Fox, and concluded with reprobating the unjust interference of peers in elections.

Mr. Hobhouse contended, that judging from past events, he could not think that the estimates of the chancellor of the exchequer were to be relied on. The excess of the preceding year, he said, in the single article of the navy, amounted to 3,000,000*l*. For this sum no provision was now made in the supplies, so that, independent of any other loan which might be necessary during the year, 28,500,000*l*. was to be raised. As to the ways and means, he observed that 2,750,000*l*. were to be raised in the usual manner, upon the land and malt tax. The growing surplus of the consolidated fund and the lottery were taken together at 750,000*l*. But instead of boasting of the surplus of the consolidated fund, it would be more the language of truth to speak of its growing deficiency: By the papers on the table, it appeared that, in 1796 and 1797, there was a deficiency of more than 250,000*l*. Therefore some provision ought to be made for the amount of the deficit. He expressed his dislike of the close connexion between the bank of England and the government of the country, and thought it extremely curious that the bank directors, after having invariably attributed

buted all their former difficulties to the large supplies which they had been obliged to make to government, and after having shown such strong tokens of distrust of the chancellor of the exchequer, that they should give such renewed proofs of their confidence as to agree to the further advance of three millions towards the supplies of the current year. If they relied on the promise of the minister for speedy payment, it appeared from their own correspondence that they had been often disappointed. He then alluded to the seven millions to be raised by an assessment upon the assessed taxes. His principal objection to the plan proposed was, that it would fall unequally. Large capitalists who lived upon little, and continued from year to year to place the remainder out at interest, would pay but little, while the generous man who lived in a style equal to his rank in life, and by his expenditure promoted the subsistence and happiness of the tradesman, would be obliged to pay a large quota. The inequality of this tax was also discernible in its operation upon different classes. Those in the middling walks of life would pay a full tenth of their income, while those in the highest would not pay a fifteenth or twentieth. The largest sum at that time paid by any individual for assessed taxes was 400*l.* and upwards. This appeared by a paper which had been laid before the house a few days before. This measure would also fall unequally upon different trades; for many persons carried on trades in large buildings with less profits than those who carried them on in small counting-houses; the former must contribute a larger proportion than the latter.

Mr. Hobhouse next spoke to the

chancellor of the exchequer's plan of raising twelve millions by loan. It had been said that the sinking fund would in the course of the year 1798 be productive of a saving of four millions, which sum would cancel as much of the funded debt as the four millions, part of the twelve millions, would have created. The remaining eight millions he proposed to extinguish, by continuing the forced assessment fifteen months beyond the year 1798. This was surely a melancholy prospect for the country; if another supply should be wanting during the year 1798, or if the war should be prolonged beyond that year, the public would be paying the present assessment in discharge of a past debt, and have to provide millions upon millions besides; the triple would be tripled, and the quadruple be quadrupled. He concluded a long speech, by asserting that he would give a hearty negative to the proposed resolutions.

Mr. Tierney with great force of argument opposed the ministers plan of taxation, upon the ground of its falling so partially upon the subject. His observations upon the other ways and means for raising the supplies were very similar to those made by Mr. Hobhouse. In this long debate many allusions were made on both sides to the justice or injustice of the present war, irrelevant to a question of finance.

The committee divided on the first resolution,

Ayes - - - 214

Noes - - - 15

The bill was read a first time on the 7th of December. On the question that the bill be read a second time, it was acknowledged that the bill which had been brought in contained considerable abatements and modifications to the

the principle on which it went. But it was still strongly contended by several members, professed friends to the minister, that the adoption of the measure would bear down the middle order of manufacturers, who by long œconomy and labour had raised a small capital; among these was Mr. alderman Lushington, who was decidedly against over-burdening the middle class of society. He was for throwing the burden upon the upper classes. He should not care much that men from 5 to 10,000l. a year, and upwards, complained of their burden; but he should be sorry if those from 150l. to 200l. a year were oppressed. He thought that the operation of the measure in its present shape went to do away that middle class, and divide the state into the two descriptions of the very poor and the very rich. His idea in general upon the subject was, that he who paid less than 10l. a year of assessed taxes should not be included in the meaning of this bill. By imposing an additional half rate in the higher classes, he was convinced that the sum of six millions and a half might be raised without the odium and the danger of extending the tax so far to the lower and middling classes of society. He had the utmost confidence in the present administration, and thought they had as much talent and virtue as any set of men that could be found in the country. The further discussion of the bill took place on the 14th, when Mr. Pitt moved its second reading. Upon which Mr. Wigley said, he would not suffer the bill to proceed further, without such opposition as he was able to give it. The house would remember, that, at the opening of the session, the speech from the throne (which he considered as the speech of the

minister) stated that the resources of the country were ample, yet the present measure went to say, in contradiction to that speech, that the funding resource was exhausted; and that to avoid laying a greater weight upon it than it would bear, the people must submit to a novel, unprecedented, vexatious, and, to some classes, oppressive mode of taxation. As the voice of the country was then very loud against it, he had entertained some hopes that the minister would have abandoned it, and thought of some means of a better kind; but was sorry to find that it was his intention obstinately to persist in a measure so impolitic and unjust, which bore so heavy upon the middle ranks of the people, inasmuch as the lower and the higher were entirely exempt from it.

Mr. Henry Thornton said, that he had received the particular and unanimous instruction of his constituents to oppose the bill, at a meeting which had been held for that purpose, not only the particular provisions and modifications, but the principle of the bill, was also unanimously condemned. For his part, were he merely to speak his own sentiments, he would wish the bill to go into a committee, in order to see how far it might be new modelled, and rendered more palatable to all classes of people. Mr. York supported the measure, and reprobated as unconstitutional the doctrine of members of parliament being guided by the instructions of their constituents. Lord Hawkesbury also defended the bill, and contended, that whether the war was just and necessary was not then the subject of inquiry; that question had been frequently discussed, and the house had in that session come to an unanimous decision upon the late negotiation to which

which some gentlemen had alluded. The two great opponents of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, came forward, at the desire of their constituents, on this day, and displayed their usual abilities against this bill.

Mr. Sheridan rose first, and after making some remarks upon his and his right honourable friend's absenting themselves from the house, he entered into a long discussion of the question, whether the war was just and necessary, or unjust and unnecessary; but as the arguments used upon this occasion have often been detailed before, and as they are somewhat irrelevant to a question of finance, they are omitted here. Respecting the bill, he observed, that the people were now called upon to submit to great burdens; but when they are called upon to raise large sums, they should, in his opinion, have great examples to encourage them. They were told that their private interest was nothing; the public interest ought to be their only consideration. But with what propriety and consistency could this language be held by some members of administration, when it had been publicly stated, that in one office, that of the secretary of war, the clerks had fees and perquisites from the amount of 5,000*l.* to 18,000*l.* per annum. Some gentlemen might treat such perquisites as mere "parings of cheese and ends of candles" (alluding to a former speech of the right honourable secretary), but the public must wonder at the immense size of this consecrated cheese, and be dazzled with the light of those flaming tapers, that thus blaze on the altar of corruption. To show the impracticability of the plan of

taxation then before the house, he alluded to certain resolutions which had been voted that day by the city of London, which went to show that it was impossible for a very numerous class of householder ever to pay the tax, should the proposed mode of raising it be unfortunately passed into a law. Another objection to the tax was, that it meant to impose a tax on the expenditure, and not upon the property.

If the system was enforced, he contended that it would go to erect in every parish a fiscal inquisition to pry into the property of individuals, to ascertain their gains or their profits, and thus lay open and expose the improvement or decay of their circumstances. By the bill it appeared, that persons over-rated might appeal; but to whom? To their own neighbours and fellow-parishioners, if any description of men should be found base enough to undertake so degrading an office. If the spies of government should doubt the word of those who appealed, they might then be examined upon oath, and evidence upon oath might also be brought to contradict their declaration. They would then be reduced to this dreadful situation, either to incur the suspicion of being perjured men, so strong were the temptations held out to them; or, if they made a fair avowal of their circumstances, and said that their income amounted to 200*l.* without taking into the account the accidental circumstances which might impair it, should it come to be impaired, and the next year it amounted but to 150*l.* either such persons must appeal, and divulge the decay of their circumstances, or must hold up a false front to those with whom they dealt; and, should they fail, be
accused

accused of having held out false pretences, for the purpose of supporting their credit by fraud.

When Mr. Fox rose, he avowed that his attendance that night was in consequence of what was to him at least an important sentiment; the propriety of yielding to the request of his constituents; they had desired him to attend this bill, and he thought himself bound to state their case to the house. They thought and so did he, that by the adoption of this measure, all the principles of our ancestors were abandoned. In the course of his speech, he went over a large field of argument against the bill; and fairly deduced a train of strong objections. For the purpose of pointing out its partiality, he put a very plain but forcible case. He supposed two gentlemen of equal fortune to set out in life, the one of them with his ten thousand pounds, laying it out upon mortgage, and living upon the interest of his money, which would be 500*l.* per annum; according to the principle of the bill, he would be taxed for that income, and no more: suppose the second applied his ten thousand pounds in commerce, and it produced to him 1000*l.* per annum, he would be taxed at the rate of a thousand a year. "What was the reason," he asked, "of this difference?" They were both equal in point of real property. But as the minister, by this plan, made income the basis of taxation, a double weight was imposed upon diligence, activity, and industry; while those who chose to repose in indolence and supineness upon the produce of capital paid but half. With respect to that part of the bill, which put it out of the power of persons to retrench their expenses, by giving up the use of some articles of luxu-

1798.

ry, such as coaches, horses, &c. but compelled them even in that case to pay the same taxes as they did in the preceding year; this principle of injustice, he said, reminded him of the illustration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the ancient government of France. "When at Lyons, Yorick resolved to change his mode of travelling, and sail down the Rhone, instead of going post. The post-master, however, applied to him for six livres, six sous, as the price of the next post. "But I do not intend to travel post," said Yorick, "I mean to go by water." "That's no matter," said the post-master, "you must pay for the next post whether you have changed your mind or not." And here said Mr. Fox, the word *spirit* or *principle* was used, as they are always used to sanctify injustice; for says the post-master, "the spirit of the impost is; that the *grand monarque* shall not suffer by your *fickleness*."

He remarked also, that to rouse the energy of the people, it was necessary to hear of the sacrifices of the crown. It was from the highest place that the example ought to be given. It would animate and cheer the heart of the kingdom.

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse laborum."

He concluded a speech of great length, by declaring that he never would have a seat high or low in any administration, until public opinion shall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuses, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

Mr. Pitt rose to answer the arguments of his opponents. He began by acknowledging that in the present shape of the bill, and without any modification whatever, it was

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liable

liable to great and important objections. Very large and industrious classes of the people might be affected by it, and consequently it would admit of amendments. But the principle of the bill stood unshaken, and the objections might be easily obviated in a committee. He trusted that by the conduct the house would adopt upon this occasion, they would show that they were the real representatives of the people, and consulted their true interests. His opponents had declared, that no possible modification could make the bill unobjectionable, and had expressed themselves hostile to the whole principle of it; but he had no doubt but the result would prove them to be in error. Mr. Sheridan, he observed, had begun and ended his speech, by saying directly, that he would not vote for granting any supplies towards the farther prosecution of the present war, and that he would not consent to grant the money while his majesty's present ministers continued in power. In pursuing this argument, both Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox had branched their speeches into a variety of topics, which at first view did not appear to have any great connexion with the subject then before the house. They had asserted that there was an impossibility of the present administration making peace; but they had neglected to state the means by which other ministers would be enabled to effect the object which every man wished for, viz. the restoration of peace, upon secure and honourable terms. Here Mr. Pitt contended, that if, when the subject of a change in administration of this country was formally discussed, these gentlemen had failed, after a full exertion of all their abilities, to convince a majority of the justice of their ar-

guments; if they had not then clearly proved what they had formerly asserted, that his majesty could not find any nine men, in his journey from Windsor to London, less capable than the present ministers of administering the public affairs, they had not strengthened much their arguments by any thing which had fallen from them that night, or by any event which had occurred from the time they had quitted their duty in parliament to the present hour. With respect to the radical change which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had so strenuously insisted upon, he urged that it was not easy to conjecture what it was, for that part of his speech was couched in terms which appeared to be studiously obscure. One thing, however, might easily be collected from what he had said, that a parliamentary reform was only a part of that general change which he was so anxious to obtain; a change from which it appeared no part of the present existing government was exempted. It appeared, however, a little singular, that the right honourable gentleman should consider an unlimited change as the best means of preserving every thing as it stood at present. With respect to a fact, advanced by the right honourable gentleman, that ministers had declared that they would not make peace with a republic in France, he could only say, that no such declaration was ever made by any of his majesty's ministers. Here Mr. Pitt entered at considerable length into the defence of ministers in their conduct relating to the negotiations for peace, which naturally led to the old question, of the justice or injustice of the war. He contended, that though the war had

had not been entered into for the purpose of destroying any set of principles in France, yet it did not follow, that having been forced into the war by the unjust aggression of France, we were not to oppose those principles which were so dangerous to every civilised government, and particularly as they had led to that unprovoked aggression against us. The principles of those who were so forward in calling for peace with France had been gradually increasing from the commencement of the war to the present time; they now had reached the point of saying, that the war was perfectly just on the part of France. These gentlemen had now pretty clearly discovered their opinions; they said the ordinary mode for raising the supplies was gone, but they had not stated what was the mode they themselves would suggest. They went, however, to the length of saying, that all extraordinary means of raising them were bad. So that, upon the whole, the mode these gentlemen would recommend, as the best and safest to obtain peace, would be to tell the enemy, "you may ask what terms you please, because we are the aggressors; besides our finances are so exhausted, that we have not the means of resisting any terms you may think proper to impose upon us." He concluded, with hoping the house would read the bill a second time, and let it go into a committee.

Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Mainwaring, announced that they had all received instructions from their respective constituents to oppose the bill. The words used in the resolutions entered into by the constituents of Mr. Mainwaring were so strong, that, he said, he was sorry to be

obliged to repeat them to the house. The people declared, "that if the measure was enforced, they would either resist or sink under it."

The house divided—for the second reading 175, against it 50.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the 18th of December, Mr. Pitt rose and stated the modifications he meant to propose in this bill. But as an outline of it, as it was finally passed, has already been given, it would be superfluous to detail in this place the debates upon those modifications.

The third reading was proposed on the 3d of January, 1798, upon which a long debate took place between the ministerial and opposition sides of the house. Mr. Nicholls said, that he had not as yet heard an answer to any of the objections which had been made to this tax when first proposed, and in the succeeding stages. The first objection made to it, was, that it was unequal, and therefore unjust. If a tax was to be imposed on income, it ought to be on the idea, that income was the evidence of property. Let two men draw each 100l. a year, one from the long annuities, the other from the short annuities, their income would be the same; and they would therefore pay the same tax, viz. 10l. yet they had manifestly different portions of property; the annuity of one being worth twelve years' purchase, while the annuity of the other was only worth six years' purchase.—But equal burdens on unequal portions of property were unjust. The next objection which had been taken was, that by compelling the higher orders of the middle class to economise, it would destroy the employ of the artisan, and diminish the revenue, by rendering the taxes

on consumption less productive. To this some answer had been attempted; the chancellor of the exchequer said, he had relieved the lower orders by diminishing the tax on theirs. As far as the relief granted to the lower orders would occasion less money to be raised, he acknowledged the modification to be beneficial; it was *pro tanto* an abandonment of the bill. But as far as an additional burden was laid upon the higher orders of the middle class, he thought the modification was not beneficial. For the mischief was, that the direct pressure on the higher orders of the middle class would occasion an indirect pressure on the lower orders, for it would destroy their employment. He denied that the chancellor of the exchequer spared the lower orders. He destroyed the life of the poor man, if he took away the employment by which he lived. He regarded Mr. Pitt as being more famous for his talents as a debater in that house, for the purpose of amusing the members, than for his talents as a statesman; this reminded him of an expression of Themistocles the Athenian, who said, "he could not play upon the fiddle, but he could make a little city a great state." The chancellor was the reverse of this, he could play on his fiddle and amuse that house, but he had reduced a great empire to a little state. Even his friends acknowledged that he was no great war-minister; facts had compelled them to make this acknowledgment. Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his side, he had so conducted it, that every ally had either abandoned him, or been subdued, while France had been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition.

Sir Francis Burdet stated in strong terms many objections to the bill; but these objections, and also those of other gentlemen on the same side, were so similar to the objections made on the second reading, that to repeat them is superfluous. He accused the minister of having passed decrees that would not have disgraced the most tyrannical code, destructive of that freedom of opinion, once the pride and security of Britons; and asserted that those laws so highly prized by our ancestors, for the protection of general freedom, had been by him suspended or repealed. He had placed, he said, error in the throne of reason; and under pretence of maintaining the constitution, he had squandered the wealth, shed the blood, and annihilated the liberties of the people of England. These were the achievements of the right honourable gentleman, and this was the minister and the system the house was then called upon to drain the blood of the country in order to support. He called upon those country gentlemen who might have been frightened into a support of the present system, to stand forward at length in support of their country. Mr. Jekyll also opposed the bill; and on the next day the debate was resumed and carried to a great extent. The principal speakers were, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, on the opposition side of the house, and Mr. secretary Dundas, Mr. Pitt, and Dr. Lawrence, on the ministerial side. The arguments made use of upon this occasion related principally to the old question of the justice or injustice of the war, and to an elaborate defence of the conduct of administration on one side, and an ardent and open reprobation of their measures on the other. Mr. secretary Dundas, in
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the course of his speech in vindication of the bill and the measures of administration, alluded to an interesting letter which had recently appeared in the public prints, from the earl of Moira to colonel M'Mahon, respecting a plan for forming a new administration. The right honourable secretary said on this occasion, that at the very moment when the adherents of Mr. Fox held him out as the only person capable of retrieving the affairs of the nation, the great body of members alluded to, who had attempted to effect a change of ministry, had actually excluded him from any share in it.

At the close of the debate, the question was put, on a motion of Mr. Sheridan's, for postponing the bill,

Ayes - - - - 75

Noes - - - - 202

Majority - 127

On the question that the bill be now read a third time, there appeared,

Ayes, - - - - 196

Noes - - - - 71

Majority - 125

Lord Grenville, in the house of lords, on the 5th of January, moved the order of the day for the second reading of the assessed tax bill, and for summoning the house thereon; which being read, he rose and stated, "that by the address of their lordships to his majesty on the 15th of November, they had signified their determination to defend with their lives and properties the government and constitution of the country, and the honour and independence of the British empire, and that they were prepared to make the great exertions necessary for that purpose." After this address had been read to the house, lord Car-

lington declared that the situation of the country required great sacrifices to be made for its salvation; but contended, that if instead of raising the money in this indirect manner, every individual had been called upon to contribute, in direct proportion, to his income, but the higher classes in a larger proportion than the lower, it would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the present plan. He conceived, that one twentieth of real income would produce a larger contribution than one-tenth in the manner proposed by the bill.

Lord Holland rose and made his first speech upon this occasion; he said, the address of both houses of parliament, cited by the noble secretary of state, as having been voted unanimously, appeared to him to be a mere statement of the exigencies of the times, under the circumstances of the country, but did not warrant any such measure as that which was now before them.

He contended, that under the present administration, for the last five years, the condition of this country had grown worse and worse; that when parliament was called upon to vote for a measure which had for its object the raising so large a sum of money as was then proposed, it became necessary to inquire, whether those men to whom millions upon millions of the money of the people had been entrusted, and who had in return for it, heaped upon them distress upon distress, were about to change their system, as the old one had produced such disastrous consequences? When therefore we heard of our present situation being such as required such great exertions, he wished the argument to have a retrospective effect, that the causes of our present calamity might be seen,

otherwise we should have no chance of avoiding future ruin. But how could it be expected, he asked, that the people would approve of the measure then before their lordships, when it was known that in no one instance had that ministry answered the expectation of the public. He thought that this country ought not to grant any more money without a pledge, not only that ministers should be changed, but that measures should also be changed. He concluded with pointing out several objections to the bill, most of which had been noticed in the debates of the commons upon the same subject.

The duke of Bedford also opposed the bill: he said, there was a great variation in the description of the measure then before their lordships; one noble lord had said it was a tax upon expenditure; another said it was a contribution on property. The first question which occurred to him was, whether it was expedient to raise a part of the supplies within the year? At the commencement of the war, this mode might have been expedient, because it would have inclined the people to reflect whether the objects for which they embarked in the war were worthy of such exertions and expenses. But it was not expedient at a time when the public funds were so reduced, when by the laws which prohibited individuals to lend to individuals beyond a certain rate of interest, government had a monopoly of money; and others had no means of procuring it. His grace contended that the measure would occasion a great reduction of expenditure, and consequently a great defalcation of the public revenue. Suppose a person then contributed to the assessed taxes a sixteenth part of his

income, the quintuple assessment would become a tenth part of the whole. It was not only milliners and coachmakers, but, perhaps, one hundred thousand persons in the metropolis supported by manufactories that would suffer. The old taxes were about seventeen millions: if then a tenth part of the income of the country was required by this bill, the reduction of a tenth part of this income would on those seventeen millions create a defalcation of 1,740,000*l*.

The bill was defended by the ministerial side, upon the same ground of argument as it had been in the commons.

The house divided—contents 50, proxies 23, total 73 — non-contents 6.

Mr. Nicholls, in pursuance of notice he had given, moved in the house of commons, on the 8th of December, a resolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices for the public service during the war. This was a measure that was adopted in the reign of William and Mary. He pointed out two kinds of places; one that was dependent on the pleasure of the crown, and the other which was independent of it. As to offices which were dependent on the crown, they might be said to be fairly enjoyed, because they were supposed to be dependent on the talents of the persons who enjoyed them; but in time of public emergency, he contended, they might as fairly be diminished as the income of any other person was diminished by taxes. As to the offices in which the grantee had a freehold interest, it was observable, that in the time of William and Mary, there was no difference between them and those that were held at the pleasure of the crown; but

but he thought there ought to be a distinction: and in the resolution, which he should submit to the committee, that distinction would be regarded, for it would only refer to those offices which were held at the pleasure of the crown. Another difference which he intended to make was in the sum on which the resolution should attach: instead of 500l. he should propose 2000l. With these variations, his proposed resolution would be the same, in every other respect, as that which passed the house of commons in the time of William and Mary, *nemine contradicente*; and the reason which was then given for it was, that owing to the great expenses of the war, it was necessary to the public service. If he succeeded in this step he should proceed to other regulations respecting pensions and the civil list. He concluded with a motion to the following purport: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the salaries and fees of all offices under the crown shall be applied to the use of the war, except such as amount to less than 2000l. per annum, which sum is to be allowed to all officers whose salaries and fees at present exceed 2,000l. per annum; and also except that of the lord chancellor, the speaker of the house of commons; the judges, foreign ministers, and commissioned officers of the fleets and armies, or any persons who have a freehold interest in their respective offices."

Upon the resolution of the third of William and Mary being read, the chancellor of the exchequer contended that a more extraordinary misapplication of a precedent never occurred. If such a resolution had actually been agreed to, and ratified by the house in the time of king William, to agree to one on that day so directly opposite to it as that proposed would indeed be a very

extraordinary way of showing respect for, and adherence to, precedents. Besides, though the resolution was agreed to, it so happened that what was so hastily agreed to without a dissentient voice, when it came to be deliberately investigated, on the bringing up a clause of a bill to carry it into effect, was rejected without a division, as impolitic and absurd. He therefore hoped that the house, out of excessive fondness for precedent, would not adopt a measure which was never adopted before.

With respect to the resolutions not extending to salaries under 2000l. a year, he asked, whether it could be said that there were no qualifying circumstances which kept pace with the various gradations of salary, and rendered the higher proportionate to those below? Was there no difference in the importance of trust, in the labour, in the talents, in the qualifications, in the responsibility, and in the class of life in which they stood? Would the honourable gentleman say, in the fulness of his equitable œconomy, that the same gradations ought not to be observed in taxing office as in taxing property? The honourable gentleman had inveighed, in an elevated tone, against the disproportion of the assessed taxes to the property of the classes taxed, and yet held out a plan of indiscriminate taxation, sweeping down all to a level—exactng from an office of 2500l. a year, one fifth; from an office of four thousand, one half; and from one of six thousand, two thirds.

Mr. secretary at war observed, that though the extravagance and absurdity of the motion had been successfully exposed by Mr. Pitt, he thought it necessary to remark, that as the honourable mover had declared that his object was not to raise revenue, but for other pur-

poses, those purposes must be to subject ministers to a fine while the war continued! This he thought a whimsical idea, especially when it was considered that the sentiments of the house and of the country had already been expressed upon the subject; and when it was manifest that peace at present could not be obtained.

Mr. Tierney reprobated the invectives which had been thrown out by the ministerial side of the house against his honourable friend the proposer of the resolution. He contended that the resolution which, with a mere error of transcription, formed the model of the present motion, had been passed in times fully as good as the present, and by a parliament fully as much enlightened: he could not see, therefore, what reason there was for the sneer which the right honourable gentleman had indulged. After some explanation from Mr. chancellor Pitt, and Mr. Nicholls had explained, the latter withdrew his motion.

The next measure relative to finance, discussed by the commons, was a motion of Mr. D. P. Coke, for limiting the fees of the tellers of the exchequer during the present distressed and calamitous situation of the country. The house was then sitting in a committee on some clauses in the triple assessment bill. At the time he made this motion (December 22d) he assured the committee that he was prompted by no personal hostility against any of his majesty's ministers; on the contrary, he wished them to retain their places, because he felt extremely averse to the doctrines of the gentlemen who were likely to succeed them, especially to the doctrine of parliamentary reform, which, if attempted, and effected, must, in his

opinion, be productive of much mischief, and must necessarily end in a revolution. But he thought at the same time, that the country must feel surprised, nay, indignant, if the house were to oppose bringing up a clause tending to limit the enormous fees which the measure then under discussion would throw into the hands of the noble lords who held this and other lucrative offices, and that at a moment when the people was groaning under an almost unsupportable weight of taxes.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that though the motion might be free from a spirit of hostility to the noble lords in question, it was very far from being free from very great injustice; for it went to deprive those noble lords of what they possessed as the just rewards of the great public services which their fathers had rendered to the country, and which they held as a freehold tenure confirmed to them by an act of parliament; nor was there any thing in the present act to warrant their being thus deprived of two thirds of their income, as it would not make the addition of one shilling to the fees of the tellers of the exchequer.

Sir William Pulteney thought the motion of Mr. Coke had a close connexion with the assessed tax bill, and expressed his surprise that gentlemen appeared averse to a clause which proposed the application of such enormous fees to the exigencies of the country instead of putting them in their pockets when the people laboured under such general distress. After some animadversions from Mr. secretary Dundas, the house divided on the motion of Mr. Coke—Ayes 6, noes 75.

CHAP. III.

Land Tax Redemption Bill. Debates upon that Subject—In the House of Commons in the Lords. Second Budget, and a Recapitulation of the whole Ways and Means for the Year 1798. Repeal of the Clock and Watch Tax. Bill for consolidating the several Duties upon Houses and Windows. Bill for imposing new Duties upon Imports and Exports. Resolutions for that Purpose agreed to.

THE favourite measure of finance, of all which were proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer in the course of the session of 1798, was a bill for the redemption, or more properly for the perpetuation and sale; of the land tax. For this purpose he rose on the 2d of April, in pursuance of notice he had given to the house, and stated the outline of his plan, the object of which was to absorb a large quantity of stock, and in the process to transfer a portion of the national debt into a landed security: the quantity of stock thus to be transferred was to equal, at least in its amount, the quantity of land tax which should by these means be extinguished, and should be applicable to the public service. He pointed out to the committee, that this operation would produce a much larger sum than that which was at present produced by the land tax; and that considerable gain, in a pecuniary point of view, would necessarily result to the public.—But this was only a collateral advantage attending the measure, and one upon which he laid the smallest stress. The great and important benefit which he expected to arise to the public, from the adoption of this plan, would be the diminution of the stock, which at that moment pressed so hard upon the public

credit. He said that the amount of the land tax was about two millions a year, which had for near a century been annually granted, and according to the same rate for different counties. He proposed by this measure, to reduce so much of the public debt as should leave an income of two millions four hundred thousand pounds applicable to the public service.

The pecuniary advantages arising from this measure were obvious from this statement, because the public would dispose of a revenue of 2,000,000*l.* for which they would clear of public debt to such an amount, that the interest would produce a sum of 2,400,000*l.* leaving a clear gain of 400,000*l.* Under these circumstances, the situation of the person who purchased the land tax would be that of having a landed security for his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object; the public would be a considerable gainer, and eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. He should not only propose to place a sum of 2,000,000*l.* under the annual controul of parliament; but he should propose, that the sum of 2,400,000*l.* should be placed in that situation; so that in fact, instead of losing any of the constitutional checks which parliament

parliament possessed before, it would have a greater check over the public revenue than it had at that moment. It had been objected to this plan, he said, that the land tax, which it was the object of this measure to perpetuate, was in many instances so unequal as to amount absolutely to an abuse; and to perpetuate an abuse was certainly a great evil. Many gentlemen had stated to him, that if the land tax was at present equal in its operation, they would consent to this measure; but they could not give their consent to make abuses more permanent than they were. To these objections he answered, that if gentlemen had seen the tax voted from year to year, for near a century, without any attempt being made to correct this inequality, he thought it was not unfair to conclude, that as long as the land tax continued, it was as likely to continue under its present arrangement by annual votes, as it would be if rendered perpetual. This observation he wished to put strongly to the good sense of the house. As estates had descended from hand to hand for near a century, with the inequalities originally instituted in the land tax, it would be exceedingly difficult to impose new valuations upon property. It had been said, that this regulation would lead to a new land tax: suppose a new land tax should be imposed; it was clear that it could not be imposed upon any estate which had been discharged of the old, in any other proportion than it would be upon any other estate upon which the old land tax still remained, except that the amount of the land tax, at the time it was redeemed, should be deducted from the estate, otherwise the operation of it would be unfair. He contended, that by this plan, all persons who redeemed

their land tax would be fully as safe from any additional burden as those who had not redeemed it. With respect to the operation which this measure would have upon landed gentlemen, supposing that other persons purchased the land tax which attached upon their estates, he remarked, that this objection was founded upon an idea, that every gentleman possessing a landed estate might not be able to purchase his land tax. In the plan which he had to propose, every advantage would be given to the owner of the estate, not only to induce him to purchase the land tax, but to facilitate his effecting that object. But if within a certain time (which the committee would hereafter limit) the owner of the land should not be able to purchase, provision would be made, that even in that case, their situation, or that of their heirs, should not be left entirely hopeless; but that a farther period should be allowed them, to take advantage of the purchase. With respect to the terms of the purchase, it was proposed, that the payment should be regulated by the price of stock; and that the payment should never be made in money, but always in a transfer of stock. This was unquestionably as good a mode of payment as if it was paid in money, and would have the effect of saving the interest, and would accommodate itself to every fluctuation of the stocks. Suppose the stocks were taken at 50, which was about the price at which they now were, the interest which a person might make of money in the funds was 6 per cent.; and consequently the number of years purchase was between sixteen and seventeen years. He meant that the land tax should be taken at twenty years purchase. From this statement it would appear, that there

there would be a transfer of forty pounds of stock for every one pound of land tax redeemed. Upon this principle, if the stocks were at 75, then it would be at thirty years purchase, and so on, always making a difference of one year's purchase for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. variation in the stocks; and the result of the whole of this measure would be that the public would gain one fifth, or 400,000*l*. As for landed gentlemen, supposing them capable of purchasing their tax, he thought that giving them an opportunity of doing it at twenty years purchase was a sufficient temptation to induce them to make the purchase; and, on the other hand, it was a considerable advantage to the public to sell the land tax at twenty years purchase, while others were redeeming the stock at the rate of between sixteen and seventeen years purchase. He admitted, that there was a difference between funded and landed security, in point of value; landed property was hardly ever sold for less than from twenty-eighty to thirty years purchase; whereas funded property was at about sixteen or seventeen years. It was therefore obvious that great advantages were given to the purchaser when he was given that which was equivalent to landed property at twenty years purchase; the share, therefore, asked for the public, was little, while the advantage it afforded to the individual was great, if it was to be called landed security; but he did not mean to say it was in every respect the same, because it was an unimprovable estate. It was his intention to give every possible advantage to the holders of land, and of course to exclude strangers from purchasing the tax. For this purpose it was proposed to give a power to every

man who had even a temporary right to the estate, to secure on the estate the money which he might borrow for that purpose, thus to put the tenant in tail and the tenant for life in the same situation with the tenant in fee; and it was also proposed to give a power of selling part of a settled estate to free the rest from the burden of the tax. If the owner was not able to redeem the tax, then it was proposed that he should not be permitted to redeem it till that period when the monied men would have the least objection to return to the possession of stock: the period he would fix would be, when the old sinking fund should be at what was called the maximum, that is, when the interest was no longer to go on in a compound ratio; this would be when the old sinking fund would amount to 4,200,000*l*. annually. If then the country should be able to get through the difficulties of the present moment, they had a right to look forward with confidence; they would soon arrive at a period at which they would have a sinking fund of between seven and eight millions, applicable annually to the reduction of the national debt. When that happened there must be an end of all difficulties respecting the public credit; there would then be an end of all difference between landed and funded property. He next spoke to the fluctuation to which the land tax on particular estates was liable. By the mode of division pointed out in the land tax act, the charge on particular districts continued unaltered; but this was not the case within the districts; there alterations would be found to take place. He believed, however, that in most part of the kingdom the operation of the

the repartition of the charge on individual estates was very little. The places most liable to variation were towns, and parts where new buildings were establishing. In the metropolis it was very considerable. In Mary-la-bonne the tax was every day lighter. Where a change was likely to take place, it was thought most advisable to suffer the proprietor to redeem it at its present rate, and he might then waive the advantage in the event of an increase in the tax, and submit to the loss which he would sustain by an abatement; or he might, if the commissioners thought proper, go on receiving the difference between the present and future rates of the receiver-general, in case of an increase, and settling with the parish in the other alternative. It might happen that a purchaser might contract not only for the land tax of individual estates, but also for that of a district, in which case no fluctuation would arise.

Such were the outlines of a plan, the details of which were necessarily long. Mr. Pitt concluded with proposing fifteen resolutions, which, as they formed the *stratum* of the bill, are inserted here.

I. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several and respective sums of money charged by virtue of an act of the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, for the service of the year 1798," on the respective counties and places in Great Britain, in respect of the premises in the said act mentioned, lying within the same counties and places respectively, to be raised, levied, and paid unto his majesty, within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March, 1798, shall, from

and after the expiration of the said term, continue, and be raised, levied, and paid yearly, to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, from and after the 25th day of March, in every year, for ever; subject, nevertheless, to the rules, regulations, restrictions, and conditions of redemption, to be prescribed.

II. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it shall be lawful for commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, to contract and agree with all and every persons or person, bodies politic or corporate, having or holding any manors, messuages, or tenements, for the redemption of the land tax charged upon their respective manors, messuages, or tenements, according to the assessment and pound rate to be made in pursuance of the said act; and that the consideration to be given for such redemption shall be so much capital stock of public annuities, transferable at the bank of England, bearing an interest after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, commonly called the three pounds per centum consolidated annuities, and the three pounds per centum reduced annuities, as will yield an annuity or dividend, exceeding the amount of the land tax so to be redeemed by one-fifth part thereof; such capital stock to be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt within the period of five years, from the day of by four instalments in every year; videlicet, on the first day of May, the first day of August, the first day of November, and the first day of February, in each year: the first instalment to be made on such of the said days as shall next ensue after the entering into such contract; but with liberty to any person to stipulate with the

the said commissioners for the transfer of the whole of the said capital stock at one time, or within a less period than five years, so that the same be made by even instalments, at equal intervals within the period agreed upon, and by not less than four instalments in each year of the said period.

III. That it is the opinion of this committee, that all bodies politic, corporate, or collegiate, corporations aggregate or sole, and all guilds, mysteries, fraternities, or brotherhoods, and all trustees or feoffees in trust for charities or other public purposes, having any estate or interest in any such manors, messuages, or tenements, whatever may be their estate or interest therein, other than tenants at rack rent, and all committees of lunatics or idiots, and guardians of infants, and all executors and administrators, and all other trustees whatsoever, may contract with the said commissioners to be appointed for the said purposes; and that persons in the actual possession, or beneficially entitled to the rents and profits of any manors, messuages, or tenements (other than tenants at rack rent), shall be preferred in the purchase of such land tax to persons in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, provided they offer to contract for the redemption of such land tax on or before a day to be specified; but that the persons in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, shall be entitled to redeem such land tax in preference to any other persons having no estate or interest therein, according to the priority of such their respective estates or interests, and in the order in which they will be respectively entitled to succeed to the said manors, messuages, or tenements; and that in case of demise at rack rent,

the persons beneficially entitled to the rent reserved shall (notwithstanding any covenant) be considered as being in the actual possession of such manors, messuages, or tenements, for the purpose of claiming such benefit of preference, with power to add the amount of the land tax so purchased to the rent reserved, and to use the same powers for the recovery thereof as for the recovery of rent in arrear; and that on the completion of any contract for the redemption of the land tax, by the person having such title to preference, or by any other on his behalf, and payment of the first instalment thereof, the manors, messuages, or tenements, comprised in such contract, shall thenceforth be wholly freed and exonerated from the land tax charged thereon, and from all farther assessments thereof, unless the person contracting for such land tax shall, at the time of entering into the contract for the same, declare his option to be considered as on the same footing with a third person purchasing the land tax; and that upon every contract to be entered into as aforesaid, upon which the transfer of stock shall be made by instalments, there shall be paid at the time of making the second instalment upon such contract, and so of every subsequent instalment upon such contract, into the hands of the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England (whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge) to the use of his majesty, his heirs, or successors, a sum of money, by way of interest, to be computed from the period of the first instalment, equal to four-fifth parts of the amount of what would have been the produce up to the time of making such payment of the whole of the stock to be

be transferred upon such contract, after deducting therefrom the amount of the produce of such part of the stock as shall then have been transferred; and in every such case the persons beneficially entitled to any estate in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, in the manors, messuages, or tenements, whereof such land tax shall have been so contracted for, shall, at any time or times after such estate shall vest in possession, by reason of the determination of the next preceding estate or interest, be entitled, upon an assignment of such contract, upon transferring to such original contractors the like amount of the three per centum bank annuities as was transferred by such original contractors as the consideration for the redemption of the land tax, or upon paying to such original contractors (at their option) such a sum as shall be of equal value therewith at the time of such conveyance, and in the same option to be considered on the footing of a third person, with respect to such land tax as the person or persons first redeeming the same might have.

IV. That it is the opinion of this committee, that all bodies politic or corporate, and other persons being in the actual possession, or entitled beneficially to the rents and profits of any manors, messuages, or tenements, may sell any part or parts thereof, for the purpose of redeeming or purchasing such land tax, or charge the said manors, messuages, or tenements, with such sum or sums of money as shall be sufficient to redeem or purchase the land tax charged thereon; and for securing the repayment of such sum or sums of money, with interest, may convey, surrender, or demise the same by

way of mortgage; or may grant, limit, or appoint, any yearly sum or sums of money, by way of a perpetual rent charge, not exceeding the amount of the land tax charged upon the said manors, messuages, or tenements, to be issuing out of and charged upon such manors, messuages, or tenements: and every such sale, conveyance, mortgage, or grant of any rent charge, shall, after the same shall be duly enrolled, be good, valid, and effectual in the law, to all intents, notwithstanding any defect of title in any of the parties thereto; and the respective persons to whom any such sale or mortgage shall be made, or any such rent charge shall be granted, shall respectively hold the manors, messuages, or tenements, or the said rent charges, freed and absolutely discharged from all former titles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever; and that where-ever there shall be any surplus, after paying so much as shall be sufficient for the purchase of three per centum annuities, to be transferred as the consideration for such land tax, the said surplus shall be paid into or placed in the bank of England, in the name and with the privity of the accountant-general of the court of chancery, to the intent that such surplus money may be invested, as soon as conveniently may be, under the direction, and with the approbation of the said court, in the purchase of other estates to be conveyed to the like uses, and in the same manner as the same stood settled; and in the mean time such surplus to be invested in government or other public securities, in the name of the said accountant-general; and the dividends and annual produce thereof shall, from time to time, belong to the person who

who would, for the time being, have been entitled to the rents and profits of the manors, messuages, or tenements purchased.

V. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if, within a time to be named, no contract shall be entered into with the commissioners to be appointed for the redemption or purchase of the land tax, or any part or parcel thereof, charged in any parish or place by any person entitled to the benefit of preference, or by any person substituted in that behalf, the said commissioners may then put up to sale, either by public auction or otherwise, as the commissioners for the treasury for the time being shall direct, the whole or any part or parcel of the said land tax charged in any county, or division of any county, or in any parish or place, or any specific share or shares thereof, or any land tax charged on any particular estate or estates, or any part or parcel thereof, which shall not be redeemed or purchased within the said period, and to contract and agree with any persons for the sale of the same, subject to a proviso for the redemption of such land tax, at the time and in the manner to be provided; and the manors, messuages, or tenements whereon the land tax purchased is charged shall be subject to a new assessment from year to year by an equal pound rate, according to the value thereof, in common with all other estates in the same parish which shall remain chargeable to the land tax; and the consideration shall be the transfer of stock in the three per cent. annuities, transferable at the bank of England as aforesaid, of the like amount as is hereinbefore directed, unto the commissioners appointed for the reduction of the national debt, to be made within the period

of one year from the time of entering into such contract, by four instalments of not less than one-fourth part of the whole amount of the stock to be so transferred as aforesaid, at intervals of three months from each other; the transfer of such stock for the first instalment to be made at the end of three months from the time of entering into such contract, but with liberty to contract and agree with the said commissioners to be appointed, to transfer the whole of the stock agreed to be transferred as the consideration for such redemption or purchase at the time prescribed for the transfer of the first instalment thereof, or to transfer such stock in any greater proportions, and in any less number of instalments than are before prescribed, so as that such instalments shall not be made at a greater interval than three months from each other; and that such rate of interest shall be payable as in the case of land tax redeemed by persons having a title to preference, and such persons shall be entitled to demand and receive, for their own use, the full amount of the land tax purchased by them, free of all charges and deductions whatever, at the respective times, and in the respective proportions at which the same shall be payable, but which shall be redeemable by the person or persons respectively entitled to the benefit of preference in respect to their tenure in the said manors, messuages, or tenements, at the period to be limited for the redemption of the same.

VI. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the receiver-general of each county, riding, or place, where any such land tax shall remain chargeable as aforesaid, after the same shall have been purchased,

purchased, not as a specific charge on any manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place, or his deputy or deputies, shall, before such land tax shall have become due and payable, on the twentieth day of September, for the half year ending the twenty-ninth day of September, and on the sixteenth day of March for the half year ending on the twenty-fifth day of March in every year, upon demand, pay, or cause to be paid, to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, or the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, of such purchaser or purchasers respectively, the full amount of the land tax so purchased, free of all charges and deductions whatever, without fee or reward, out of any public monies in his hands, in the manner to be provided: and that where any purchase shall be made of any land tax as a specific charge on any manors, messuages, or tenements, or where any person, &c. entitled to preference shall have made his option, to be considered on the footing of a third person purchasing the land tax, and any abatement shall afterwards take place in the sum so charged, the receiver-general shall, upon the production of the certificate of such abatement, pay the full amount thereof, free of all charges and deductions whatever, and without fee or reward, to such person or persons as aforesaid, in like manner, and out of such monies, and at such times of payment, as is directed, for the payment of the whole of the land tax purchased: and that in default of such payment by the receiver-general or his deputy, the purchaser, or the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of such purchaser, may cause notice of such default to be given to the occu-

pier of the manors, messuages, or tenements on which the land tax so purchased shall be charged; and such occupier shall be obliged to pay the same upon demand, unless he shall have previously paid the same for want of such notice to the collector of the parish; or unless the yearly value of the estate, whereon such land tax shall have been charged (estimating such value by the rack rents and the highest improvements made thereof) shall be reduced so that the estates shall be charged with a higher rate than four shillings in the pound on such value; in which case the occupier shall not be liable to the payment of any greater sum than after the rate of four shillings in the pound on such value; or unless the land tax shall, by any abatement thereof, be reduced to a sum less than the sum charged on the same manors, messuages, or tenements, at the time of the purchase; in which case, such occupier shall not be liable to the payment of any greater sum than the sum actually charged on such manors, messuages, or tenements, at the time of the demand, with the like remedies for the recovery as landlords may by law have for the recovery of rent in arrear: and that in case of any diminution of the sum to be paid to the purchaser of any land tax, by reason of any reduction in the value of the estate charged therewith, the purchaser shall have the option of continuing to receive a sum necessary to complete, in each year, the whole annual amount of the sum originally purchased by him, or to demand of and from the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt a transfer of so much capital stock in the three per centum bank annuities as shall yield an interest exceeding the amount
of

of such abatement by one-fifth part thereof.

VII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if the receiver-general of any county where any land tax shall be purchased, not as a specific charge upon any particular manors, messuages, or tenements, in any parish or place, but a charge upon such parish or place at large, or upon such part thereof as shall continue chargeable, shall neglect to pay to the purchaser of any land tax the full amount of the land tax so purchased, the purchaser may cause notice of such default to be given to the collector of the said land tax, and of his intention to receive the land tax in future from such collector; and on such notice, every such purchaser shall be entitled to receive the amount of such land tax from such collector accordingly: or if such receiver-general where any land tax shall be purchased as a specific charge on any particular estate or estates, or where any land tax shall be redeemed by the person entitled to preference, who shall have made his option to be considered on the footing of a third person purchasing the land tax, and any abatement shall afterwards take place in the sum so charged, shall neglect to pay to the persons entitled to such land tax the full amount of such abatement, such purchaser may cause the like notice to be given to the collector to entitle such purchaser to the land tax so purchased from such collector in the manner before directed; and that every such collector, on the production of the contract of purchase, shall, from time to time, pay, or cause to be paid, to such purchaser, the full amount of the land tax purchased, free of all charges and deductions whatever, and without fee or

reward, out of any monies in the hands of such collector, arising from the produce of the land tax in such parish or place, unless such collector shall, for want of such notice as aforesaid, have paid the whole of the land tax charged in such parish or place to the receiver-general of the county.

VIII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the land tax purchased shall not be subject to redemption until the period when the dividends arising from the purchases of stock made by the commissioners for the reduction of such part of the national debt which existed previous to the commencement of the present war, shall, according to the true intent and meaning of the acts now in force, cease to accumulate, and be considered as redeemed, and in the disposition of parliament; and that after that period, and at any time during three years then next ensuing, every person being in the possession of or beneficially entitled to any manors, messuages, or tenements, charged with any land tax which shall have been purchased, shall, in the order in which they respectively shall be entitled to the benefit of redeeming their land tax, according to the rate of preference for such redemption, be entitled to treat with the commissioners to be appointed for the redemption of such land tax, or any part or parcel thereof, in such and the like manner in all respects as he might have done within the period to be first limited; provided that notice in writing be given to the receiver-general, specifying the amount of the land tax so redeemed, who shall cause notice thereof to be given to the original purchaser, his executors, administrators, or assigns; and all payments to such

original purchaser on account of such land tax shall cease and determine from the end of the quarter of the year next ensuing such purchase; and that the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, on application made to them by the original purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, and on production to the said commissioners of the original contract or purchase, and of the notice given to such purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, by the receiver general, of the redemption of such land tax, shall either transfer to him so much capital stock in the three per cent. annuities as shall have been transferred by such original purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, as the consideration for the purchase of such land tax, or at his option so much money as the capital stock so transferred was worth at the time of the first purchase, and such contract shall thereupon be determined, and of no effect; and that whenever any land tax purchased shall be afterwards redeemed, the manors, messuages, or tenements, comprised in such contract shall be wholly freed and exonerated from the land tax charged thereon, and from all farther assessments thereof.

IX. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the non-performance of any contract shall subject the party contracting to a pecuniary penalty, not exceeding part of the purchase money.

And that the court of exchequer, on the application of the person who shall have incurred such penalty, or any other person who may be prejudiced thereby, by petition, to be preferred in a summary way, may enlarge the time for

the making good any subsequent instalment or instalments, and grant such relief to the party or parties as to the said court shall seem meet.

X. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if any assessment of land tax which shall continue to be charged shall at any time be found to exceed the rate of four shillings in the pound on the annual value of the manors, messuages, or tenements, the same shall be subject to an abatement in the manner in such cases directed by the act of the present session of parliament.

XI. That it is the opinion of this committee, that where any manors, messuages, or tenements, which now are rated together, and chargeable with the payment of one gross sum by way of land tax, shall be separated or divided, and come into the possession of different persons prior to the time when such manors, messuages, or tenements, shall be exonerated therefrom; then the commissioners of land tax acting in or for the division wherein such land tax shall be charged, shall cause such land tax to be apportioned as between such persons respectively, according to the value of their respective estates, and to assess and charge the proportions in which their respective estates shall bear and sustain the same; and in case any one of such persons shall, after such appointment, be compelled to pay the whole of the said land tax, or more than his due proportion thereof, such person shall be reimbursed by the person who under such assessment ought to have paid the same, such sum or sums of money as he or she shall have been compelled to pay over and above his due proportion of such land tax, with the like remedy

remedy for the recovery thereof as landlords have for the recovery of rent in arrear.

XII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever in any parish or place the whole of the land tax charged upon the manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place shall have been redeemed, and all the manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place shall be exonerated from the payment of any sum or sums of money as land tax, all assessments in such parish or place shall cease and determine.

XIII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that when any capital stock of the three pound per centum bank annuities shall be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, the interest or dividend which would have been payable on such stock, shall, from thenceforth, cease to be issued from the receipt of the exchequer, or to be charged on the consolidated fund; and the money which would have been applicable to the payment thereof shall remain and be a part of the growing produce of the consolidated fund to be applied in such manner as parliament shall, from time to time, direct.

XIV. That it is the opinion of this committee, that in all cases where the land tax on any manors, messuages, or tenements, shall have been redeemed by persons entitled to preference, such manors, messuages, or tenements, shall from thenceforth for ever be free and discharged from any tax, other than such as shall be imposed thereon, in proportion to the annual value of the same, in common with all other property of the same description: provided always, that in estimating the value of such pro-

perty the annual amount of the land tax so redeemed shall be deducted therefrom, and that in all other respects the value of such property shall be estimated in like manner, and according to the same regulations as shall be applied to property of a like description, the land tax on which shall not have been so redeemed.

XV. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several duties imposed on malt, 27 Geo. III. and on sugar by the acts of 27th, 34th, and 37th Geo. III., and on tobacco and snuff, 29th Geo. III. shall continue in force till the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and no longer, but shall from thenceforth cease and determine, except as to arrears due or to grow due, unless the same shall be specially continued by parliament.

The report of these resolutions was brought up on the 16th of April, upon which Mr. Harrison observed, that wrong and exceptionable as he conceived the measure to be in principle, he would have given it his support, were there any hopes of its tending to relieve the nation in its present situation. If the measure were intended to relieve the country, its operation ought to be quick and extensive; but the resolutions just read tended obviously to narrow and retard any benefit that might possibly arise from this crude and inconsistent scheme. If the plan were successful it would only produce a saving of 400,000*l.* per annum, and this not till a period of at least five years. The minister might soon realise a much larger sum by setting his mind at work to reduce the public expenditure, by lopping off every unnecessary extravagance and pernicious waste; but what was

the situation in which the landholder must be placed by this plan? He was to be called upon in twelve months to say, whether he would or would not purchase his land tax? This scheme appeared so unlikely to answer the end which the author of it held out to the house, that he could not help thinking there was some secret purpose in view; it seemed to him, that it was intended to give a new kind of landed security to certain funds. If 80,000,000*l.* of 3 per cents. were taken out of the market and invested upon land, the measure might be followed up still farther, until all that description of stock should obtain this new security, and be thereby rendered more valuable; but no act had been passed to implicate land as collateral security for the funds, and he was therefore very unwilling that such a new measure should at once be extended to no less a sum than fourscore millions of stock. For these reasons he would oppose the motion for the second reading.

Mr. Pitt contended, that part of the plan was a pecuniary gain to the public, and that to a considerable amount; but that was an object of a secondary nature; it would have an influence to raise the price of the funds, which would tend to raise the credit of the country, and by so doing increase its resources. His motive in this measure was not that of raising the three per cents. by taking away the value of land, but it was to raise the value of stock in the funds; which, by the way, was a mortgage upon all the land, and upon all the commerce of this country; and by raising that value, to raise the value of every other species of property in the kingdom, by increasing our resources. There was not land to

be made collateral security to the funds; this was intended as a security to the public, in lieu of a duty upon land. The particulars of the measure would come forward on the detail of the bill; and he could not regularly allude to them in the course of a debate on the resolutions.

Mr. Hobhouse observed, there was one objection which attached to the very principle of the plan; namely, that, according to the resolutions, the land tax now granted annually was to be converted into a perpetuity; this tax from its first introduction in its present shape, more than a century past, had been sometimes at 2*s.*, sometimes at 3*s.*, but never more than 4*s.* in the pound. When it was raised by lord North, in 1775, from 3*s.* to 4*s.*, it received the consent of the country gentlemen expressly upon the ground, that other taxes were scarcely ever lessened, but that the land tax had frequently been reduced. But it was now proposed to make a tax perpetual, which was only assented to at a period of national exigency, in the hope of one day seeing it remitted. He then reverted to the probability there was of a fresh land tax being imposed. The minister himself had not denied that probability; and one of the resolutions provided, "*That all lands, &c. which shall have been redeemed, shall for ever be, and discharged from any tax, other than such as shall be imposed thereon in proportion to the annual value of the same in common with all other property of the same description; and that in estimating the value of such property, the annual amount of the land tax so redeemed shall be deducted.*" He contended, that it might be inferred from this resolution, that the sale of the present land tax might

might lead to the imposition of another, according to the *present value* of the landed property of the kingdom. Six-pence in the pound upon the improved rents, would probably subject every landholder to the payment of as large a sum as the present. When the measure was viewed in this light, it could only be regarded as an invasion of the sacred right of private property, and deserved to be reprobated no less than the contribution act; by which a man's fortune was inferred from the quantum of his payment to the assessed taxes, and a portion of it seized for the use of the state. He concluded with hoping, that the house would not allow the resolutions to be read a second time.

The hon. Mr. D. Ryder and lord Hawkesbury entered into a vindication of the chancellor of the exchequer; and contended for the utility of a measure to which they had paid such serious attention, and proposed with so many cogent arguments in its favour.

The resolutions were then read a second time, and bills ordered to be brought in pursuant to the same.

When the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 23d of April, moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill, Mr. Jolliffe wished the second reading to be delayed, and moved an amendment to that effect. Mr. Pitt was against the delay, and entered into an argument in support of the measure. It was unnecessary to detain the house, by going over all the various topics which had been urged before; but he begged leave to bring to their recollection, that the principal point at issue between him and those who opposed the bill was, supposing he did succeed in transferring such a quantity of stock into another de-

scription of property, whether it would have a tendency to invigorate public credit, by raising the price of the funds, and reducing the national debt? They would also recollect, that when he first proposed the measure, he stated, that its not being successful in the first instance was no proof against its ultimate advantage; though it was then rather uncandidly urged by his opponents, that it was not likely to prove of any benefit to the public, since the bare mention of the proposition on that day had not raised the price of the funds. He was happy, however, to have it in his power to assure the house, that a considerable advantage to the public had already resulted from the agitation of this measure. It had happened, that, notwithstanding a loan was contemplated and even in actual negotiation, the funds were that day higher than they had been on any day since he first proposed the subject to the house; but upon this circumstance he set the less value, as it was not the ground upon which he originally recommended the measure to the house. That recommendation was founded entirely upon a distant benefit—not upon an immediate one. He had that day been treating for a loan, and he had the satisfaction of assuring the house, that the monied-men entertained the highest opinion of the advantages likely to result from the sale of the land tax. In consequence of the present situation of the country, he had made a bargain (which would be made known to the house in a few days) more advantageous to the public than any he had made in times of the greatest tranquillity.

The honourable Mr. Pierrepont seconded the amendment proposed by Mr. Jolliffe, and gave it as his

opinion, that the measure would not be of advantage to the country.

Lord Sheffield, who had before objected to the principle of the bill, said, that after a more mature consideration, he found it so unjust, so partial, and in every respect so bad, that no mode of carrying it into execution, or even any advantage that might possibly be obtained, could reconcile him to it, because he was convinced that the mode proposed could not attain the object which he understood was to raise the value of certain funds; or, in other words, to ease that property which was not taxed at all, at the expense of another kind of property, viz. land and houses, which were at present overwhelmed with taxes. He should never cease to remonstrate against such conduct towards the landed interest. His lordship said, that an honourable baronet (Sir William Pulteney) had very ably stated the fallacious expectation that was held out by the bill now before the house.

Mr. secretary Dundas supported the bill, and expressed some surprise that gentlemen should be calling for the delay of a bill, the essence of which had been printed, and in their hand above a fortnight ago, for the essence of it was to be found in the printed resolutions. He thought it strange also that they who could argue coolly and deliberately enough upon most topics which came before them, should mix in the discussion of this matter a degree of heat which certainly did not belong to it, for this measure certainly required a temperate discussion. He approved of the bill on account of its utility, as well as fairness and equity. The landlord was under no obligation to redeem his land tax, and had therefore no ground

for complaint. He supported the second reading of the bill without delay. Mr. Hobhouse contended that some allowance ought to be made to country gentlemen when they did use warmth upon the discussion of this bill, when it was considered how great an injury they would suffer by the adoption of the measure. He agreed in the observations made upon the bill by lord Sheffield. If it were proper that an additional poundage should be laid upon the land (which he did not admit), it ought to be imposed without interfering with the present tax. Suppose the landholders, by a rigid economy, to effect the redemption of the existing tax, the old account would soon be forgotten, the new one only would be remembered. The language of the minister would then be, "You gentlemen of landed property pay at present but a very trifle; you certainly can afford to contribute a little more in support of the exigencies of the state." After Mr. Bastard and Mr. Tierney had opposed the bill, the house divided,

For Mr. Jolliffe's amendment	38
Against it	153

Majority	115
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A debate took place on the third reading of this bill, on the 30th of May, in which very few additional arguments were urged either for or against it. The discussion principally consisted in a recapitulation of the advantages and disadvantages which had been urged in the former stages of the bill. Lord Sheffield persisted in wishing the entire rejection of the measure. He repeated, that the house did not know the bill; and that those who brought it in did not understand their own plan; this was clear, he said,

said, from the strange botchwork which they had made of it, adding every day many new clauses, and altering others, so that it was by no means the same as was first brought in, and consequently unknown to the country: that the chancellor of the exchequer had proved in a very extraordinary manner that he was unacquainted with the bill, by saying that the clause relative to the future land tax of Scotland had been inserted without his knowledge. Sir Richard Carr Glynn strongly supported the measure, and expressed his astonishment that gentlemen of high respectability, and known attachment to their country, should so decidedly and warmly oppose it. He contended, that the country had already received much advantage from the bill. Previous to the rumour of this measure, the 3 per cent. annuities were at 47 per cent. and many gentlemen conversant in the operation of the funds had given it as their opinion, that if some measure similar to this in effect had not been brought forward, the 3 per cent. annuities must have been sold to the loan-contractor at 45 per cent. The house would recollect, that since the bringing forward this bill, the minister had bargained with the loan-contractors for the same stock, at upwards of 48 per cent. Here was a gain to the public of 3 per cent. on every 100l. stock, making on the whole loan a gain of upwards of one million of stock. After Mr. Sheridan had spoken in opposition to the bill, and lord Hawkesbury in its favour, the house divided upon the motion of lord Sheffield, namely, "That instead of the word 'now,' the words 'this day three months,' might be inserted."

Ayes - - - 33
Noes - - - 135

The bill was then read a third time.

This being a money-bill was not discussed at great length in the house of lords; but was opposed by several of their lordships upon nearly the same grounds as it had been in the commons. Upon lord Grenville's motion for the second reading on the eighth of June, the bill was strongly opposed by lords Caernarvon, Suffolk, Thurlow, and Holland. The arguments urged by lord Thurlow were particularly energetic. The bill, he contended, was partial; its provisions were more favourably framed for the Scots land-holder than for the English; the latter could not apply to the court of chancery for redress with the same facility that the former could appeal to the court of session. He urged, that a measure which entitled every man to buy, and obliged so many to sell, was no other in effect than a requisition for the disposal of an aliquot part of every man's estate. He considered the idea of taxing the personal property of every individual equally necessary with taxing the landed property. His lordship repeated a simile, which he had read in a work respecting the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, where the country gentlemen were compared to sheep, who quietly suffered themselves to be shorn and re-shorn; and the monied men were compared to hogs, who always made a noise and bustle whenever they were attempted to be touched. For this reason, he supposed, in the present instance, the latter description of persons were left untouched; but if the land-holders or country-gentlemen were satisfied with this measure, they would deserve every evil that

could befall them. After Lord Auckland and Lord Grenville had spoken in support of the bill, their lordships divided upon the second reading,

Contents (including proxies) 27

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The bill was read a third time on the 12th of June, when a protest against it was signed by the dukes of Leeds and Leinster, and lords Caernarvon, Suffolk, and Berkshire.

The next financial business which occurred in the parliamentary proceedings of 1798 was the second budget, introduced into the house of commons in a committee of ways and means, on the 25th of April, by the chancellor of the exchequer. He began by reminding the committee, that when he furnished an estimate of the total expenditure in the preceding November, for the ensuing year, he then stated it at nearly twenty-five millions and a half, to be provided for the exigencies of the public service. It was a great satisfaction to him, and he trusted it would be equally so to the committee, that what he had now to lay before them differed but little from the estimate which he had given in before; and that difference arose from such obvious objects as to make it unnecessary for him to take up much of their time in explanation. The total amount of his second estimate was 28,490,000*l.* differing by the sum of three millions of excess from his first. This excess had unavoidably arisen from the unforeseen and additional preparations on the part of this country, occasioned by the threats, and produced by the formidable exertions of the enemy against us.

He then proceeded to state the

expenditure under each distinct head. The first was the navy, which he had estimated in November at the sum of 12,538,000*l.* to which the committee had since added the sum of 910,000*l.* making a total of 13,448,000*l.* The next article of supply was the army, which the committee would recollect had been estimated at 10,112,000*l.* To this sum there had been since added the charge of 1,315,000*l.* for defraying the expense incurred by the supplementary militia; and 130,000*l.* for the provisional cavalry. There was also a sum of 350,000*l.* for the volunteer corps of infantry, which, he had the happiness to remark, amounted to no less than 40,000 men. The next article related to the foreign corps, and made an expenditure of 226,000*l.* He formerly stated that the extraordinaries incurred in 1797 were likely to amount about to 1,300,000*l.*; and they had only exceeded that sum by 61,000*l.* The original estimate of the charge for barracks was 400,000*l.* to which he now added the further increase of 120,000*l.* These were the whole of the articles which respected the army, with the exception of 700,000*l.* for future extraordinaries. The extraordinaries he had formerly calculated at 2,500,000*l.* but he now took them at 3,500,000*l.* These items, taken together, gave the total sum of 12,857,000*l.* for the army estimate. There had been very few additions to the charge for miscellaneous articles, and the total of the sums appropriated to this branch he stated at 682,000*l.* Upon the whole there appeared an excess of 3,674,000*l.* in this second estimate above that made in November. The bank had been paid the sum of 500,000*l.*
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by the early product of the land tax, which otherwise would have gone to the consolidated fund.

Besides, in the distribution paper, it appeared that of the whole sum

of money granted to the island of Grenada, 150,000*l.* had not been sent, and therefore the gross sum of 2,994,000*l.* was left as an excess.

Recapitulation of the Supplies according to the two Budgets.

		£.	£.
Navy	- - - - -	- - - - -	13,448,888
	Stated in November	12,538,888	
	Added in April	910,000	
Army	- - - - -	- - - - -	12,857,315
	Stated in November	10,112,950	
	Added in April	2,744,365	
Ordnance	- - - - -	- - - - -	1,303,580
	Stated in November	1,291,038	
	Added in April	12,541	
Miscellaneous	- - - - -	- - - - -	680,608
	Stated in November	673,000	
	Added in April	7,608	
For discharge of the national debt	- - - - -	- - - - -	200,000
		Total of the supplies	£. 28,490,391

The principal variation which appeared in the two budgets, in the statement of the ways and means for the year 1798, was in the article of the assessed taxes, which the minister had estimated in November at *seven millions*; but from the various modifications which had been made in what was called the Treble Assessment Bill, he stated them in April at the sum of *four millions and a half*.

Here Mr. Pitt alluded to a tax, which though he did not mean to propose on that day, yet he thought it likely to receive the sanction of

the house; it had occupied a considerable share of the attention of the mercantile world, and had already been much discussed by the public. Without entering into a detail of the particulars, he remarked, that it referred to a state of war only—he meant such a tax upon exports and imports as might not tend in the least to the diminution of trade. As a remuneration to merchants for the payment of this tax, the government were to appoint strong convoys, so as to lessen the expense on insurance.

Summary of the Ways and Means for 1798.

	£.
Annual produce of the land and malt	2,750,000
Voluntary contribution	1,500,000
The assessed taxes	4,500,000
A duty upon imports and exports, which Mr. Pitt supposed would be saved to the merchant by the diminution of the insurance which would take place in consequence of regulations which were to be made respecting the sailing of convoys	1,500,000
Bank advance on exchequer bills	3,000,000
The loan, exclusive of two millions for Ireland	15,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Total	£. 28,450,000

The next object to which he called the attention of the committee was the loan, and the advantageous terms upon which he had agreed for it. Messrs. Boyd and Co. being the lowest bidders on the annuity, were the purchasers of the loan on the following terms: viz.

	£.	s.	d.
For every 100l. subscribed, the subscribers had 150l. of consols at $48\frac{3}{8}$ when the bargain was made, valued at	72	11	3
Also each subscriber of 100l. had 50 of reduced at $47\frac{5}{8}$, valued at	22	16	3
And 4s. 11d. of long annuities at $13\frac{1}{8}$ years, valued at	4	4	$6\frac{1}{4}$
	99	12	$0\frac{1}{4}$
The discount for prompt payment was taken at	3	0	0
	£. 102	12	$0\frac{1}{4}$

This bargain, he said, was concluded at eight shillings interest less than the bargain of the preceding year. As eight millions of the loan, were mortgaged on the general produce of the increased assessed taxes, the permanent addition to the national debt was only seven millions. He had therefore seven millions to find taxes for; and adding to this 200,000l. to be applied to the sinking fund, and taking the interest of the whole sum of 7,200,000l. at 8l. 5s. per cent. he had 577,000l. to provide for annually. He had thought of funding two or three millions of the

navy debt, but had since concluded that it would be better to leave it in its actual situation until peace. In the year 1792 it amounted to 2,745,000l.; but at the present time it exceeded 6,000,000l.; so that the interest to be provided for would be 186,000l. which added to the above-mentioned sum of 577,000l. amounted to 763,000l. for the interest of all the charges of the present year which was to be provided for by new taxes. The first tax for this purpose which he proposed was an additional duty of five shillings per bushel upon salt, the produce of which he estimated at 502,000l.

502,000*l.* annually. He supposed that the salt consumed upon an average annually in every family composed of the labouring class of people amounted to no more than half a bushel. He proposed, therefore, to lay only 2*s.* 6*d.* on each family of this description. He then proposed a duty of five pounds per cent. upon tea which sold for more than half-a-crown per lb.; which tax, he said, would not touch that species of tea in general use among the poorer classes of the people. This tax he estimated to produce the sum of 111,500*l.*; for it was undeniable that the tea valued at above 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. had considerably increased in the quantity of its consumption. The next subject to which he alluded as proper for taxation did not affect the necessities of life, and the persons paying would have a choice either to make use of the article or not, which was a principle he wished to encourage. He wished to impose a duty upon every person using armorial bearings. He observed that it might be said, that he was a convert to the system of levelling, but he certainly proceeded upon very

opposite grounds, and was convinced that the country, instead of entertaining such sentiments, would be found ready to set a value upon that which was one of the most important links in society. Fashion and reason would therefore concur in giving effect to this measure. He therefore proposed that a tax of two guineas be imposed upon all persons using carriages decorated with armorial bearings; one guinea on those who were house-keepers and made use of plate decorated in the same manner; and 10*s.* 6*d.* on all other persons who were not house-keepers using their armorial bearings in other ways. The data upon which he proceeded to make an estimate of the produce of this tax were founded upon the inspection made by the heralds between 1615 and 1670, when it appeared that the number of the heads of families, by the last return given in the year 1670, amounted to 8405.—But allowing for many who had assumed armorial bearings since, he took the whole number at 9453, and the whole tax he estimated at 150,000*l.*

RECAPITULATION.

	<i>£.</i>
New duty on salt - - - - -	502,000
On tea - - - - -	111,500
Armoial bearings - - - - -	150,000
<hr/>	
Total amount - -	763,500

The interest for which these new taxes were to provide was the interest on 15,000,000*l.* at 8*l.* 5*s.*

On 3,713,000 navy debts, at 5 per cent. - - - - - 763,150

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving resolutions pursuant to the statements in his speech.

Sir Mathew White Ridley, and Sir William Pulteney, contended, that the proposed duty upon salt

would bear harder upon the lower orders of the people than the chancellor of the exchequer had stated; and that by the adoption of that tax, several manufacturers would be obliged to enlarge their capital, in order

order to carry on their business. Mr. Samuel Thornton thought that the pressure of the new duties upon imports and exports would be much too severe upon the East India company.

Mr. Tierney made several observations upon the subjects of this second budget of the minister. He said, that if this loan was a proof of the high and flourishing situation of this country, and of the confidence of moneyed men in its resources, he was very glad to hear it. But he objected to the tax on salt, as falling too heavily on the lower classes of the people. The tax on armorial bearings he rather considered as whimsical; until that moment he never had learnt the utility of the right honourable gentleman's having created so many peers. He advised him, however, to class the orders of distinction; to charge, for instance, a certain handsome sum for a coronet, a smaller sum for a crest, and so on; by which the lower orders of society might be relieved from some of their burdens.

The resolutions were then severally put and agreed to. On the next day the report of the committee upon those resolutions were agreed to, and the bills ordered to be brought in, which were afterwards severally passed into laws, with very little variation from the shape in which Mr. Pitt first proposed them.

Before we conclude this chapter, we have to notice another measure of finance adopted this session, at the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, namely the repeal of the tax upon clocks and watches, and the consolidation of the several

duties upon houses and windows. Agreeably to notice he had given, he moved the repeal of the above-mentioned tax on the 14th of March. And as the exigencies of the state required that the deficiency should be made up by other means, he had the satisfaction of stating to the house, that the substitute he meant to propose in lieu of this tax, would be such as would afford as little discontent as possible. He remarked that the watch and clock duty had been calculated at about 200,000*l*. It was therefore requisite that whatever might be adopted instead should at least produce that sum; for this purpose he proposed an increase of the assessed taxes, in such way as would nearly accomplish this object. The produce of these taxes already amounted to about 1,400,000*l*. if therefore the intended increase was taken at a seventh of the whole, the sum thus obtained would amount to the sum required. But as he could not move for a repeal of a tax, and also introduce another in lieu of it on the same day, it was therefore postponed a few days. Accordingly on the 19th of March, he informed the house that it was his intention to consolidate, and insert into one table, the various duties now existing upon houses and windows, and he wished them to be regulated according to a table which he then held in his hand, and which was afterwards printed for the inspection and consideration of the members*.

When the report of the committee on increasing the assessed taxes was taken into consideration on the 21st of March—the chancellor of the exchequer stated to the house the principle on which

* See the scale for consolidating the above-mentioned duties in the 6th volume of Debrett's Debates, page 252.

he had brought forward his plan. The ratio which he had adopted, was that of laying an increased rate on each house in proportion to the number of windows. But in order to prevent windows from being stopped up, it had been found necessary in some parts of this scale to have a decrease instead of an increase. To use an uncommon expression, he observed, that the intended tax increased in a decreasing proportion.

Mr. Rose (the house having formed itself into a committee of ways and means on the 16th of May) remarked that the chancellor of the exchequer, when opening the budget to the house, and stating the ways and means, had taken credit for various sums, and among others, for a sum to be produced by some proposed new duties upon exports and imports. He first proposed a duty of one-half per cent. upon British goods exported to European markets: it had been at first intended to have made this duty much higher; but, upon deliberation, it had been found that it would be injurious to lay a large duty upon goods for those markets, because in some instances it might enable foreigners to undersell us. With respect to goods sent to America and the West Indies, he proposed a higher duty, because there was no danger of any competition. Upon goods exported to those places he therefore proposed a duty of two per cent. Goods exported to Ireland and the East Indies he meant to exempt from any new duties. He estimated that the amount of the duty upon exports to European markets would produce the sum of 256,000*l.* including some regulations respecting sugar and coffee. With respect to the imports, he meant to propose a

greater duty, viz. one of three per cent. With regard to the imports from the East Indies, he meant that the duty should fall upon those articles which came in competition with our manufactures, such as cotton, &c. With respect to sugar and coffee, articles which were re-exported, this addition would not be prejudicial, because there was no danger of any competition with us as to those articles in the European market. The whole of these duties he estimated at the sum of 1,170,000*l.* In addition to this, he proposed a duty upon tonnage, whether British or foreign, varying in amount according to the place of destination. This duty he estimated at 208,000*l.* which, added to the duties upon exports and imports, would amount to 1,378,000*l.* This sum was short of what the chancellor of the exchequer had estimated these duties at. This difference had taken place from imposing a less duty upon the exportation of British goods to European markets than had been at first intended.

The resolutions he had to propose, he said, were exceedingly numerous, because it was the wish of the merchants that the rates should be as specific as possible. Mr. Bryan Edwards, sir Francis Baring, and Mr. Tierney, made some observations upon the proposed duties: the first contended that the West India planters, who imported to the value of eight millions annually into this country, were so far from having given their approbation of this measure, that they did not even know of it. Sir Francis urged, that these duties would fall very heavy upon goods sent to America; this he thought impolitic, because America was our best customer. With respect to the continuance of these duties, Mr. Rose assured

assured these gentlemen, that as this was a war-tax, it would certainly cease with the war. The resolutions were then agreed to, and the

report received the next day; upon which a bill was framed, brought in, and passed into a law in a few days.

CHAP. IV.

Alarms respecting an Invasion. Means proposed by Ministers for the Safety of the Kingdom. Motion of Mr. Dundas in the House of Commons to that Effect. Detail of the Plan—Debate on that Subject—In the Commons—In the Lords. Alien Bill—Debates on that Subject. Debates in the House of Commons on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Bill for more effectually manning the Navy—Debates on that Subject. Debate on the Slave Trade—Slave Carrying Bill—Slave Restraining Bill.

THE continued threats of invasion, which had been held out by the enemy, seem to have excited the apprehensions, and roused the attention of the British ministry soon after the meeting of parliament; and on the 11th of January a message was sent by his majesty to each house, soliciting their attention to that important subject. It was, however, some time before a plan could be matured to the satisfaction of ministers for the defence of the kingdom; and the necessity of agitating the subject in parliament deferred its execution, till the face of affairs in Europe began to assume a different appearance, and till the kingdom was in part relieved from the alarms excited by the formidable preparations on the opposite side of the channel. On the 8th of February, Mr. Dundas moved for the introduction of a bill to enable his majesty to call out a certain portion of the supplementary militia, and incorporate them in the companies of the regular militia. The bill was passed with little of debate; and on Tuesday, March 27, the same minister rose in pursuance of a notice

given the preceding day, to move for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majesty to take measures for the more effectual security and defence of these realms, and to indemnify persons who might suffer injury in their property by the operation of such measures. It was an affair of the greatest importance, and he was aware, that on a motion for a bill of so general a description, gentlemen would ask, "whether we are not now in possession of a navy, which would render futile every attempt of the enemy to invade our coasts?" This he was ready to admit. But, notwithstanding the splendor of our naval character, there existed circumstances at that moment which rendered it imprudent to rest the defence of the country on one branch of its force. It might probably be asked, "is not our army the greatest we ever had? and can we not defend the country by means of the regular forces and the militia?" But notwithstanding these guarantees, he would not altogether rest on them our security and safety. Mr. Dundas then made some remarks on the spirit and zeal that distinguished the voluntary

voluntary exertions of the great body of the people in the different corps of yeomanry and county cavalry; these, he observed, were known friends of their country, and ready to come forward in its defence. But while he felt these sentiments of confidence in the general disposition of the people, he should think that the executive government did not enable the zeal and spirit of the country to come forward most effectually, were a measure like the present not adopted and pursued. Many reasons might be assigned for the zeal which distinguished the present period; however, it was sufficient to mention one, viz. that we were fighting for the deepest stake that ever the country had at issue in any contest. This was the opinion of wise men, even in the early stages of the French revolution. Mr. Dundas next made some remarks on the conduct of the French convention relative to their multiplied attempts to introduce anarchy among the people of England, by the emissaries of sedition and revolt. Happily, however, he remarked, the evil spirit had been observed lurking insidiously in the silence of the haunts sacred to sedition, and the enemies of order. The honourable secretary did not think it necessary to enter into a detail of the acts of parliament to prove that such was the state of things at that period, he thought it enough to mention it generally. — He said it was now his wish to state the object of the bill; in truth, it had two or three objects of importance connected with it. Already some counties had expressed a wish to adopt measures in their nature similar. For instance, Dorset, where propositions were made by the men of property, which in-

duced the sheriff to hold several meetings; but as from the nature of his office, he could only call out the *posse comitatus* in cases limited by circumstances of mere local urgency, these meetings had no other effect than giving a collected expression to the patriotism of that county. In other counties, the lord lieutenants had done more; but it was doubtful whether *they* could go beyond certain bounds. It was the object of this bill to provide for every possible emergency, by giving a power to his majesty to discover who were the persons prepared to appear in arms, to embody for their own defence. Another provision of the bill was to see what number of the inhabitants of certain districts would be able to act as pioneers, or in other laborious situations. He also remarked, that in the crisis of real danger, some persons might be influenced by motives of personal safety, or the natural wish of preserving their property, which might lead some to withdraw from their country; the present bill, however, would provide, that should the property of individuals be destroyed by a marching army, or fall into the enemy's hands, or be taken for the service of the country, indemnification should be rendered according to its value. The other provisions were, that in the event of its being necessary to employ persons as pioneers, to remove stock, or assist in facilitating the carriage of military stores, proper compensation would be made. The bill, he observed, was intended to give a power of embodying also a portion of the regular militia, and employing them in the defence of the country. — Upon these broad principles of justice, he was confident, the spirit of the country would be exerted; and

and he believed that there was nothing that could infuse confidence into a people, and make them feel that their security depended on the measures taken for their defence, but enabling them to unite to defend themselves. Mr. Dundas next made some remarks on the conduct of certain individuals in this country, who, under the pretext of a parliamentary reform, were corresponding with the enemy on subjects highly treasonable. It must be obvious, that, however plausible associations for reform might be at other times, the present was not a period fit either to propose or discuss that question. After making some observations on the conduct of the French relative to Genoa, Venice, and Switzerland, who had announced, he said, to their troops, that every battle gained, was an advantage over England—such an enemy, he said, it became us to oppose, who fought for nothing less than the destruction of our fleet, the annihilation of our commerce, and the overthrow of our constitution. He then moved, “That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the security and defence of these realms, and to indemnify persons who may suffer injury in their property by the operation of such measures.”

General Tarleton did not rise to oppose the motion; but whatever might be the danger apprehended by ministers, he believed there did not exist in the country any body of men exclusively attached to France. The country, however, abounded in military resources, which, if rightly managed, would enable it to resist any enemy. In his opinion, the best way of providing for our defence would be

to examine the parts most vulnerable, and there put ourselves in a situation to resist the enemy. He could not be so well informed as ministers relative to the preparations going on in France; but it did not appear to him that they were such as could induce a belief in the probability of a speedy invasion. That they meant to make an attempt was evident, by the preparations in their dock-yards; and though much had been said of the impracticability of a successful descent on our coast, whatever was the situation of some places, he entertained no doubt of the practicability of landing. The general observed, that the military operations of France were conducted on a plan different from that of any other European power; a plan which had abolished the old transport system, while it facilitated the debarkation of troops; this, joined to the uncertainty where the enemy would land, induced him to recommend that all the attention of government might be directed to the defence of the metropolis, in the environs of which, he thought the efficient force of the country ought to be concentrated. He remarked, that it was no information to the French, and that he was therefore in order when he stated, that between London and any part of the coast there was no fortified place to resist the progress of the enemy. If they effected a landing, it must be at a considerable distance from the metropolis, perhaps 150 miles, which would take them six days to accomplish their march, during which period an advantageous situation might be taken to defend the capital. The general concluded by saying, that he had thrown out these observations from a sense of his duty to the house and the country;

ry, but that he would not oppose the measure.

General Delancy said a few words in answer to general Tarleton. He remarked it was not true that no preparations had been made to put the country in a proper state of defence. The illustrious commander in chief had, he knew, with great productive diligence, applied himself to the consideration of the state of the country, and was able to draw out the forces to the best advantage.

Sir William Pulteney approved the plan which had that day been offered to the house, although he could have wished that a similar one had been brought forward at an earlier period: but it was not yet too late, and for the lateness of it, the country had only to use greater exertions. He agreed with the honourable general, that the metropolis ought to be guarded with a very great force; and also all the other great towns throughout the kingdom. With regard to the assertion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), that there was a large body of people in the country who wished to favour the designs of the enemy; for his part, he was sure that there were scarcely any of such a description; and if there were, they must be very few. Whatever opinions might have been once entertained concerning the French, he would venture to say they were now changed. He knew that many persons, in a moment of warmth, would say things of which they afterwards repented, and there was no circumstance that could serve to rouse the spirit and indignation of the country more effectually than the recent example of Switzerland.

Mr. Nicholls did not rise to oppose the measure, but to declare

it as his opinion, that all the exertions which could be made in consequence of this plan could produce but little effect, if the present system of coercion in Ireland was continued. There was no chance of making any effectual resistance whilst the people of the sister kingdom were kept down and oppressed; for the remaining part of the empire, he observed, could be but feebly supported. He made some remarks on the success of the French, relative to Austria and Rome; and said, that Naples and Spain were in danger of experiencing the same fate. No person could lament the fate of Switzerland more than he did. But what was the cause of their calamities? It was the divisions which had existed among them, which prevented them from making the necessary preparations to resist an invasion. Such, he said, must be the fate of this country, if that dreadful division existed between England and Ireland. It was of the most serious importance to consider of lenient measures, and the well-wishers of the British constitution should try all means, and do every thing in their power, to put an end to those dreadful divisions.

Mr. Wilberforce conceived it necessary for him to rise to give his support to the present measure; because he perceived there were some gentlemen on the opposite side of the house who, although they pretended to support it, yet gave it a kind of secret opposition. In his opinion, it became every man to be unanimous on an occasion like the present. He made some remarks upon what had fallen from the honourable baronet relative to the measure not having been adopted sooner. He observed, that for these three or four years past, the

same plan was acted upon in spirit, and that similar measures, all tending to the defence of the country, had been adopted during the whole of that time. In that county, which he had the honour to represent, he could say, that great numbers of the people, who had never been in the habit of understanding military affairs, had come forward long ago, and offered their services for the defence of the country.

The people of York highly approved of the conduct of his majesty's present ministers, which they knew to be directed to the safety and advantage of the country. He would not trouble the house with any more observations, he found it necessary thus to declare what were the sentiments of his constituents, as well as to express the satisfaction he felt at hearing the present plan proposed.

Mr. Buxton said a few words in support of the present measure, and observed that he had proposed something similar in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where it had been approved of; and it was determined that carts and waggons should be in a state of readiness to carry away the property of farmers living near the coast.

Mr. Dundas rose to make a short reply to the honourable baronet, relative to the plan being attended with no expense: he said, no gentleman could suppose, that persons being employed in the business of being trained, &c. should have no compensation, though many of the volunteers had come forward and refused any pay at all.

Mr. Hobhouse rose to ask, whether persons under this plan would be forced to serve?

Mr. Tierney said he highly approved of the measure, and should have contented himself with giv-

ing it his silent vote, had not an honourable gentleman thrown out some ungrounded assertions against gentlemen on his side of the house, by saying that they had made a secret opposition to the intended plan. This he observed was an illiberal insinuation, and such as he might naturally expect to come from that quarter. "But (said Mr. Tierney) I will tell that honourable gentleman, that I am as animated in the cause of defending my country as he can be." When any gentleman in that house, he added, proposed a measure which he conceived had a tendency to promote the interest of the empire, he would ask, whether that man could be a friend to his country, or acted in a manner becoming a member of that house, who from any little petulance should sneer at what had been offered from the best intentions? For his part, he did not consider himself bound to give a blind support to any measure, though he highly approved of the present.

Mr. Wilberforce rose to explain, and said, he only meant to state to the house, that the language which had fallen from gentlemen on the other side of the house was not like that warm and cordial expression of sentiment which was naturally to be expected in a crisis so essentially different from all others that had ever occurred. In such a crisis, he thought, all ought to be united, that the people of the country without doors might be ready to put into execution those plans which the house might think proper to adopt.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to make some remarks on what he termed the unwarrantable language thrown out by the honourable gentleman on the other side of the house towards his

nourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce) which he said was the most unprovoked attack he had ever heard. It was rather extraordinary, because his honourable friend complained that certain members did not give their hearty support to the measures proposed, that the honourable gentleman on the other side of the house should make a direct and violent attack against his honourable friend, as if he had been convinced that the insinuation had been thrown out against *him*. The honourable gentleman had not been so warm in the important cause of the defence of the country as his honourable friend, for though he had not objected to the plan under discussion, one might, with great consistency, suppose, that his opinion in favour of it was too lukewarm. With respect to the honourable general's opinion as to the exact manner of defending the country, he would not pretend to discuss that point at present. The honourable general had alluded to the impracticability of driving away from the coasts the cattle of the farmers; he did not understand from him that we ought not to drive away the cattle in case of an invasion; but if he meant to say it ought not to be done, Mr. Pitt said he was the more surprised that the general should entertain an opinion of that kind, because from experience, as a military man, he ought to have known that it was expedient and necessary — The chancellor made also some remarks on what had fallen from an honourable member relative to the coercion in Ireland, who had compared the state of that country to that of Switzerland, and had endeavoured to show that the want of unanimity among the people of that confederacy had produced those

misfortunes in which they were at present involved, and had thus laboured to prove that similar calamities impended over this country. The honourable gentleman, he said, should know, that the British parliament, and the British government, during the whole of his present majesty's reign, had shown every indulgence, and granted every possible favour to that country. "The hon. gentleman speaks (said Mr. Pitt) of conciliation with Ireland: does the honourable gentleman mean, that we should make every concession, and every sacrifice, to traitors and rebels? to men who are industriously propagating the most dangerous principles, wantonly seducing and deluding the ignorant multitude under the specious pretence of parliamentary reform? No! the only measure of safety we can adopt, is a vigorous system of opposition to those who would completely destroy the country." He concluded by saying, he trusted that the example of Switzerland, that brave, but unhappy people, would animate this country to vigorous and necessary exertions, that we might avoid those misfortunes into which they had unfortunately fallen.

Leave being given to bring in the bill, it was accordingly presented, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

On Wednesday, March 28, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill, relative to the defence of the nation, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures.

The bill was then read a second time, and on the following day the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of the same bill.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that since the bill had been before the house, he had endeavoured to alter it according to various suggestions he had received—he did not know whether those alterations would come fully up to the desires of those who proposed them. However, he observed, that as the service required by the bill was to be wholly voluntary, he proposed to omit the exceptions in favour of particular persons.

Mr. Tierney declared himself extremely anxious not to disturb that unanimity which appeared so general in favour of the measure; yet he could not admit it to pass precisely in the form in which it stood: he approved of the service being voluntary, but he apprehended that the bill, as it was worded, would, without using actual compulsion, do worse; for it would put those who did not enter in a very invidious situation. There were many situations in life which rendered it impossible for men to attend in order to be regularly trained and arrayed, who, when real danger approached, would be found to be as cordial and zealous as any others. He wished the service to be voluntary, and that the measure should go so far, as that the king should know what number, and of what description, he should call upon, distinguishing those who were willing to come forward immediately; as it was, one man, he said, would come forward in glowing language of zeal to offer his services, while another, not less zealous, would be branded with the imputation of coldness to the cause. This, then, was the only part to which he had any positive objection, as, in his opinion, it would have a tendency to create invidious distinctions.

Mr. Dundas said, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) would see, on consideration, that the bill must remain as it was, or it would have no effect. Having said so much, he would add, that if there was any difference as to the provisions, it was not owing to any difference of spirit. But if the provisions were otherwise, the commanding officer of any district would not know how to apply. But in order for a commander to know what he was to expect from the volunteers, they must first ascertain the nature of their services; and this could only be done by a return of the lord-lieutenant of the particular state, that there were such a number of persons for such a purpose, and so forth: but if left at a loss, as to the distribution, a considerable part of the benefit would be lost. In order, however, to obviate Mr. Tierney's objections, he had left out all that related to the publication of names on the church doors, with which

Mr. Tierney now declared himself satisfied.

On Saturday, March 31, Mr. Douglas brought up the report of the committee on the bill for the defence of the nation, when

Mr. secretary Dundas proposed several additional clauses, which were agreed to.

The solicitor-general proposed a clause to empower the deputy lieutenants to make compensation to the clerks, &c. to be paid by the receiver-general of the land tax in the county; and after some conversation, it was agreed, that no expenses should be paid, unless confirmed by a general meeting of the county.

Mr. Dundas said, he that morning received several letters from farmers in the county of Kent, stating

stating their willingness to serve in various capacities against the enemy, in case of invasion. However, he said, they were desirous to be called out only upon such emergency as might induce the commanding officer of the district to drive cattle, remove property, &c. Therefore, on the third reading of the bill, he should move for a clause to accommodate the farmers, by not calling them out, except in cases of real necessity.

The report being then agreed to,

Mr. Hussey expressed a wish that the bill, with its amendments, should be printed. He was fearful, he said, that the alterations which were made would have a tendency to destroy that energy which it was at first calculated to inspire.

Mr. Dundas said, the alterations were, in his opinion, only such as were necessary; and begged Mr. Hussey then to state in what manner he thought such an injurious effect was like to be produced?

Mr. Hussey replied, that he was not then prepared to state any thing on the subject, but thought it advisable that the bill should be printed.

Mr. Dundas, understanding from the speaker that the printing of the bill would be no delay to its passing, said he should move, that it be printed and read a third time on Monday next, if then engrossed.

On the motion of the third reading of the bill, more effectually to provide for the security of the nation, &c.

Mr. Nicholls said, he would not resist the demand of the additional powers about to be granted by this bill; but, desired that it might be understood, he concurred in it solely on the ground that these additional powers were necessary for our defence—that if the minister

availed himself of this bill, to detach a part of our regular army to enforce a system of coercion in Ireland, his concurrence to this bill was procured by deception. — History had shown us that all attempts to coerce free men, who complain of their rights being violated, have been uniformly ineffectual.

(Mr. Nicholls was here called to order by Mr. Banks.)

The speaker, however, observed, that he thought the honourable gentleman perfectly regular, otherwise he would have called him to order.

Mr. Nicholls then proceeded, by observing, that if those powers were wanted for the defence of the realm, he assented to the grant; but if for the coercion of Ireland, he thought it is duty to resist the demand. The king had lost six millions of subjects in America by the folly of former ministers.

Mr. Nicholls was now called to order by the speaker, as digressing into the American war. But he apologised, and again proceeded, and made some farther remarks relative to coercion in Ireland; but was called to order, and sat down.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that if the honourable gentleman who had just sat down was not disorderly, his observations, at least, were superfluous, as Ireland was not so much as hinted at: for his part, he would never suffer any gentleman to carry his ignorance so far as to indulge wantonly the most mischievous misrepresentations relative to Ireland, and to represent men in open rebellion as struggling for the enjoyment of their legal rights. Was that honourable gentleman duly aware, that while he thus spoke of relaxing the just severity of government against such

men as he had described, he was only encouraging the apostles of the Rights of Man, who, after the imitation of France, were spreading through every part of Ireland, carnage, bloodshed, and devastation, he would be rather disposed to strengthen the hands of government, by which alone this daring and outrageous spirit could be suppressed, than contribute to give it countenance.

Mr. Nicholls rose to explain; but as he digressed into the state of Ireland he was reminded by the speaker that it was not explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer then brought up a clause, enacting, that all those who should enrol themselves in volunteer corps should not be called out but in case of actual invasion, or in case of real danger, &c.

This clause was added to the bill, which was then read a third time and passed.

On Friday the 20th of April, the same subject was agitated in the house of lords.—On that day a message was brought down from his majesty of the same tenor as that to the house of commons; viz. to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the defence of the nation.

Lord Grenville then rose and remarked, that the message so fully explained the points to which the attention of their lordships was directed, that he should say but a very few words in support of the address to his majesty which he had to propose. Their lordships were now called upon to give another pledge to the principles which they had professed, and to demonstrate that their spirit and energy rose with the danger to which they were exposed. In guarding against the open hostility of an enemy abroad,

their lordships would likewise extend their vigilance to check the hopes which they might entertain from their abettors at home. He should say nothing farther, therefore, in support of the address. The measure which he meant to propose after the address was disposed of, was one which their ancestors had often adopted in cases of far less urgency and danger than the present. He should therefore content himself with moving the address.

The question being then put, it was carried *nemine dissente*.

Another measure of precaution, which ministers thought it necessary to adopt in the course of the session, was the revival of the alien bill.—On the 29th of March, the bill was introduced to the house, in an amended state, by the solicitor-general; who again, on the 19th of April, moved the order of the day upon that bill; which being read, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house.

The secretary at war began by remarking several of the vulgar prejudices which gentlemen ought to guard against on the present subject relative to foreigners. Thus, there was a very prevalent error concerning every foreigner, that he must be a Frenchman, and that every Frenchman must of necessity be an emigrant. Thus, it had been stated in the house, that a person had been apprehended who was neither a Frenchman nor an emigrant, and, as it turned out, had not been guilty of any crime. There were other mistaken opinions; thus, some were apt to see in emigrants nothing but persons coming into this country in distress; and in this view it was surely no light matter to expel persons merely because they were distressed, not from

from mere surmise or fancied apprehension of danger. But in his opinion the emigrants ought to be considered as men who had made great sacrifices for their loyalty and attachment to their ancient government: many of them were the respectable representatives of all that remained of the clergy, nobility, magistracy, and proprietary of the land; therefore had a claim to be considered not merely as suffering individuals, but also in their collective and representative capacity, which was of greater consequence. He thought the country bound, not upon light grounds, to withhold that asylum and assistance they had hitherto received from this country; for that would be putting them in a worse situation than if they had never been taken under our protection. Those who wished the expulsion of the emigrants, did so merely from an apprehension of danger to this country. He would ask, what instance could be produced during the long period of the present war of these emigrants proving untrue, or betraying whatever trust was reposed in them? They composed a part of the army of the duke of York, upon the continent: had they proved betrayers of their trust then, or been deficient in their duty? He also made some remarks on their conduct in the corps of Rohan, of la Chatre, of Montalembert, and of the army of the prince of Condé, where, he observed, whole ranks were to be found composed of persons who had been loaded with honours for their services. He did not doubt but some worthless characters might be found amongst the emigrants, as was the case in every community; but this did not extend to the general body, in many of whom, he meant the French nobility, he could place all

possible confidence with regard to his own life; and, what he did not value less, the safety and honour of his country. He concluded, by saying, he hoped the wisdom and prudence of that house would not give countenance to the impression, that in case of invasion, the French emigrants would turn upon their benefactors. Were this impression to gain ground, it might endanger the safety and lives of this unfortunate description of persons.

Mr. Tierney rose to repeat his reasons relative to having voted for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and said, when a message came from his majesty, stating that a correspondence existed between certain persons in this country and France, a man would pause before he voted for a measure which has the effect of depriving the public for a time of one of the great bulwarks of freedom; but under this administration, and under the present circumstances of this country, he had voted for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, wishing, however, not to strengthen administration, but the executive government. Mr. Tierney next made some pointed remarks on the conduct of the secretary at war, which, he said, was the most inhuman he had ever witnessed before, viz. to Mr. O'Connor, a gentleman with whom he had long lived in terms of the greatest friendship; "and I will say, (said Mr. Tierney,) that I never met a more intelligent man in my life, or a better friend to the constitution. With respect to the brother of Mr. O'Connor, who was confined in Ireland under a very serious charge, and who was brought to trial, no witnesses appeared, nor was the shadow of a proof adduced against him. The learned judge before whom he was

brought for trial, lamented that no evidence was brought forward. Thank God, we have no such judge in England!" Mr. Tierney was proceeding, when he was called to order by Mr. Carew.

Mr. Tierney acknowledged that he was not speaking strictly to the question; but what he said grew out of what was insinuated by the secretary at war. He was continuing his remarks relative to Mr. O'Connor, but was called to order by the chancellor of the exchequer,

Who stated his reason for calling the honourable gentleman to order, viz. that he was making his remarks on a cause now pending in a court of justice, and which now stood for trial. In his proceeding thus, he must do one of two things; either he must make a false impression upon the public, and prejudice the public mind against the prosecution, or compel his majesty's ministers to disclose that which might make a false impression, and create a prejudice against those who are charged. It was therefore impossible to proceed with this discussion with propriety. The honourable gentleman had made some remarks on the conduct of the judge who was appointed to try Mr. O'Connor, and said, he lamented that no evidence was brought forward. This, he observed, was not a correct statement. The sentiment was this;—"that it would have given him more satisfaction, if Mr. O'Connor had been pronounced innocent, on a full trial of the merits of the case, instead of there being no witnesses called."

Mr. Tierney said, he would retract what he had said against the learned judge, if the facts were as the minister now stated them, as he knew nothing of the case but what appeared in the newspapers.

Mr. Buxton said, he must withdraw if any thing more was suffered to go on respecting Mr. O'Connor, because he was one of the grand jury who found the bill.

Lord Malden thought that whilst the emigrants conducted themselves with propriety, it would be cruel to proscribe them. At the same time he suggested the propriety of removing them to some distance from the metropolis.

Mr. Jones professed himself wholly unsatisfied as to the propriety of suffering so many emigrants to remain in this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply.

General Tarleton thought there were some of the emigrants who might be serviceable at the present crisis.

Mr. Jefferys (of Coventry) spoke in favour of the bill.

Mr. H. Brown approved of the bill, as a proper measure of caution; but he wished to bear his testimony to the general good conduct of the emigrants.

The solicitor-general wished to explain the object of a new clause, which he intended to propose. By the former act, captains of ships were obliged to deliver to the officers of the customs, at the port where they arrived, a list of the foreigners they had on board; but there existed no power to prevent them from landing, therefore he wished to introduce a clause to give a power to prevent them from landing, until they had permission.

Mr. Jolliffe made some remarks on the harsh language made use of in the preamble of the bill against the enemy, which he thought unworthy the dignity of the country.

The chancellor of the exchequer defended the language, and said, that tyranny and oppression were
now

now universally imputed to the government of Robespierre by every party in France.

The solicitor-general said, he thought the man unworthy the character of an Englishman who was afraid to speak the language of truth to the enemy.

Mr. Jolliffe said, if the learned gentleman did not retract, or explain the observation he had made, he must expect to hear from him in another manner.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that nothing could be intended personal to the honourable gentleman. His learned friend had stated his proposition generally.

The solicitor-general said, he would so far retract what he had said. What he said was generally spoken.

Mr. Jolliffe then declared himself satisfied with the explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer suggested, that it would be better that his learned friend should bring up his clauses, that they should be read *pro forma*, and the discussion postponed till another day. This was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be printed.

On Friday, April 27, the house agreed to the amendments of the committee on the alien bill.

Mr. Jones proposed a clause, which was, that the secretary of state should take a security from every alien, or French emigrant in this country.

The secretary at war reprobated the principle of it, as having a cruel tendency, and pronounced a warm panegyric on the emigrants for their attachment to their sovereign and constitution.

Mr. Jones said, his main object was to separate the good from the bad. He observed, that there were 10,000 servants, Englishmen, out

of place, and as many French employed; this circumstance he thought ought to be attended to.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last had taken a very strange method of separating the good from the bad, for his method had a tendency to confound both good and bad together. He observed, that the emigrants had offered to take arms in defence of this country, and he was confident they would not betray it. From this consideration we would not be so ungenerous as to refuse protection, nor would they be ungrateful. As to aliens, whether French or others, on whom any reasonable suspicion fell, government would take every precaution necessary for the interest of this country.

Mr. Martin said, he applauded the motives of the hon. gentleman who proposed the clause; but hoped he had heard enough to induce him to withdraw it.

Mr. Jones said, he had done his duty in proposing the clause.

The clause was then withdrawn, after which the alien bill was read a third time and passed.

The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act was revived during the course of the session, in consequence of the supposed connexion of the united Irishmen with traitors in this country; and, on the 20th of April, after a message from his majesty had been received, stating farther accounts relative to the preparations for invasion making in France, the house of commons were informed that the lords had passed a bill, intituled "an act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as he may suspect to be conspiring against his person and government."

On

On a motion from Mr. secretary Dundas, that the bill be read a first time,

Mr. Sheridan rose and said, he was so tenacious of the liberty of the subject, that he could not assent to such a measure without much stronger proofs of its necessity than any which had yet been given. It might be said, that there were persons now under trial; and that therefore to produce specific evidence in support of the necessity of the bill now before the house, would be doing that which might operate to the prejudice of such accused persons. To this he would answer, that the very passing of such a bill as this, was in truth creating the greatest alarm, and raising the highest prejudices. Indeed there was not before the house at present so plausible a ground for suspending the habeas corpus act as there was when it was last suspended. Then, a committee of each house of parliament sat for several days, and declared their opinion to be, that there existed in this country a conspiracy against its constitution and government, and the legislature acted upon that report. Here there was no evidence; on the contrary, the assurance of the chancellor of the exchequer tended to show that there existed, at the moment he made it, in this country a general spirit of loyalty and attachment to the government. He therefore considered the present measure rather unnecessary than otherwise, and concluded by giving his decided negative to the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that with regard to the existence of a conspiracy, what he had said had been misrepresented by the honourable gentleman.

That loyalty, indeed, he was happy to say was general; but so far was he from stating it to be unanimous, that on the contrary he expressly asserted, that although a large portion were favourable to government, there were nevertheless a description of persons too considerable, both in number and activity, to be passed unnoticed, whose conduct was opposite to the general sense of this nation. Was it then to be contended that because these circumstances were so plain as to call forth the zeal of almost every man in the country except its enemies, that therefore we were to take no precaution whatever for our own safety?

The honourable gentleman had said there was a period when we did not think it necessary to take this precaution, without laying before parliament evidences very different from those which were before it now. There was indeed a time when evil-disposed persons were active; but would the honourable gentleman undertake to say, that the preparations made by the enemy for a descent upon this country were at any other period during the war ever so ripe, so extensive, or so truly alarming as at the present crisis. The French government, freed from the perplexities and struggles in which it had been involved by the military exertions of the continental powers, was at liberty to employ its troops directly against us, who had so gloriously opposed the torrent of general anarchy, and manfully continued the contest against all the force and machinations which it could employ. The honourable gentleman did feel, from the natural effusion of the warmth and impassioned sentiment of patriotism which he had delivered,

delivered, that the zealous co-operation of every individual was required at this important crisis in the defence of the country, and surely he would not now attempt to weaken that desirable end by his opposition to a bill which directly went to invigorate the public mind, by freeing every well-disposed person from the apprehension and dismay to which they were liable by suffering men tainted with principles hostile to the constitution to remain at large; to contrive and carry into execution their horrid projects. That there were men disaffected to government, no doubt could possibly exist, for the preamble of the bill was proved in the most satisfactory manner, by clear and notorious testimony, and the consequence followed of course. He therefore earnestly called upon the house, and the hon. gentleman in particular, to agree to the bill, and not to suffer the enemy first to come here, and proceed afterwards to deliberate.

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he wished to act on principle, and not on confidence. He was told, indeed, that the French had published their intention of invading the country, and that they trusted to the aid of traitors here: he did not think that much credit was due to that assertion. For the French themselves had stated, that they would be joined in this country by all the friends of parliamentary reform: taking that as a specimen, either of their judgment or veracity, there did not seem to him to be much reliance due to either. He was clearly of opinion, that this country ought to be well prepared to meet the enemy; that could only be done in raising the spirit of the people; but, in his opinion, to deprive them of so material a bulwark

as the habeas corpus act, was not the way to do it, but would have a tendency to spread discontent and division.

On the question being put "that this bill be now read," the house divided,

Ayes - - - - - 183

Noes - - - - - 5

Majority - 178

Mr. Sheridan then said a few words for shortening the duration of the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought it advisable to continue the bill after the present session; and to limit its duration to a shorter period than that which was specified might possibly prevent the members of that house from being active in different parts of the country in the manner they might wish to be.

The speaker observed, that the question relating to the duration of the bill could only be discussed in the committee; and that if the bill had originated in that house, the part of it which respected the duration must have been in blank.

Mr. Hobhouse said a few words relative to the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and contended, that he saw no necessity for the measure.

Mr. Tierney also said a few words in justification of his voting for the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and contended that he voted upon much better evidence than upon the word of the minister, for the preamble of the present bill was founded upon the verdict of the grand jury; and said it was upon the verdict of the jury he founded his vote, and he thought that no man ought to be ashamed to give a vote of confidence upon a verdict of a jury of his country.

The

The question was then put for the second reading, and carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer asked, if any gentleman had any amendments to propose?

Mr. Tierney said he saw no necessity for continuing the bill till the first of February, because the next session would commence long before that period; therefore he wished that the bill might be limited to the first of November.

The speaker suggested, that this conversation could only be regular in a committee.

The question was then put, that the bill be committed, and ordered.

The house being in a committee, lord Hawkesbury in the chair:

Mr. Tierney moved, that the duration of the bill should be only till the first of November, or for ten days after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer wished to know, whether the honourable gentleman intended to fix it for the first of November next? as there might be a material difference betwixt that and ten days after the beginning of the session.)

Mr. Tierney answered, that he wished to leave it to the first of November.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the date of the expiration of the bill would thus be made absolute, when, perhaps, the personal services of members might be so employed, as to prevent the assembling of that house.

Mr. Tierney could not conceive any situation of affairs, without the whole country was in the enemy's possession, in which the parliament could not meet.

The chancellor of the exchequer doubted whether they could meet with that full attendance necessary to the discussion of the question,

without calling too many away from objects of equal or greater importance.

Mr. Sheridan again repeated his objections to the whole of the measure, and replied to Mr. Tierney relative to the measure being borne out by the verdict of a grand jury; and said, that the last suspension, to which he had objected, was founded on equally good authority, being found by a committee of both houses of parliament; for both the grand jury and the committees proceeded on *ex parte* evidence. He said, he could not forget the consequences of the last suspension, when about a hundred persons had been apprehended, and all of them discharged, without a spot of guilt, after a rigid and long confinement.

Mr. Tierney admitted, that the verdict of the committees and the grand jury proceeded on *ex parte* evidence; but that he preferred the verdict of the grand jury, as being less under the influence of the minister.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the persons to whom the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had alluded were not longer in custody than they might be by the law of treason as it ever stood.

General Tarleton supported the amendment, on the ground that, with respect to this country, the danger of an invasion must be over by the first of November, though it might be greater as to the sister kingdom.

Ayes (for the amendment)	14
Noes	131

Majority - 117

The duration of the bill, therefore,

fore, was fixed till the first of February.

The bill then went through all its stages, and was passed.

As the alarm of an invasion still continued to operate on the ministers, on the 25th of May the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy. The object he had in view was to suspend for a limited time the protections which various descriptions of persons enjoyed, to prevent them from being impressed into the service of the navy. It was his wish, he said, that the bill should this day pass through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each, if required; and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Pitt concluded, by moving for leave to bring in a bill, for the more speedy and effectual manning of the navy.

Mr. Tierney said, the very extraordinary manner in which the right honourable gentleman called upon the house to adopt this measure could not fail to create great alarm. He had imagined, that the augmentation of the navy was to be provided for in the usual way; or if any very uncommon mode was to be resorted to for the attainment of that object, notice should have been given to the house. For his part, he had heard no arguments that proved its propriety; and even if he had, some time ought to have been allowed him to weigh the force of such arguments before he proceeded to give three or four votes on a measure of which no notice of any kind had been given. If the honourable gentleman persisted in hurrying the bill through the house in the manner proposed, he must give it his decided negative.

Indeed, from what he had lately seen, he must view all the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that if every measure adopted against the designs of France was to be considered as hostile to the liberty of this country, then, indeed, his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honourable gentleman. He observed, that he had given notice before of the present motion; and that, were it not passed in a day, those whom it might concern might elude its effects. But if the measure was necessary, and that a notice of it would enable its effects to be eluded, how could the honourable gentleman's opposition to it be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country?

Mr. Tierney called the right honourable gentleman to order.

The speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular; this the house would judge of; but they would wait to hear the right honourable gentleman's explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, if the house waited for his explanation, he feared it must wait a long time. He knew very well that it was unparliamentary to state the motives that actuated the opinions of gentlemen; but it was impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induced an opposition to it. He submitted to the judgment of the house the propriety of what he urged, and he would not depart from any thing

thing he had advanced, by either retracting or explaining them *.

Mr. Jolliffe approved of the measure.

Leave was given to bring in the bill; and, on the motion of its being read a second time, Mr. Nicholls observed, that he could not bring himself to consent to passing the bill with such rapidity. It was a measure of great severity, and ought to be impartially and maturely considered. He said, if a bill might be suddenly introduced, and suddenly passed, there would be no longer any security for our rights.

Mr. alderman Lushington said, that as a member of the corporation of London, he would never agree to the present bill, unless he believed there was some strong emergency to justify it.

Mr. Curwen spoke in favour of the bill.

On the motion, that the bill be read a second time, it was opposed by Mr. Hobhouse, who said, he could not but reprobate the mode proposed for the augmentation of our navy, as a gross violation of our rights; for after passing a law, by which no ship was to be permitted to sail without a convoy, they were now about to pass another, by which no ship would be permitted to have sailors!

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the present case was more than an ordinary emergency, and justified (if any occasion could) the taking away certain privileges. Parliament had already assented to measures of a similar tendency, with the exception of a very few persons, who could not be supposed

ed much to derange that general harmony.

Mr. Wigley contended, that the manner proposed for carrying the bill suddenly through the house could not be supported by the journals; therefore he would give his negative to the second reading.

General Tarleton would not vote against the measure, though he disapproved of it.

The solicitor-general defended the necessity of the measure; but wished that one description of persons might be exempted; viz. the inhabitants of the coasts, who were mostly seamen.

The chancellor of the exchequer said the bill would not affect that class of people alluded to.

Sir Francis Baring said, it appeared, that 6000 of the intended seamen were already provided. He hoped that those seamen would not be affected, who had voluntarily enrolled themselves for particular services.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, nothing in the bill applied to them.

The bill was then read a second time.

The bill being in a committee, the blanks were filled up; the duration of the bill was limited to one month, as far as it suspended protections in the coal trade, and five months in other cases.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed, that it should commence from the 24th of May instant.

Mr. Wigley objected to the date: he thought it a dangerous thing in itself, as well as dangerous in precedent to make such a law as

* The offensive words spoken by the chancellor of the exchequer in this debate, and his obstinacy in refusing to retract them, was the occasion of a very extraordinary duel, which took place between him and Mr. Tierney on the following *Lord's-day*; an account of which will be found in our Domestic Occurrences.

that to operate in an *ex post facto* manner.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply.

Mr. Wigley then proposed an amendment, viz. that the operation should commence on the 27th, instead of the 24th of the present month. The motion was, however, put and carried for the 24th.

The bill then went through all its stages, and was ordered to be carried to the lords; and in a few minutes the house was informed that their lordships had agreed to the bill.

The business of the slave trade has been so frequently agitated, that a very short account will suffice of the debate which took place on the subject this session.

On the 3d of April Mr. Wilberforce, in a very impressive speech, addressed the house once more for the abolition of that abominable species of commerce; a subject on which, he said, so many new and powerful feelings rushed into his mind, as almost to disqualify him for the cool and deliberate discharge of the duty he was now undertaking. It was a matter of solid comfort to his mind, that whatever were the various feelings which the present occasion called forth within him, the feeling of remorse was not of the number. His conscience did not reproach him with having betrayed or neglected this important business; and it was because he was resolved to continue a stranger to this worst species of accusation, that he was again about to bring forward the question. He begged, therefore, the resolution to be read which had passed in 1792, declaring that the slave trade should cease from and after the first of January, 1796. This being read—The circumstances, he said, under

which the house came to that determination, were well worthy of remark. All the charges he had brought against the slave trade were substantiated, and the truth of them acknowledged by his warmest opponents. The slave trade was proved to be the cause of long and extended wars, between nation and nation, which produced innumerable acts of individual depredation. The petty chieftains were rendered the oppressors and ravagers of the very districts of which they were the natural guardians. Mr. Wilberforce then mentioned a most striking fact in proof of his assertion: that two gentlemen being employed by the Sierra Leone company, had penetrated to a considerable distance in-land, where the face of a white man had never been seen.—They found the state of society more advanced, by two or three centuries, than upon the coast, where the natives had intercourse with the most polished nations of Europe for two or three hundred years before. This proved, that our interference tended only to corrupt, darken, and barbarise; and that it must be the ardent wish of these African savages to be left unmolested in their native deserts, and not be cursed by our ruinous intrusion. Mr. Wilberforce remarked, that even they who could not bring themselves to vote for immediate abolition, yet condemned the slave trade in the strongest terms of reprobation. His right honourable friend, with a minuteness of research, and detail of calculation, had established beyond dispute, that the slaves actually in the islands were sufficient in number to ensure the population being maintained without any fresh recruits from Africa. But even they, who contended, that some additions to the population

population were necessary, could not deny that these had more than been supplied by the multitudes which had been brought from Africa, from the year 1792, to the present period.

It might be alleged, that last year the house of commons had addressed the crown, humbly requesting his majesty to send instructions to the governors of the West-India islands, directing them to concert such measures, with the different legislative assemblies, as, by promoting the population of the islands, might gradually render the slave trade less necessary, and finally lead to its total termination. But so far was this from being the case, that the very contrary was the truth. The measure adopted last year, without that which he was now bringing forward, would be illusory and unavailing; but associated with abolition, it would be efficient and complete. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had proposed an address to the crown, similar to that which had been adopted last year: the right honourable gentleman differed with Mr. Wilberforce as to the time when this abolition should take place; but concurred with him in thinking that its duration ought to be limited. Mr. Wilberforce then took a view of the regulations framed by the colonial legislatures with respect to the population of the islands, and also of the food, religion, and necessary correction; and contended, that no set of regulations would be framed which would be universally applicable. Considering how difficult it would be to attempt to enforce the practice of these legislative provisions, which would go to the interior of every domestic arrangement, could it be supposed that it would be sub-

mitted to? For what? For the avowed purpose of accelerating the abolition of the slave trade; an event which the West-Indians in general have frankly confessed they consider as in the highest degree injurious to their interests. With regard to any regulations operating in the West-Indies for the protection of slaves, gentlemen must bear in mind, that there is a certain *esprit de corps*, which, varying in nature and kind, naturally belonged to every community. In the West-Indies, it was a fellow-feeling for the rights and authority of masters: some curious proofs of this were afforded by the papers recently transmitted from the colonial assemblies, and laid on the table of the house. It appears that the committee of the assembly of St. Christopher's, when the *esprit de corps* was in action for the defence of all the planters in general, against charges never urged but against individuals, maintained that all was perfect in their management; yet that assembly frankly declared, that the allowances of food given by masters to their slaves were too small to enable them to go through their work with spirit. Mr. Wilberforce next made some remarks on the criminal courts of justice in the West-Indies, and particularly that of St. Christopher's, which pretended to have taken cognisance of the barbarous treatment of slaves in the same manner as crimes of a similar nature committed against white men. The act of assembly, which was passed in 1783, expressly declares, that "any owner or possessor of any negro, or other slave, who shall wilfully or wantonly cut out the tongue, put out an eye, slit the nose, ear, or lip, &c. &c. shall be fined five hundred pounds, and imprisoned for six months." Mr.

Wilberforce

Wilberforce then produced an instance which took place in the year 1784, where the penalty was not sanctioned by the courts: for two delinquents being convicted, were only fined, one in 100*l.*; the other 50*l.*; and in neither case was there any imprisonment. He next mentioned another case, to show that the court did not not take that cognisance of the ill-treatment of slaves which they pretended, and to prove that negroes did not enjoy the same legal right and protection as the white people. But in addition to this; let it be remembered, that the assemblies, and particularly that of Jamaica, have always plainly acknowledged, that it was their object to go on importing until they should have brought into cultivation all their barren lands, amounting to more than twice the number which are now cultivated.

He then made some observations on the extreme danger of insurrections, and on the new grounds of apprehension which were laid in the emancipating system introduced by the French into their islands; and said, could we be weak enough to believe, that our islands would remain in their present state in the vicinity of the French islands; in which the slaves were relieved from all the galling marks of inferiority. He said he had been at the trouble to inquire into the number of slave ships taken on their passage from Africa to the West Indies, which, he said, were all carried by the French to some port in their islands, where they were made free, and trained as soldiers. The number was considerable: in the year 1796, there were above three thousand of these; in 1797, above 1700; which in fact furnished our enemy with the best instruments for the

1798.

subjugation of our islands. Mr. Wilberforce then made some observations on the petition which he had that day presented from a body of respectable men (the Quakers), whose unwearied efforts in this great cause did them the highest honour. He concluded by saying, if in times like these especially, if we have any sense of the value of the favour of Heaven, if we have any feeling of justice and humanity, let us no longer hesitate to do that which has been too long delayed, but embrace the opportunity which is afforded us of rescuing a great continent from the destructive ravages to which it has been doomed for centuries by our selfishness and rapacity. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, &c.

Mr. B. Edwards desired that the address which had been presented to his Majesty in 1797, concerning the abolition of the slave trade, might be now read; which being done, he then proceeded to show that its object was to recommend to the colonies the adoption of such measures as might lead to a gradual abolition of this trade. Those who supported the address, as well as those who wished for an immediate abolition, were equally sincere in their desire that such measures might be adopted as might finally tend to abolish the trade; but they were far from intending that this object was to be accomplished by any sudden violence, such as he might style the present motion; because they prudently saw, that the existence and limited continuance of the trade involved such a mass of complicated interests of mortgages, &c. &c. The honourable gentleman who brought forward his motion could not be ignorant

norant of the correspondence which had taken place between the islands and the secretary of state; by which it appeared, that they all, except Barbadoes and Jamaica, had acquiesced in the proposals that had been made to them, and assured that house, that they considered themselves happy by discovering and adopting the means that might lead to a final abolition. This was evident from the answers of the island of St. Vincent's and Tobago to the duke of Portland, which showed they had under consideration the best measures for limiting the causes that increase the trade, and which might gradually lead to its total abolition. The Royal Gazette of Jamaica, which he had just seen, mentioned that similar measures were under consideration, and that a tax of 10l. was to be levied for all slaves above a certain age, to prevent the hardships of slavery from being doubled on the old. It had been alleged that the penalty of 500l. had not been inflicted on some masters who had been convicted of having mutilated their slaves;—but it was well known, and it was a custom that prevailed in every civilised country, that judges were invested with a discretionary power to mitigate punishment as the nature of circumstances might suggest and require. But the cases alluded to happened before the passing of the act, by virtue of which the penalty of 500l. was to be inflicted; and how could the law have been violated before it had received existence? However fines of 50l. and 100l. had been imposed before the act passed, which proved at least an existing disposition to discountenance and punish the cruelties that were so industriously exaggerated. With respect to the instance of the

child whose mouth was said to be cut from ear to ear, it was well known to be an act of insanity, and proved to be such in a court of law. Mr. Edwards next took occasion to mention the conduct of the king of Casson, who, in spite of every entreaty, had a number of prisoners, whom he had taken in battle, ordered into his presence, and all their throats to be cut. Instances of this kind might be collected from Mr. M. Parke's Journal, on which Mr. Edwards bestowed the highest encomiums, and from which he inferred that the disposition of the natives, and not the intrigues of the slave traders, was the real cause of the barbarities they exercised. He would ask the honourable gentleman whether it was better for the Africans to have their throats cut as he described, or to be sent to the West Indies? By bringing in this bill, the honourable gentleman would only teach the negroes that they were treated with injustice; and, by this lesson, would pretty plainly tell them to rise upon their masters and murder them. Mr. Edwards concluded by assuring the honourable gentleman, that if the West-India planters were doomed to fall, he should see they should not fall without a *struggle*.

Mr. Wilberforce said a few words in explanation, and observed that he had ample proofs in his possession with respect to the facts which he had adduced relative to the mutilating of the slaves. The honourable gentleman had insisted that the cases of cruelty which he had mentioned had not taken place after the act had passed, but long before the passing of it; in contradiction to which Mr. Wilberforce read the records of the council, and the words of the act itself, which fully established the fact. With respect to the master
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of a child cutting its mouth from ear to ear, it was equally easy to be substantiated; and as to the report of the master being deranged, no allegation of insanity had ever been brought against him; and even the jury who sat on his trial, proved that no such plea was ever set up in his defence.

Mr. B. Edwards acknowledged he had made a slight mistake as to the precise date of the act; but with respect to the master of the negro child, who he said was insane, it was notorious to all the country.

Mr. Canning said, if there ever hung any doubt or hesitation upon his mind with regard to the propriety of the vote which he should give on the present question, that doubt was completely done away by the speech of Mr. B. Edwards. The honourable gentleman had laid down two propositions which he Mr. Canning was very anxious should be minutely attended to; for, if there were any who entertained a doubt respecting the propriety of an immediate abolition of the slave trade, such would do well to consider, whether, by acceding to these propositions, they were not going to vote a complete perpetuity of that trade? These propositions held out to us, that as long as there was a market for slaves, there would be found buyers; and, that as long as Africa would furnish negroes, there would not be wanting other countries to purchase them. The specimens of cruelty to which the miserable Africans were exposed was, seemingly, in the opinion of the honourable gentleman, some apology for the continuance of the slave trade; and under this persuasion he put the question, whether they would not prefer being sent to the West

Indies, to having their throats cut at home? For his part, were the question put to him—whether he would finish his being in his native land, or be sent in slavery to the West Indies, where he might, at the cruel caprice of a tyrant master, be ignominiously maimed and miserably mangled? much rather he would say, “May I perish at home! than yield up my liberty and expose my person to such cruel and outrageous indignities.” The honourable gentleman proceeded to urge the necessity of continuing the slave trade as long as there remained uncultivated lands in our West-India islands, and the impropriety of discussing the question of the abolition of the slave trade until this object had been accomplished. Mr. Canning said he could not speak from local knowledge; but he understood, from good authority, that a third of the lands in the islands still remained uncultivated. On this he would only observe, that those who did not distinctly disclaim this ground, for supporting the further continuance of this trade, could never persuade him that they had ever been sincere in their wishes for its abolition.

Mr. Thornton rose and made some remarks upon Mr. Parke's Journal, from which Mr. Edwards had collected his information. He allowed Mr. Parke to be a gentleman of probity; but as Mr. Parke's route was by water, for many hundred miles up the great river Gambia, he had not perhaps been in a situation to make extensive observations and inquiries near the sea-coast, concerning the slave trade. Certain, however, it was, that no part of Mr. Parke's information could invalidate the positive evidence that had come from other quarters. Mr. Thornton

then read from governor Macaulay's Journal some extracts concerning the mode of procuring slaves in the Mandingo country, a part in which Mr. Edwards seemed to suppose that no enormities were practised, and proved that kidnapping was frequent; and, it was agreed upon between the slave traders and the kidnappers, that none of the natives round shall be admitted to a sight of the slaves, who were usually conveyed away by the craft in the night. Mr. Thornton proceeded to describe the sources of the slave trade in Africa, which he said were four, viz. wars, crimes, debts, and kidnapping. At Sierra Leone, there were abundant proofs, that wars were both fomented and prolonged by this traffic. It had been said by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards), the abolition of the slave trade would cause many of the Africans to be butchered, because there would be no market for the prisoners of war; on the contrary, in that country it appeared that the slave trade was chargeable, not only with the wars themselves, but with the murder of these prisoners who were unfit for sale. With regard to slaves sold for alleged crimes, as far as he had learnt, of slaves sold from Sierra Leone, not one conviction was supported even by the semblance of justice. The pretended crimes were generally witchcraft and adultery. Somebody or other was accused of witchcraft on the death of almost every great man. The person accused was compelled to drink a poisonous draught, called red water; if he died, his relations were frequently seized and sold as slaves; if the wretch survived, he himself was sold for a slave—and there were not wanting instances of English slave-traders encourag-

ing this iniquitous kind of superstition. Mr. Thornton next made some remarks on the practice of seizing and selling debtors, &c. which he said necessarily led to kidnapping; since when any man was threatened, or actually seized for debt, he or his connexions were under the strongest temptation to go and kidnap some other person, in order to redeem him or those who were so threatened or seized. Mr. Thornton next touched on the various obstacles to civilisation which attended the slave trade; and concluded by making some observations on the duty of the British legislature to abolish such a traffic as he had described on the principles of morality, justice, and sound policy.

Mr. Sewell said a few words against the motion, and observed it would unsettle the legal tenures, by which the proprietors of West India estates held their possessions. He would ask, was the house prepared to take such a step without, at the same time, offering them adequate compensation? He objected also to the motion, as it went to counteract the address of last session, in which his Majesty was requested to recommend to the colonies to adopt such measures as seemed necessary to meliorate the condition of the slaves.

Colonel Gascoigne spoke against the motion, and said it called upon the house to rescind its former resolution, which was neither consistent nor prudent.

Mr. Buxton supported the motion, and said it could not be thought that the negroes in our colonies could be long continued in a state of slavery, when, at the same time, they saw those in our enemies' colonies emancipated.

Mr. Hobhouse remarked, that in
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the correspondence with the colonial assemblies, which had been laid before the house, he could not see any thing like a serious disposition to meet the wishes of the house. The governors of two of the islands had remained silent, and in some of the islands no measures had been taken, so that he thought little was to be expected from that quarter. Though all agreed that the traffic of slaves was cruel, yet he was sorry to see that this trade had lately been on the increase; and here he could not but advert to the encouragement given by his Majesty's proclamation, to export slaves from our islands to the Spanish colonies, even though in a state of war with them.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he could not let this opportunity pass of rectifying the misunderstanding which has gone abroad upon the subject, to which the honourable gentleman alluded in the conclusion of his speech. The fact however was, that a free port being established in one of the West-India islands, without any provision at all relative to negro slaves, it so happened that reference was made to an act of parliament, (and he was sorry to say such a practice should have received the sanction of the legislature), in which slaves were enumerated among a variety of articles of commerce: it being however represented, instructions were immediately sent out, directing that slaves should not be included as articles of commerce.—This was the simple state of the case.

The chancellor then contended for the immediate abolition of the slave trade, even for the safety of the West-India islands. Some had contended he said for its farther continuance upon the ground, that

it was necessary for the interest of the islands: this at best was but doubtful; however, the balance seemed to incline the other way; and now the necessity of the immediate abolition was pressed for the salvation of those very islands, which it was argued such a measure would destroy. The contemplation of future advantages sometimes makes men blind to present dangers: for some distant improvements, the gentlemen on the other side overlooked their real interests; and to favour the false calculation on which this principle proceeded, they would have us not only overlook that very interest which, whether they see it or not, it was our business to guard. We were told to postpone the consideration of the abolition till some future period; but we hear of no specific time fixed at which the subject may be resumed. The honourable gentleman (M. B. Edwards) contended that all the waste land in the West-India islands must previously be cultivated. Upon this point it was impossible to comment in more appropriate language than was used by his honourable friend (Mr. Canning). From his not having documents before him, there was one point which he did not explain so fully as he (Mr. Pitt) could have wished to the house. It appeared, from a statement which he held in his hand, that the quantity of uncultivated land in the island of Jamaica was about two-thirds more than that already in cultivation. It appeared that for this 250,000 negroes were required. To suffice for the cultivation of other parts, the complete number of 600,000 more at the same time would be necessary. To procure this supply then, it would be necessary to import not merely this

number, but to import, with all the frightful waste of mortality with which this importation is attended, till the full number should be completed. From a comparison of the importation necessary to make out 250,000 employed in the present cultivation of this island, and taking into view the increased ratio of mortality, in proportion to the number required, in order to keep 600,000 negroes living at the same time, an importation of between 11 and 12,000 was necessary. We know that in the last hundred years the cultivation had been going on, till the number of negroes amounted in the island of Jamaica to 250,000. Upon the calculation, that with 600,000 negroes a corresponding length of time would be necessary for the cultivation of the remaining two-thirds supposed capable of cultivation, the period of the final abolition, upon the honourable gentleman's plan, would be protracted for no less than 240 years. If this was to be the rule by which the abolition of this horrible traffic was to be determined, he could not but understand it as a declaration that it was to be perpetual. It had been said, that as this traffic was encouraged by the legislature, the abolition would be unjust toward those who had acted upon the faith of the existing laws.—It was well answered, that the legislature often bestowed encouragement upon branches of commerce, which, in different circumstances, it was prudent to withdraw. After commenting upon the subject, he contended that no partial inconvenience ought to weigh against the indisputed principle of justice, and against the safety of the islands themselves.

Sir W. Young spoke against the motion, and said gentlemen were

not aware how difficult the situation was of the colonial assemblies with regard to the subject referred to their regulation. It was the prevalent opinion in the islands, that the emancipation of the negroes and the abolition of the slave trade would go together. He wished the house to reflect on the calamities that might happen, such as war, conflagration, disease, &c. to destroy the population of negroes belonging to an estate, without any remedy, if fresh importations were prohibited; and thus a fatal blow might be given to the property of the West-India planters, whilst that gradual system of meliorating their condition, which was pursuing in the islands by the colonial assemblies, would have quite a different effect. He said he had been told by Mr. Cooper, who was a prisoner at Guadaloupe, that when the negroes were emancipated, and told they must be soldiers, and give their labour to the state, many of them refused emancipation on such conditions. He concluded by saying, that he thought the British legislature ought to wait a few years, in order to see whether the measures now adopting in the West-India islands produced the desired effect.

Mr. W. Smith said, that the West-India planters had sufficient warning of the abolition of the slave trade, from the year of 1792 to the first of January 1796, when it was determined by a majority in favour of a gradual abolition. Much stress had been laid, he said, upon the arguments of its being the interest of the planter to render the condition of the slaves as comfortable as possible, and two colonial gentlemen had deposed to that effect; however, this was contradicted by the resolutions of the assembly

assembly of St. Christopher's; by which it appeared, that too little attention was paid either to the food or clothing of these unhappy creatures. He contended that the shocking accounts given of those parts of Africa, where the traffic prevailed, were strictly true, and not even contradicted by the traveller Mr. Parke. Therefore he thought it was incumbent on the house to do their duty by abolishing the trade, and not content themselves with paltry meliorations, by countenancing a system too execrable for the powers of human language to describe.

Mr. Ellis thought there was too much precipitation in bringing on the question. Gentlemen should have waited until the legislatures of the islands assembled, when their intentions respecting the business could be ascertained.

Mr. Fox (who attended for this evening at the solicitation of the friends of abolition) rose and said, after the repeated discussions which this subject had undergone, he did not wish to detain the house long with a tedious inquiry into the principles by which the question ought to be decided. The gentlemen who were against the motion are extremely anxious to have it understood that there was but one opinion of the injustice and immorality of the slave trade; the only difference was, what is the best mode to abandon it? To me (said Mr. Fox) it is a matter of shame and of lamentation that the country should be so degenerate from every sense of virtue, so sunk in hypocrisy, that however convinced of the enormity of the wickedness, we have not yet abandoned that course which we so unanimously condemn. The British parliament has been acquainted with the guilt

and the reproach with which the nation has been loaded; not two opinions exist upon the subject; and yet not a single step has been taken, till last year, to remove the cause. Those gentlemen who oppose the motion say, we are told that the savage nations go to war with each other: and, that as their prisoners are brought to market, it would be inhumanity not to purchase; and, as the mischief is done, why should not we derive some advantage from it? If a passenger is to be robbed, why may not we be the first to plunder him? Such are the arguments by which one of the greatest wickednesses that ever disgraced a nation is palliated. We are asked, is it not better to send them to the West Indies, than continue in Africa to have their throats cut? Interest, they say, is sufficient to induce kindness. We know (continues Mr. Fox), that such is the nature of man, that the idea of possessing an unlimited authority, so far from inspiring tenderness, produces contempt of the object as worthless. An honourable gentleman tells us, that we ought not to be precipitate, that we ought not to be violent, and that we ought to prefer measures of conciliation to measures of severity. Gracious God! what severity are we about to commit? Are we to suspend the trade for two or three years, till you see whether an act of parliament be necessary to abolish it, or will you trust to the regulation in the West Indies? Mr. Fox said he listened with great attention to what fell from the minister in the debate; and contended that it was impossible to answer the arguments he had urged in favour of the motion. "He told you (said Mr. Fox) the safety of the West-India islands depended on your adoption of the measure."

measure." He (Mr. Fox) was not often in the habit of paying implicit deference to his assertions; but on this occasion he could have no doubt of the truth of what he said. After passing several encomiums on the chancellor of the exchequer for his eloquence in support of the motion, he proceeded by saying, what should he think of those who had acknowledged the injustice and inhumanity of this trade, but who nevertheless would vote against the motion, rather than make a sacrifice of their interests? Mr. Fox remarked, that if he asked those gentlemen who were against the motion, when they would abolish the slave trade? they would answer, when the islands are cultivated. None of these gentlemen agreed in any thing like a definitive answer; but each had an answer of his own, and each tending to the same point, viz. to oppose the abolition of the slave trade for ever. What is the nature of the bill proposed to be brought in? Why, in its nature it must be a measure calculated to give them notice when the trade shall be abolished; for the motion is, "That you do now resolve yourselves into a committee to consider of a motion, that the slave trade be abolished at a time to be limited." What time do these gentlemen require? Why, till all these objections to the abolition be done away. Mr. Fox observed, if notice be the object, this motion was the object, this motion was peculiarly adapted to that purpose; and should the house give leave to bring in the proposed bill, he should, when the blank came to be filled up in the committee, most certainly vote for the direct and immediate abolition of this trade; being mindful of this ground, that the house was bound

to abolish a trade, which they had declared to be a trade of injustice and immorality; being mindful also that the minister had declared that the safety of the islands depended upon it. Mr. Fox said he had now delivered his opinion upon this subject, though he was not sanguine in hopes of success. With regard to what had been said to night, viz. that individuals might have been cruel, and that we ought not to judge of the slave trade from the possibility of some persons having misconducted themselves in it—if man had not been cruel, slavery would never have been complained of in this world; indeed if man were not cruel, slavery would not exist.

The secretary at war said he should have not been induced to trouble the house this night, had it not been for some of the observations of the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down. He agreed with him, however, in some of his opinions, although he could not agree with him in the reasons which he assigned for them. He observed, that he had not the least hesitation in declaring, that if the question were now, whether the slave trade should be immediately abolished, or be continued until all the lands in the West Indies should be cultivated? his alternative would be that of voting for the abolition: but, whether he should vote for the motion now before the house, or leave it to the legislatures of the islands? to whom by the last address of the house it seemed to have been entrusted, was a different question; and he conceived that leaving it to their care was the best mode that could be adopted. Much had been said upon the interior situation of Africa, and the horrors of the slave trade,

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and the depravity which must necessarily attend it; these were points which admitted of no dispute: but the right honourable gentleman who spoke last asked a very important question: "Are you, after having acknowledged the injustice and inhumanity of the trade, to agree to its continuance?" which he followed up by asking,—“Are you to say, I will rob, because another man will rob?” Whatever may be the soundness of the right honourable gentleman's judgment, the instance did not appear applicable to the measure before the house. He allowed that inasmuch as example operated, each person concerned in the trade must incur some censure.

The right honourable gentleman who spoke last stated, that this house, by continuing the slave trade, would be guilty of a breach of duty. Whether it would be a breach of duty, or not? he would take it upon him to say was the whole question. The point then would be, whether by abolishing the trade now, we were likely to create a greater evil than that which we would willingly remove? because our interest is not any consideration at all with us, except in a comparative sense; and that includes not only the safety of the whole of our islands, but also the happiness of the very people who now endure the hardships of slavery in the West Indies. Gentlemen may ask, why do you not fix the period beyond which you will not allow the traffic to continue? He might be told that he is acting inconsistently with his former principles, because he agreed to the address, considering it as a notice to the planters to diminish the importation of negroes; to which he should answer, that if you consider

the immediate abolition of the trade as a punishment upon those who were interested in its continuance, the reasoning is correct; but if otherwise, the reasoning is inconclusive. Those who wish for the abolition of the slave trade may have very good wishes, but he did not know that their wishes would have the effect which they expected. If the planters go on in a system of ameliorating the condition of the negroes, that would of itself have a good effect. This was the view he had of the question, which he thought it his duty to state to the house, although he should have forbore but for the warmth of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, whose erroneous reasoning in some parts of his speech he could easily excuse on some occasions, as he could admire the force of his arguments on others.

Mr. Barham spoke against the motion: he thought such motions had a tendency to spur on, instead of discouraging, the traffic. He said he was not a very considerable proprietor; but as far as he was interested, he was ready to forego any share of compensation for himself; but neither himself nor any other person had a right to give away the property of others. Much had been urged to that house about abolishing the trade; but he wished gentlemen to put to themselves one question. The question was, whether the House of Commons had the power to put an end to the slave trade without the consent of the colonial assemblies?

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply relative to compensation, which he said related solely to lands; under certain circumstances, which were derived from the crown, in those islands, for

for valuable considerations. In those cases, and where the conditions stipulated for were faithfully performed by the grantees—he thought it fair that certain proportionate compensation should be allowed.

The question then being loudly called for, the house divided, when there appeared—For the motion, 83—Against it, 87—Majority, 4.

As parliament has not thought proper to enforce their own resolution, that the slave trade should be abolished in the year 1796, it became necessary to renew, for a limited time, the slave trade-carrying bill. On this subject, however, nothing interesting occurred till the 4th of May, when sir William Dolben moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee on the bill for regulating the quality of the shipping employed in carrying slaves.

Mr. William Smith proposed a clause for making the cubical contents between decks the criterion of the fitness of ships, instead of their extent of tonnage.

Colonel Porter observed, that the attendance was too thin for a subject of this importance, there being only thirty-three members. It was, consequently, ordered to be again considered on Thursday next.

On Thursday, 10th May, therefore, sir William Dolben moved that the house resolve itself in a committee, to consider further of the slave carrying bill.

The house resolved itself accordingly into a committee.

Mr. William Smith proposed a clause for increasing the height of ships between decks, which should not be less, he said, than five feet perpendicular.

General Tarleton opposed the clause, as there were no arguments adduced to prove its necessity. The

mortality he contended was not near so great as on board the ships employed as transports for the troops to the West Indies.

Sir William Young supported the clause.

Mr. Sewell opposed the clause; and, if it should be negatived, he said he would bring forward a clause proposing a certain scale in slave-carrying ships, to regulate their depth; those of 150 tons and under should have 4 feet 4 inches depth; those of 200, 4 feet 6; of 250 tons, 4 feet 10; those above 250, 5 feet 2; and those of 300 tons and upwards, 5 feet 8.

Colonel Gascoigne and Mr. Sewell opposed the clause; Mr. Smith and Mr. Vansittart supported it: when the house divided. Ayes 34, Noes 6.

Mr. William Smith next proposed a clause for regulating the superficial space, which he estimated for each slave at 8 feet.

This clause was opposed by colonel Gascoigne, Mr. Sewell, and general Tarleton. After which the house divided. Ayes 34, Noes 5.

The other clauses were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday. Adjourned.

On the following Monday, sir William Dolben brought up the report of the committee on the slave-carrying bill.

Colonel Gascoigne presented a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, and other great places of trade, stating objections against many of the clauses that were introduced into the bill. The petitioners prayed that they might be heard at the bar of the house against the bill. He intended, after the petition was read, to move that the report be taken into consideration that day se'nnight.

Mr. William Smith said, that
having

having heard no reason for hearing counsel against this bill, except that the parties interested in the trade wished it, and knowing that the statement made in behalf of the petitioners was a misrepresentation of facts, he therefore should move that the report be read immediately. The further consideration of the report, however, was deferred to Wednesday, when counsel was ordered to be heard for the petitioners.

On the 21st of May, counsel was called in behalf of the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, relative to some clauses introduced into the slave-carrying bill.

Mr. Law, having proceeded for a few minutes at the bar for the petitioners,

Colonel Gascoigne desired that counsel should withdraw; which

being complied with, he desired the house to be counted; which being done, there appeared only thirty-two members. An adjournment took place of course, and the question was afterwards adjourned for some months.

Mr. R. Thornton wished to defer the consideration of the slave-restraining bill, on account of the advanced period of the session, till the following year; when he moved that the bill be deferred to that day two months.

Mr. Wilberforce concurred, and wished that it might be discussed in a full house.

Col. Tarleton said a few words.

After which the motion was put and carried; and thus ended the proceedings of this session on a question of the utmost magnitude and importance to the interests of justice and humanity.

CHAP. V.

Debate concerning the Office of third Secretary of State—Mr. Tierney's Motion on that Subject negatived. Motion by the Duke of Bedford, in the House of Lords, for the Dismissal of his Majesty's Ministers—Negatived. Bill respecting Newspapers.

AMONG the lesser debates which were agitated in the British legislature during this session, we may reckon an attempt made by Mr. Tierney to disqualify Mr. Dundas from a seat in the house of commons, upon the plea that the office which he held as secretary of state was contrary not only to the spirit, but to the letter of Mr. Burke's famous bill in 1783, for retrenching the public expenses, and diminishing the influence of the crown.

On the 3d of November, Mr. Tierney gave notice of a motion

he intended to make. It had been stated, he said, on a former occasion, that Mr. Dundas ought to vacate his seat in consequence of being appointed third secretary of state, and it had been answered, that the duke of Portland held that office himself. From the report of the secret committee, however, it now appeared, that it was Mr. Dundas who held this office, and Mr. Tierney said, he should submit the subject to the consideration of the house on the following Monday.

On Monday the 7th, when Mr. Hobart

Hobart brought up the report of the committee of supply, which was read a first and second time, on the speaker putting the question, That the resolution contained in it be agreed to? Mr. Long proposed, that it should be expressed *nemine contradicente*; to which Mr. Tierney strenuously objected, declaring, that whilst he had a voice it should not be allowed to pass so. Were it a matter of mere form, and *this* the usual way of passing the resolution, he should not object to it; but he was determined to give his negative, not only in this instance, but to every other act of the present administration. He assured the house he had a general retainer for the whole session.

Mr. Hobhouse moved to have laid before the house a variety of papers, some respecting the loan granted to his Imperial majesty, and guaranteed by this country, which were ordered accordingly.

Mr. Tierney being now called upon by the speaker, rose, and said, he should state the reasons why Mr. Dundas ought not to hold a seat in the house: it was not from personal dislike, or private animosity; but the transaction of which he complained was a corrupt job—a job not avowed but detected, and never would have been brought to light if it could have been kept in concealment, and which appeared at last only by the labours of the committee, to whose reports he should refer for evidence of the facts on which he grounded the charge. In that report it was completely deciphered; and when that should be substantiated, it would become matter of deliberation and opinion, whether it was not aggravation of the offence, that Mr. Dundas, after having been reminded of the doubts that arose, and

thereby supplied with materials to judge of the law, and correct his error, had yet presumed, after such warning, and with the letter of the law before his eyes, to hold his seat in the house? Many of the gentlemen who now held their seats were members of parliament in the year 1782, when Mr. Burke made a speech deserving much applause, on bringing in a bill for introducing a system of œconomy in the public administration, and for abolishing all useless places. This great man had a more extensive view than merely to diminish the public expenditure; namely, to preserve the independence of parliament. In this speech, Mr. Burke asserted, that the office of third secretary of state was an office perfectly unnecessary, and instituted for no other purpose than that of creating new patronage for the crown. Taking this as the principle upon which the abolition of that office was then grounded, nothing could be pleaded in justification of its revival but the most urgent necessity.

Mr. Tierney said, he would undertake to prove that this office had been revived; and it was incumbent on his majesty's ministers to show the house those circumstances which made it necessary. He reverted to Mr. Burke's statement, that lord Suffolk and lord Weymouth, being the two principal secretaries, and the former being "though not dead to nature, dead to the public," the whole business devolved upon the latter, and for more than a year after no new secretary was appointed; from whence it was argued, that if lord Weymouth was able to do the business of himself and of lord Suffolk, two secretaries could do the business of three. In the year

1783, the object of Mr. Burke was effected. Mr. Tierney then called the attention of the house to the present moment. A third secretary of state had been appointed since that time with a new establishment of 13,000*l.* a year. When in the year 1768, the office abolished by Mr. Burke's bill was established, the pretext was, the increase of business on the continent of America; at that time, however, three secretaries were at least sufficient; but having contrived to lose the American colonies which furnished the pretext, ministers could not very well insist on the continuance of the office, nor deny that there was no occasion for more than two, who went under the name of secretaries for the northern and southern departments. In the year 1786, a committee was appointed to report on the nature of the offices of government, and the amount of their salaries; in that report the two secretaries were stated at salaries of 6000*l.* each: now if the labour became so extremely arduous to ministers, as to justify an additional office, would they not have called for more, rather than less, than the stated salary? But so far was this from being the case, the honourable gentleman did not feel that he had any claim, diminishing himself the allowance of the report of 1786; fixing his salary at 4500*l.* a year, instead of 6000*l.* and instead of sinking under the business, he was able to carry a little more, taking upon himself the office of president of the board of control, without fee or reward additional; nor was any complaint heard of these offices being too laborious.

By the war in 1793 the business was considerably increased; but Mr. Dundas never looked for a

third secretary, but conducted the whole with much credit to himself for a year and a half, and in bringing in his India bill took 6000*l.* a year as president of the board of control, assuming the whole weight of that arduous employment: but this was not all; with the home department he took that of the war, so far was he from considering a third secretary needful. Under these circumstances then, what was it which created the necessity? It could not be that which was made the pretext for it in 1768, for the colonies were lost: neither could it be inability, because it appeared that the business had been accomplished, with dispatch, by two.

Mr. Tierney professed himself at a loss to imagine, why in 1794 there should be a new division of the business; and instead of the old establishment of the two secretaries and offices, at an expense of 20,000*l.* there should be three, at an expense of 40,000*l.* He knew that the accumulation of the affairs of war with those of the other departments of state rendered an enlargement necessary, and pointed out the expediency of a separate establishment for war. The first clerk of that office was the only person examined touching that point before the committee; but instead of saying any thing to justify that conclusion, which he said tended to prove, that with the help of four additional clerks they might go on as well as ever. But this mode would not answer the purpose of ministers: no; an increase of the patronage of the crown was their object, and a new establishment, with enormous additional salaries, must effect their purposes. When the discovery was made of the necessity of a new establishment, many dis-

difficulties occurred respecting the arrangement. Mr. Pitt, who is so fond of "mutual compensation" in all negotiations, probably interfered, and made it the basis of treaty; and hence might have arisen "reciprocal facilities." It was only saying, I am secretary at war, and you are war secretary, and the difficulty was at an end; and on that day started out an arrangement, giving to Mr. Dundas the office of secretary of the war department, with an enormous establishment. Mr. Tierney professed himself at an utter loss to comprehend how such a palpable job could be defended, or in what manner ministers could justify the creating such an office. The present commander in chief was allowed to be most accurate, active, and industrious; nor did he mean disrespect to lord Amherst, when he attributed wholly to age his insufficiency. Lord Cornwallis had made no improvements in the ordnance department; and yet, with these advantages, the office of secretary of the war department was thought necessary for the right honourable gentleman!

It was not so much as stated that the duke of Portland could not do the duty of both; and his grace's department, instead of being reduced, had four clerks added to it. One, a precis, that is to say, an abridger; another, a law clerk, which had been abolished in 1774, and now revived; a third, a clerk for felons and convicts; and the fourth, a gentleman who left his profession (Mr. Baldwin), and was so good as to give his opinion when a case is sent with the usual compliment (the fee) marked on the back of it. Besides which, there was an active magistrate employed, who transacted

the office business with the various magistrates, and took the whole weight of that trouble off his grace's shoulders.

But to come to the other point, the illegality of the office; Mr. Burke's bill had provided that the office of the "*third secretary of state, or secretary for the colonies* (as it was then called) *should be abolished, and that two only should remain, those for the northern and southern departments; and that if any office of the same name, nature, or description, should thereafter be established, the same should be taken as a new office.*" Could any terms (he said) be found to comprehend a more large, distinct, and plain explanation of the intent of that provision?

Lord George Germaine, who held the office of third secretary, was more cautious than the honourable gentleman, for he never gave any specific name to the office he held, but held it generally by the title of "one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state." And Mr. Burke was driven thereby to state it so specially as he had done, that was to say, there should be only two, and if a third were made of the same nature with that abolished, the person should be incapable to sit in the house of commons. He would undertake to prove, that the office held by Mr. Dundas was of the same description, and, though not of the same name, for the same purposes. Let the report be examined, and the three distinct officers would be distinctly recognised by the authenticated signatures of the respective secretaries. In appendix B. 1. they will meet the signature Portland as principal secretary; in B. 2. lord Grenville, principal secretary; and then will come to Henry Dundas, principal

war

war secretary! Mr. Tierney affirmed, he had made out satisfactorily that no necessity for creating this office had been proved; and that if it had been proved, still under the law it was impossible that the honourable gentleman could retain his seat. He was not actuated (he solemnly declared) by any desire to throw difficulties in the way of public proceedings, but by an anxious wish to vindicate the honour of the house, and to prevail on them to show their resolution to preserve inviolate the law, and particularly as the king's speech recommended to them so strongly to enforce obedience to the laws. He requested that the act to which he alluded should be read, and, after it had been read, moved the following resolution:

“ That it was the opinion of that house, that the office of secretary of state for the war department was in addition to the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs and for the home department; and that the honourable Henry Dundas, having accepted of the office of secretary for the war department, was disqualified from sitting in parliament, &c.”

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that Mr. Tierney had so particularly alluded to him in the manner in which he had introduced the present motion, that he could not better refute the objections which had been stated, or demonstrate the impropriety of the measure proposed, than by giving an accurate statement of the circumstances to which he had directed the attention of the house. In the year 1791 his majesty called upon him to undertake the office for the war department: at that period, the duty attached to the situation comprehended the internal correspondence with the dif-

ferent parts of the country, with Ireland, with the colonies, and in general every thing relative to the executive administration. When the war broke out, the military correspondence was likewise conducted by him. He said he should not enter into the consideration, whether the place of third secretary of state was rightly abolished, or rightly restored? but he could not avoid embracing this opportunity of stating distinctly the business of the office which was now under discussion, and submitting it to any reasonable man's opinion, whether it was not more than would be proper to commit to any individual, whatever might be his talents or his assiduity? The increase of employment arising out of the war, the new and strange scenes which had been acted in various parts of the country, the frantic and dangerous designs which had been prosecuted with such perseverance, to disturb the public tranquillity, and overthrow our happy constitution, had required an additional portion of vigilance, and additional means of carrying on the affairs of state with undivided attention.

The only question, however, for the deliberation of the house was, whether he was a third secretary of state in the terms of the act? and in answer to Mr. Tierney's arguments, he should boldly state the fact.

In the year 1791, Mr. Dundas said, he received the seals of the home department from his majesty, and at the same time was custodier of those which had belonged to lord George Germaine. A new arrangement having taken place, he carried the seals of which he had been the custodier to his majesty, who delivered them to the duke

duke of Portland. He was then ordered by his majesty to continue the *military correspondence*, and to conduct the business of secretary of state so far as related to that object. How, then, could he be considered as third secretary of state? If two known and established secretaries existed, and another was *added*, in what manner could it be proved that the person who discharged one of these offices was either a new or a third secretary, when none of the business which belonged to that office abolished by Mr. Burke's bill was attached to the office which he held?—it was an employment quite distinct from that which the bill deemed unnecessary, and was posterior to it. The military branch, and the matters connected with it, were carried on in his department; but this did not serve as proof that he, who performed that duty before, must be the new secretary now, or that he came under the incapacities which the bill enacted. He received no new patent from his majesty, no increased salary; the emoluments were neither augmented nor diminished, they remained precisely as they did before the new arrangement took place. He was then, and continued still, one of the principal secretaries of state, whilst there were three to whom this character belonged, without its being at all specified with what particular department they were entrusted.

But the spirit and object of the bill ought also to be considered. It was intended to guard against the increase of public offices in so far as those who occupied them were, or were not, to be members of the house: but, because it suited the state of the civil list at the period when it was passed, did it fol-

low that it must be applicable to the present times? It did not enact that a third secretary should not be appointed; but that he should not be a member of the house. Before any change took place he had sat in it, and now claimed the right both on his own account and from a regard for the privileges of his constituents to exercise his legislative capacity. There had been no change in his situation since 1791; but the duty which he had performed was now executed by the duke of Portland. Upon what ground, then, had he forfeited his seat? No incapacity arose from the circumstances to which the attention of the house was called. The question had been agitated before by an honourable friend of his, with equal capacity, and with no less skill than Mr. Tierney possessed, and the opinion of the house had been pronounced upon it. He would, therefore, add no more than his negative upon the motion.

Mr. Martin said, that whether the present office violated the letter of Mr. Burke's bill, or not, the spirit of it had been disregarded; its object was to guard against the influence of the crown, and to secure the independence of parliament, which, by the proceeding in question, would be defeated.

Mr. Tierney again rose, and lamented that a subject on which he might have expected that the crown lawyers would have favoured the house with their lights; and that a question, which turned upon the interpretation of an act of parliament, and required legal knowledge, should devolve wholly upon himself. Even the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), he said, who was not backward to speak, seemed to decline. He too was implicated

in one of the most wanton, unnecessary, insulting jobs, by which the country had ever been disgraced. Mr. Dundas had affirmed, that he was not third secretary of state, because he was secretary of state before! If it were true that he had only a part of the duty, he was, in fact, no more than an officer of the duke of Portland, and disqualified equally to sit in parliament, as coming under the exceptions of the 15th of Geo. II. By that act, one under secretary in each department, and no more, was allowed to sit in parliament. Mr. Dundas did not act in that character for the home department. What difference, then, existed between him and any other person out of the duke's office? But the subject had formally been discussed: now, however, circumstances were altered, and the question came forward in a different point of view. Here the job, which before was imperfectly known, is *detected*; it was not then known that he held the office which was now distinguished by the title of the war department, hitherto uncreated. As to the charge of holding the third office, an old jest was again repeated; and we were asked, whether those who were in, or he who joined, was to be deemed *new* secretary? Doubtless his majesty might divide his office into as many parts as he pleased, if he did not call upon the house for the payment of those who were employed. He could make placemen, but not members of parliament; nor by extending the number of principal secretaries increase that of under secretaries, qualified to sit in the house of commons. By the new arrangement, two members were made. It was affirmed, indeed, that he took no salary; but others in his situation in future might differ from

him. The statute of queen Anne, and the bill of Mr. Burke, created an incapacity: no matter by what motive he may be actuated, the incapacity is legally declared. It was against the admission of the principle (Mr. Tierney said) that he contended: it was to prove what was meant by the constitution; to enforce *obedience* to the laws, that he urged the question: Would the people be satisfied, when the debate went abroad, with the juggle with which his serious charge had been answered? When it had been proved by the evidence of a select committee, and demonstrated by an act of parliament, that a gentleman sat in that house, who was disqualified by law? Would it content them to say, it was not proved whether he were first, second, or third secretary? Would it convince the public, that the office had not been created to extend the influence of the crown, and to corrupt the independence of parliament? At a moment so perilous as the present, it ought to be their business not to outrage, but conciliate the opinion of the people; nor, by a quibble, to evade the execution of law. As to himself, he was not inclined to despond; he believed that the energy of the country was great, and its resources extensive: but they were not the resources of abundance: they could only be called forth by a house of commons possessing the confidence of the nation. If that house evinced by their conduct that they were more disposed to curry favour with the king, to employ a *vigour beyond the law against the people, and less than the law in the vindication of their rights*, they might, indeed, vote grants, but they would be barren; impose taxes, but they would be unproductive. It was only by enforcing

forcing the laws equally against high and low, rich and poor, that we should find in the people energies inexhaustible, and resources without end.

The honourable gentleman, however, had said, "prove me to be third secretary of state; I went with the seals, and delivered them to the duke of Portland." Thus he endeavoured to escape by a juggle, and showed himself and his grace so close together, that it was impossible to discover which had the trust. The facts, however, were founded on no quibble. The two departments for home and foreign affairs were known. Since 1794, there had been a secretary for the war department; and the whole matter was, whether Mr. Dundas, or the duke of Portland was the new secretary? and because the duke came last into office, it was to be inferred, forsooth, that it was his grace.

But the law does not ask, who is the officer? it looks at the office: and if the new officer be found in the old department, and the former secretary in an office unknown, it cannot be difficult to decide which of them was to be held as the *new* secretary.

Mr. Pitt said, that the office of secretary of state, in the legal sense, depended upon the grant and delivering of the seals; there was no limitation of their numbers; they had varied in different periods of history, and each became a legal organ to countersign any act of state, and was placed afterwards in that department of business which his majesty, in his wisdom, thought fit to allot him.

The language of the report, and that of the clerks, who gave their evidence before the committee, had no reference whatever to the real

and legal definition of the office. Mr. Dundas had no new grant since the year 1791. He had now the old seals and the old grant. According, then, to the spirit of the act of the 6th of queen Anne, he had not forfeited his right to sit in the house; nor would it be easy to persuade them, that holding the old grant and the old seal constitute a new secretary, merely because he happened to have less duty now in the office than in the year 1791: and after this he left the question to be decided on which side the quibble lay. But after all, what was the spirit of Mr. Burke's bill? It was not a bill to restrain the creation of offices generally; not to prevent his majesty even from having a third secretary of state by name; but it stated, that if a third secretary be added, he should not sit in the house of commons. Now who was the person who was the third secretary? A member of the house of *lords*! Gentlemen might say, that the act of parliament to which he alluded was passed to prevent his majesty's influence being extended in the council of the nation; and that the third secretary of state ought to have no seat in the house of lords, any more than of commons: to which he replied, that we must observe the law as it *was*, not as some people thought it ought to be.

Mr. Tierney still asserted he was justified in the statement he had made; and if his language had appeared harsh, it arose out of the subject. He had called it a job, and he thought so still. The office of secretary of the war department existed since the 11th of July, 1794, and the disclosure was made by the committee to which he referred.

Mr. Burdon rose, he said, to justify the proceedings of the committee
of

of finance, of which he was a member, and upon which Mr. Tierney had built the principal arguments of his speech. The appointments under discussion were viewed by that committee only in the general light of state offices, nor was there ever any thing hinted respecting a legal view of the situations in which the secretaries were placed. Nothing could, therefore, be deduced from their reports to disentangle the litigated point, or prove that a new or a third secretary, and he gave his vote against the present motion on the same principle which directed his conduct in the committee of finance.

Sir William Geary gave it as his opinion, that it was evident, from the report of the secret committee, that there existed three appointments to the offices of secretary of state; and that these appointments were acknowledged under the absolute signature of the persons who held them. At the head of the war department appeared Mr. Dundas; and if he appeared in this new department he must naturally be regarded as the new secretary: now he did preside in this new office, and, consequently, in point of fact and common sense, he must be considered as the new secretary of state. As to the transaction being denominated a job, it was not a question now before the house, though he would not hesitate to style it such if the place was proved to be unnecessary. In this light he viewed the matter, and his conscience directed him to vote against the motion.

Sir William Young said, that a parallel case to this under discussion had taken place with regard to a noble friend of his, who had passed from the home to the foreign department. When that noble lord

had been removed from one office of secretary of state to another, there certainly was no idea that this change should be regarded as a creation of a new office. In like manner Mr. Dundas had been removed, but this was not to be considered as such. He, therefore, should oppose the motion.

The house divided—Ayes 8, noes 139.

With the debate which has just been concluded we shall class another of a similar, but of a more general and extensive nature—a motion which was made in the house of lords for the dismissal of the whole of the ministry. On the 22d of March, the duke of Bedford rose, and addressed the house to the following effect:

It would not, he said, require much argument to prove that the present ministers had been supported in their career by the implicit confidence of the house: they had been uncontrolled by their interference, they had been strengthened by their concurrence, nor had they, at any time, been thwarted by an opposition from any quarter which could obstruct their pursuit of the contradictory system on which they acted, or impede its ultimate success. If ministers, then, having been invested with the extraordinary powers which they possessed, and enjoying the unlimited confidence reposed in them by parliament from the commencement of the war, notwithstanding all the means with which they were entrusted, had, by their incapacity and misconduct, reduced the country to the calamitous state in which it was at present, their dismissal was the only remedy for our distress.

Without entering into the causes of the war, his grace begged to remind the house, that, prior to its

commencement, ministers had been charged with pursuing a line of conduct which infallibly must lead to hostilities; and so it had proved. But his wish was to remove, not criminate them, as the situation of the times rendered such a measure but a secondary consideration; and the subject would be better suited to a moment of tranquillity, when the absence of danger would enable them more coolly to enter into the investigation of guilt. It was from a conviction that our only chance of safety depended on their removal, that he now earnestly called upon their lordships to support the motion; not doubting but, if he could authenticate his statement, they would feel themselves compelled, by a sense of duty, to vote in its favour.

With whatever sentiments ministers had been supposed to contemplate an approaching war, it must be recollected that its declaration, on the part of the French, excited their most lively joy. They concealed not their satisfaction, that the French had furnished a pretext for it; and the war was not considered as a matter of melancholy and regret, but of triumph and exultation. Those persons, however, who thought a rupture with France should be prevented, left no effort untried to put an end to the evils in which we were involved, and to retard their progress. Remonstrances were made against the measures of the ministry. Parliament was called upon to declare, that this country would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and when the hostile views of ministers were less disguised, entreated to enter into no alliances with foreign powers, which would form an obstacle to peace, and embarrass its attainment.

To these remonstrances no answers were given. Parliament afterwards declared, that if Great Britain engaged in a war, it should merely be defensive, and entered upon for the sole purpose of protecting and fulfilling our treaties with our allies, and checking any views of aggrandisement which the French might have entertained, at the expense of other powers. To this no answer was made; but that, since we were embarked in the contest, England could only be safe by weakening France. Again, to remove all misunderstanding of the objects and the views entertained in the prosecution of the war, parliament was required to testify, that the war was undertaken, not for the purposes of aggrandisement, but on the most benevolent principles of general interest. When the French were defeated, and reduced within their own territories, ministers affirmed, that *this* was not the moment to come forward with offers of peace. When they were successful, it was said, that we ought to persevere, till their existing government was replaced by a better system; and that their prosperity was not the time for our reconciliation. Such was the language with which every attempt to oppose the progress of bloodshed was resisted! Ministers, indeed, had not then developed all their schemes, and avowed all their objects. They wished not to alarm the country with too extensive a plan of warfare, lest we should have been diverted from its prosecution, and inclined to peace. At this period, the debt incurred was seven millions; with an added annual charge upon the country of no more than 250,000*l*.

The next session of parliament opened with a speech from the throne,

throne, in which ministers (for the speech was ever to be considered that of the minister) expressed a different language. We then were told, that we were engaged in the contest, not merely for the defence of our allies, and the repelling aggression, but to resist the progress of anarchy, impiety, and irreligion, and that it was impossible to talk of peace till the monarchy of France was restored. Now it was that the most absurd plans were devised, and the most frantic projects conceived; and in the pride of momentary success, ministers hoped to rival the proudest of their predecessors in the proudest days England had ever seen. Infatuated men! they imagined that temples and trophies would be erected upon the mutilated carcases of their enemies.

In these wild and visionary expectations they were disappointed; but in their destructive career they were supported by this house! Inflamed with indignation (continued his grace) you too became unjust, and, as a learned prelate has recently observed, "assumed the right of that vengeance which belongeth not to man, but to the Deity alone." A few indeed there were, unblinded by this mistaken zeal; a few unawed by clamour, undaunted by prejudice and undisturbed by calumny, who, as ardent friends to their country, opposed the minister. They contended, that if our views were directed to the conquest of France, they were chimerical; if meant to sow dissention amongst them, vain: for they only confirmed the power and strengthened the hands of the existing rulers. At the close of the session the same efforts were renewed, but without effect. Resolutions were formed in the other house, to ascertain precisely the real object of the war:

ministers contended that it was impolitic to state their reasons at such a moment, and asked, whether we were to treat, in the hour of victory with jacobins? with men who had embued their hands in the blood of their sovereign, who called our king a tyrant, and our parliament usurpers! "No! let us die with arms in our hands!" was their boastful cry—"Never can we treat with jacobins!" But did they persevere in this high tone? did they discover a firmness in adversity corresponding to their presumption in success? Look at their conduct the ensuing year, and see how these pretensions were justified. The sessions closed; and if peace had then been obtained, we should not have experienced the financial difficulties under which we since had laboured, nor have to dread the danger which impended.

Next session the sentiments of the people had undergone a considerable change. The prospects held out to them had been disappointed, the appearance of a war of extermination now threatened them, when it was doubtful which party would be its victim. When the French were to be the objects, the idea was agreeable; but when it turned against ourselves, its aspect changed. Not merely out of doors, but in parliament itself this alteration had taken place. It was necessary therefore to use some management with those with whom it was not popular. The distraction of the French republic; the disorder and approaching ruin of her finances; the cause of religion and social order, were insisted upon. Still, however, the desire of peace gained ground.

In the house of commons, those who had uniformly exerted themselves for its restoration made new

attempts to pave the way for that object. Upon this occasion ministers moved an amendment, in which it was said that we were determined to persevere in the contest till such a government was established in France as might be able to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity. Not a word was added to explain when such a government was to be expected, or in what it would be allowed to consist. It was affirmed by the friends of peace, that it was necessary to abandon that system which led to extermination, and to treat at a period when, if unsuccessful, we should be able to continue the war with vigour. To this it was answered, Would we throw our country at the feet of France, and recognise their superiority? No—it was replied; but we had reason to distrust the capacity of those who had involved us in our present difficulties. Ministers, however, continued to exclaim, Would we treat with the republic? would we acknowledge that our king and parliament were unfit to govern us? would we surrender our West-India islands and our commercial advantages? They told us also, that the finances of the enemy were exhausted, and he was incapable of maintaining the contest. Amidst all these topics, however, their lofty tone was softened; they no longer said, they were fighting to restore the ancient government of France: their spirit sunk as their difficulties increased, their concessions advanced in proportion as their embarrassments thickened; but it was no advantage to their country, it only produced disgrace, without promoting conciliation.

In the next speech from the throne, France was declared to have come to, a crisis which might lead

to peace. Many doubted the propriety of the steps taken to effect it; many suspected they were not sincere; some advances to negotiation, however, were made by Mr. Wickham to Barthelemi, the French envoy at Basle. The success of that application was well known, and its object was strongly suspected to have been merely to satisfy the prevailing inclination of the people. The conduct of lord Malmesbury, in the first instance, proved also, that if ministers were sincere, they must have been the most incapable administration that ever existed. A minister was sent with power to conclude, and not to treat, except for the emperor; and that was without his authority! Vain attempts had been made to obtain those documents and papers, without which it was impossible to develop the true state of some very important points in the negotiation; and his grace confessed, that he was not able to form a correct opinion upon the subject. But as those documents were refused, he concluded that they contained nothing which could justify ministers in the demands of Belgium as a *sine qua non*. Notwithstanding the pretences upon which the war was said to be undertaken (as to give protection to the oppressed, to check the career of ambition, and to defend property), what were the terms on which we proposed to conclude a peace? All the greater powers were to be benefited at the expense of the smaller. Whilst Poland was allowed to be divided without a remonstrance, schemes of partition were devised by those who pretended to interfere for the advantage of the weak, and the interest of all parties. France was to have retained some of her conquests, the emperor to have received

ceived compensation for his losses, and Great Britain to have taken the Dutch settlements in the east. Upon this occasion (as a *sine qua non*) Belgium was not to have remained with France. Lord Malmesbury's first negotiation was broken off upon this point; though it was the opinion of many (well calculated to judge of it) that it ought to have been ceded as the means of obtaining peace.

This surrender would have been yet more necessary had it been known that the bank was in danger of stopping payment; and what must have been the capacity of those ministers, who, being warned of the consequences, persisted in the measures!

The duke proceeded to point out the difference of our situation now, and five years ago; the country was obliged to pay interest for a debt of 160 millions, the most enormous that ever was incurred in any war. This was the sum which it was thought necessary to expend for the destruction of jacobins! And, after all, the jacobin rulers still existed in France, and possessed more honour than ever they did! Notwithstanding this debt, another was to be contracted: and an additional charge of nine millions and a half annually was to be laid on this country. A greater burden than what the whole interest of the loan amounted to at the end of the American war! Could no blame attach to the men who had squandered so profusely the resources of the nation without fruit or advantage?

The war began in conjunction with the greatest confederacy ever known in Europe, and we were now without a single ally but Portugal! we were reduced to a state of inert self defence; we had no prospect

to cheer our gloom, or compensate for our sacrifices; and our exertions under the present ministry were as hopeless as they were incalculable. Whilst this was our outward situation, there was nothing in our internal state to afford us consolation: whilst our burdens increased our privileges had been abridged; we now were living under laws which were hostile to the best principles our ancestors had laboured to establish. But there was another topic which this review suggested; this was the affairs of Ireland: did not the ministry of this country, by the system which they pursued, alienate the affections of the sister kingdom? His grace declared, that if he were to enter into the detail of the atrocities committed in Ireland, the picture would appal the stoutest hearts. What could be expected, indeed, if men, kept in strict discipline, were all at once allowed to give loose to their fury and their passions? Yet it was not to the military to whom he would impute the blame, but to those by whom their excesses had been permitted and encouraged. Certain it was that two distinct and opposite orders had been issued forth for regulating the conduct of the military: one by which they were restrained from acting without the magistracy, and the other by which they were allowed to *act without* them. These proceedings were sanctioned by government, and what would be the consequences? the loss of Ireland! A reform in parliament was absolutely necessary to check the influence of the crown, and the power of the aristocracy: to check that enormous influence which the minister had derived by the creation of peers, when peers were sent into the house by dozens.

(The duke was here called to order

order by lord Fauconberg, who said he had never heard such language poured forth in that house upon the members of it.) His grace affirmed that he had uttered nothing injurious to the characters of those elevated to the peerage: they were men of talents, of consideration, and of property; but if all men of this description, or rather, of great landed property, were selected by the minister out of the house of commons, and sent up to that house, the independence of the commons must ultimately be affected. If no country gentlemen of wealth and consideration remained, the minister would acquire the command of every election, especially supported as they were by all the influence which the overgrown revenue of this country must everywhere place in his hands.

His grace next took notice of the calumnies which were cast upon all who opposed the measures of administration. They had been accused of inflaming the minds of the people, of being hostile to the constitution; nay, he himself had been charged with rejoicing in the successes of the French against this country! He could not help considering it as a disadvantage to hold out to the enemy, that on landing here they would find supporters; but in case of invasion, who would be the men from whom the directory might hope assistance? from those mean sycophants of power, who readily and servilely followed every change, who had been the creatures of every one in authority, and whose loyalty depended on the times! Every Englishman well knew, that if the French succeeded, we should be the most degraded slaves that ever existed; and no reasonable person would believe that the opposers of faulty ministers

would be the abettors of the French. His grace solemnly avowed, that for his own part, though he never would contribute to keep the present ministers in their places, he would exert every effort to repel invaders from our coasts. He would wait for his sovereign's command to take arms in defence of his country, and in the foremost posts of danger prove his loyalty; suspending all difference of opinion till the attack was ended; but if he returned safe, he should return with the same abhorrence and detestation of the minister's conduct, and vow eternal enmity to his system—and, if ever he contracted any alliance with any administration upon any other basis than that he had described, or joined any set of men upon public principles different from those he had professed, he wished the just indignation of his country to pursue him, and the bitterest execrations of mankind to be his portion. As the duke was much exhausted with speaking so long, and the address was copious, his grace was dispensed with reading it, and it was read by the lord chancellor.

The following is an abstract of the address:—"That it be humbly represented to his majesty, that after all the advantages his ministers had received from parliament, as their support, their confidence, and the revenue of these kingdoms, Great Britain had been exposed to all those dangers which it was alleged could only be prevented by resisting the power of the French government; and, after an unavailing expense of blood and treasure, it was now the petition of the house to compel the ministers to open a negotiation for peace, with a total dereliction of the principles on which they had hitherto acted.

"That

“That our situation was too critical to admit of further trial of councils, which had failed; or the same persons in office, who, notwithstanding the heavy charges brought against them, retained their places by their policy, to the great danger of our country, our constitution, and our liberties. Our privileges had been violated, our securities destroyed, the connexion with our sister kingdom threatened with dissolution, and all the foundations of our importance in Europe rendered precarious and uncertain. To extricate us from such difficulties required much fortitude and wisdom; and as we could not look to his majesty’s present advisers for these qualities, neither could we expect a successful prosecution of the war, or a secure and equitable peace.

“The representation therefore was submitted, trusting, that his majesty would see, as his subjects did, the urgent necessity of employing other persons, and adopting other councils.”

Lord Boringdon said, that the proposition was of a most plain and simple nature; at the same time it was of the utmost importance; for upon their lordships’ rejection or adoption of it, depended, in his opinion, the independence of the country, and the existence of the constitution.

The duke, he said, in all his observations upon our present situation, had wholly abstained from speaking of it, with respect to the other powers of Europe. He had made no comparison between them and us, and had, consequently, given a very inadequate idea of our real state, estimated, as it had always been, by the consideration of its relation to others. The impression arising from such a discussion must have been, contentment and exultation at our own superiority, at

the unrivalled blessings we enjoyed, at the dignified station in which we were held by all who looked with horror to the dominion of foreign tyranny, and to whom religion, liberty, and law, were still objects of veneration and love. Had the situation of the Batavian republic, of the Spanish monarchy, or of the neutral maritime powers, been stated; had his grace talked of the tranquillity of Italy or Switzerland; or had he expatiated on the happiness enjoyed even in the French republic, the effect must have been the raising the opinion of the house of those ministers, who, amid such a general wreck of empire, had preserved this country in a state of prosperity and vigour which in no former period had been exceeded. If such a sum as 164 millions had been added to the public debt, with all those other calamities so eloquently, and, he must say, so *carefully*, enumerated in a time of tranquillity, the ministers might be considered as weak and wicked; but the contrary was the fact: that debt and those calamities had been the consequences of a war which had desolated Europe, and were light when balanced with those of other nations. The restoration of monarchy in France had been at one time regarded as a mean of peace, but he would ever deny that it had been the object of the war. In taking advantage of the royalist party, we had acted according to just and sound policy of the time, and according to the general practice of civilised nations. In all the wars in Europe, during the present century, the same conduct had been pursued. Louis the XIVth, on the one hand, and England and Austria on the other, took pains to influence the Spaniards, and secure their co-operation in what was commonly called the

the succession-war. The same principle occurred with regard to the powers which supported the interests of Charles VII. and Francis the First, as emperor of Germany; nor were the repeated succours afforded by France to James II. and his successors, against England, considered as contrary to the law of nations. Be this however as it might, he had authority for saying, that the restoration of monarchy was not our object in the present case. Tallien addressed a public paper to the French nation, affirming, "that it was against France, and not against their republic, that England was fighting; and that if France was to declare for a monarchy, England would support the republic." This was intelligible language, and could be supposed to mean nothing more or less than that it was not against any form of government in France, but against her gigantic and ambitious projects that England would oppose herself.

Upon another subject his lordship said, he was sorry to perceive the duke had not observed that strict delicacy which it demanded; namely, the situation of Ireland. Could any system of conciliation produce the effect of tranquillising men who had avowed their determination to hear of nothing but what came from themselves? He was much surprised also to hear his grace descant on the numberless atrocities committed by the military in Ireland, and at the belief with which such accounts were received by this country.

Lord Moira had, a few months ago, brought forward this subject, and had been assiduous in collecting the instances he adduced: but it had been proved since, that he had been extremely mistaken in some of the principal cases which he had

laid before the house. No one, his lordship said, could be more friendly to plans of conciliation than himself; but he thought, if the Irish legislature was now to adopt the two measures which were comprehended under the term, no possible good could result from it.

In proposing to the house the address, to remove the present ministers, it was calling upon their lordships to obliterate their former services, to forget that to them we were indebted for the advantageous commercial treaty with France in 1788: to them we owed the improvements which the jurisprudence of this country had derived from juries, and from the decision of the question respecting the abatement of impeachment; the admirable system of finance which had raised the funds to the extraordinary pitch at which they had arrived, previous to the year 1793. Nor was this all; the duke had called for their removal at a period when the suspension of the powers of government, even for a week, must be attended with the most serious consequences; at a time when a conspiracy existed against all the old governments of the earth; when the power and animosity of the enemy were increased; when common spoil would not satisfy him; when he was actually at our gates; when his language was clear and decided;

"Actum," inquit, "nihil est, ni Pæna milite portas
Frangimus, et mediâ vexillum pono suburrâ."

This was precisely the moment when his grace had recommended to the house to address the king to change the whole executive government of the country! But what must be the effect of such a change? The British constitution would be committed

committed to men whose ideas of parliamentary reform must necessarily weaken our means of national defence, and create disunion throughout every part of the kingdom.

Their lordships were totally unacquainted with the system on which this new government would act; several of the persons, most likely to compose it, had virtually declared the house of commons to be no longer the representatives of the people. Would they condescend to resume their seats in that assembly? and would their first acts be proposed to the consideration of parliament, or ushered into the world through any other channel? In short, their intentions were unknown, or how far, in their desiring to obtain a nominal peace with France, they might humble this country at its feet, or be carried beyond their own plans in the prosecution of this favourite object—a *radical* reform.

The duke of Bedford here rose to explain, that the address could not have that effect: he had distinctly stated, that if there were men of integrity and talents in that house, and in the house of commons, on the removal of the present ministry, they might procure peace with France, and conciliate Ireland. He had not said, that if the present ministers were dismissed, they must necessarily be succeeded by others who were determined on a radical reform in parliament.

Lord Holland was surprised that the nobles who espoused the present ministers could assert, that this country was not in a state of unprecedented calamity: the rashness of the present administration had brought us into the war, and their incapacity had rendered it peculiarly disastrous.

The noble Lord, indeed, had admitted that our situation was pregnant with danger, whilst he boasted of the dignified state of the country. If then we were “threatened with a conspiracy;” if the enemy was at our gates; did we not need the assistance of men of abilities, fortitude, and vigour? and did not our situation require the house to withdraw its support from those who exhibited throughout their ministerial office a total insufficiency to discharge it properly?

That the present minister had great talents he did not deny; but they were talents unfitted for the present times.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget.*

Lofty declamation without energy, boasted eloquence without vigour, little cunning without wisdom, feeble efforts, or temporising expedients, would never rescue us from the impending evils. The authority of Tallien was adduced to prove that the restoration of monarchy in France was not our object; it was not the republic, but the French nation, against which we waged the war. This was true at one time, and at another false, as it happened to suit the views of ministers. Mr. Burke had maintained, that without a monarchy was established in France, there was no security in Europe; and whilst he was urging the necessity of overturning the republic, ministers thought it a proper pretext for attacking the nation, and thus unhappily contrived to enlist every man in France, whether republican or loyalist, against them. It was to the confusion of those two doctrines we owed all the errors and calamities of the war, imitating and inflaming thereby all the French against this country. By this confusion of principle and duplicity of conduct,

conduct, and the obvious treachery of their views, did the allies provoke, not only the interests, but the vanity of France; for every individual felt it to be his duty to resist the combination of princes. England, as had been stated, was at that time in a condition of unexampled prosperity; yet flourishing as it was, found it impossible to check the progress of France: and might we not presume that such miscarriages, so uniformly attending every plan of ministers, could only be owing to their want of capacity as statesmen?

They set out with a confident promise that the war would be of short duration: it had turned out otherwise: and it was natural for them to plead, and candid for us to admit, so far they were in error: but if a long series of action was found to be but one long series of error; if, in a period of six years, changing from principle to principle, from expedient to expedient, they are not once in the right, were we not justified in saying they were unfit for their offices, and requesting their dismissal?

But this, it is answered, would be ingratitude; they have rendered services to the country, and raised its finances to affluence. But should such a paltry evasion be deemed a justification for their having destroyed the finances of the country since? Let ministers restore them even to the state in which they stood previous to their boasted services: not only have they undone what they themselves did, but all that had been before their times. Ought we, out of gratitude for a small and temporary benefit, to devote our country to them and to destruction?

At the beginning of every session we were told, "these are your ex-

penses for this year" — and constantly the sum had been doubled before the end of the session. This was called "an unforeseen accident." Subsidies were unexpectedly found necessary, and the ordinary mode of supply was abolished. Here too they pleaded error; but were they never cautioned against those subsidies? were there no men eminent for virtue and capacity, who predicted at the time, that the subsidised powers would desert the alliance, and the treasures of the nation be squandered in vain?

He would not dwell on the known desertion of Prussia; but Austria and Sardinia were subsidised to carry on the war. Holland did not desire our interference at all; and as they began, so they continued to do it, merely because we persuaded them. But happy would it have been for this country if ministers had subsidised these powers to make peace instead: unfortunate it was, that Austria was not persuaded so to do, before Belgium was lost! When Sardinia, in return for our subsidy, concluded peace with France, it was also "an unforeseen accident." The minister had been the most unfortunate man in the world in the *multiplicity* of his "unforeseen accidents! It was the admirable remark of the marquis of Landsdown, "that the allies, by their conduct in the war, would establish a military republic in the heart of Europe" — and thus it had turned out!

Of Ireland, he had but few observations to offer; and the chief was, if conciliation would not produce tranquillity, would coercion? Was there any instance of such an effect proceeding from such measures? Had the war with France or with America, both of which inspired their advocates with the most sanguine hopes, afforded us any
reason

reason to put confidence in force? His majesty's present ministers indeed were not likely to tranquillise Ireland by conciliation; how could they, when their concession had always been known to proceed from fear? and when they refused to supplicate what they granted to menace? when they never accorded even to the Irish any thing which they had not before refused, or without struggle and resistance. And it was thus the rulers of France argued, and hence arose their reluctance to make peace till they could exact from the fear and feebleness of administration what they would despair of obtaining from any other set of men. Observing in the political tactics here the nature of our minister, and his jealousy of the people, they naturally thought he did not ask for peace in its true spirit, but because he would appease the clamour by the pretext of negotiation; and the directory had withheld that peace, which, if any other men were our ministers, they would have found it their interest to grant.

The British minister, who was so dignified, that he would hold no terms with the murderers of the king of France, had sent a plenipotentiary over to crouch to one of the very worst of his murderers; and the enemy judging by this, that by waiting longer they would have more ample concessions, repulsed him; for the *malus animus* was no more dead amongst the rulers of France than amongst ours.

Lord Holland concluded with supporting strongly the address for dismissal of the ministers.

The marquis of Downshire affirmed, that no conciliation would save Ireland: if, indeed, thereby was meant, that the king of Great Britain should no longer be acknow-

ledged by Ireland, and that that country should be a province to France, that point might be obtained by conciliation: but he confidently could declare, that it was the general wish of that kingdom to stand or fall by this. Every syllable which a noble earl had stated upon certain necessary measures had been contradicted by facts. There were indeed two sets of people in Ireland; one said they wished only the emancipation of the catholics, the other, parliamentary reform; in which they were not sincere. They made use of these pretexts to deceive the vulgar and the ignorant. He confessed he was not afraid of the effects of coercion, although he liked concession in the right place: but not of that kind which must endanger the state. Ever since our sovereign had ascended the throne, concession had been granted after concession. Ireland had a free trade, as free as could be securely made with regard to the other parts of his majesty's dominions. Every catholic was free who chose to be so—that was, as free as the safety of the state would admit. Were the catholics to have an equal share in the government as the protestants, the government and the country would be lost. He was sorry to be obliged to say, that coercion was absolutely necessary in Ireland, to check and prevent the designs of the united Irishmen. But their efforts were now becoming more feeble, and the deluded people awakened to their sense of duty and allegiance by these measures. He could not but observe the united Irishmen would never have committed such atrocities if they had not received support from the clubs and societies of this country; and he was ashamed to see that too many noblemen gave strength

strength to these societies, by belonging to them. And that the menaces of assassination, and the murders, so shocking to human nature, were to be attributed to the principles which had been disseminated by the emissaries of France, by the corresponding societies, and by those who had affiliated themselves to the directory. Believing this, he had only to add his decided negative to the address.

Lord Romney said, it had been observed by lord Holland, that the two wars had been owing to the want of parliamentary reform—now he could affirm (for he was in parliament during the whole of the American war) that if ever there was a war ended by parliament, it was *that*, to the great joy and exultation of the country. He did not see the slightest ground for the present motion: ministers possessed the public opinion as much as at any period of administration, and they deserved the thanks, not the censure of the house. This war had not been unsuccessful; in no spot upon the whole globe had we lost a single point. The enemy had been blocked up in their own ports, and dared not attack us, even within a league of their coasts, for they had not attempted it at Guernsey or Jersey. Dispiriting language ill became us; we ought to remember the situation in which we stood last year, when surrounded with so many domestic difficulties, and so many domestic enemies. How was the picture changed! Men of every description were now eager to show their zeal in the cause of their country, and to contribute to the government under which they were so happy as to live. Respecting Ireland, he referred the house to the testimony of the marquis of Downshire, who, from connexions

in that kingdom, had much better information than any other person.

It was matter of indifference to him who were the ministers, provided they did their duty; and our capability of carrying on the war with more resources this year than last, he considered as the effect of the wise policy of the present administration. So clear was his conviction on this point, that if this motion (which had his total disapprobation) was not carried, he should vote for approving the conduct of ministers during the progress of the war.

Earl Darnley rose next, and argued for a considerable time against the proposed address. He said, he did not mean to deny there might be many men in the kingdom competent to form an administration besides his majesty's ministers, or his grace's particular friends; but he ever should maintain that it was novel in the practice of the constitution, that the crown should entrust its power to men unknown to the country, either as to their character or principle, which must be the case if neither any person at present in administration, or avowedly in opposition to it, was admitted.

The question was called for, and the lord chancellor began to read the motion, when the marquis of Landsdown addressed the house. He said, the question before them was, whether the present ministers were capable or incapable of conducting the affairs of the country at this critical juncture? judging by their past conduct; and there was no other way to judge, but by the conduct and actions of men.

To form an accurate opinion, we had only to examine what they had promised, and what they had performed; and if they had pro-

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missed any thing which they had not performed, what reasons could be alleged for their failure? If they had been proved to have acted as wise men ought to have acted, let them not only be free from censure, but receive applause; for that man must be weak and wicked who could advise the sovereign to dismiss ministers who had acted well. It would be dangerous to suspend the operations of government at such a time, even for three days, without an administration. He spoke not with party spirit; there were men on each side whose talents he most highly respected. — The duke, whose motion was now before the house, possessed an integrity of mind which could not be appreciated beyond its value; and if it should appear that the ministers had reduced the nation from affluence to poverty, and, with the command of the wealth of our country, brought it into that very state in which they declared often the enemy to be, and all this by negligence or incapacity, it would be the duty of their lordships to address their sovereign with petitions to dismiss them.

The marquis then referred to the American war; he remembered, he said, how much the passions were interested on that subject also, and that every person who attempted to address the judgment of the people was stigmatised and calumniated: he lived to see all that false ardour abate, but not until great mischief had followed. Would to Heaven the danger was not now much greater! for the evils of that war were nothing in comparison with the present. Bold and unqualified assurances of success had been repeatedly made in that and in the other house: similar declarations were promulgated in the time of the

American war; yet every one of them were contradicted by the events which took place; and so it had been in this. With regard to allies, it was affirmed, they never would forsake us; when any thing was urged against them it was considered so dangerous, that a public discussion was said to embroil the safety of the country.

The coalition of the powers against France was represented as an irresistible force, far above that confederacy formed in the reign of queen Anne. Nay, he had heard it called a libel upon his imperial majesty to doubt the solvency of the court of Vienna; for actions to the amount of 400l. for every 300l. were deposited in the bank to make good the payments of the imperial loan. The idea of the emperor making peace without us was so absurd, that its statement was not to be endured. The French were said to be in a state of penury; that in Paris, and all the provinces, they were reduced to their last penny; that they had issued milliards in paper, which had been spent in a single campaign; and which, amounting to the sum of one hundred and seventy-two millions sterling, they could never pay; and that it was impossible for them to go on: whereas, we had a million surplus, besides our sinking fund; in short, that our property was unbounded, whilst they had not any.

The war, indeed, was to secure our property, which would be done so completely, notwithstanding the war, that we should never be called upon to go out of the ordinary course of taxation. Let these promises be compared with facts. Added to them, we were assured of great success upon the continent; from which we were now driven,

nor

nor could any thing protect us from mischief there, but the total insignificance to which we were reduced. And what period had there been, till the present, in the history of Europe, when Great Britain dared not show herself upon the continent, and was blotted out of the map! We had no ambassador to see or represent any thing respecting our balance of power, which we now had lost, and lost through the mismanagement of ministers!

Lord Holland (continued the marquis) asked, the other day, for some papers relative to Belgium being insisted upon as a *sine qua non* of peace: had he been in the house he would have saved him the trouble, because ministers had no such papers to produce: if they had, what could possess them to make that absurd demand upon the French, on the 27th of December, 1796? They then insisted on the restoration of the Milanese and the whole of Savoy; and that every thing should be put on the footing of the *status quo ante bellum*. In less than four months after, it appeared that the emperor had opened a negotiation with the French, stipulating, as a preliminary, not to insist upon any of those points which our ministers insisted upon for him. Could they have done this, had they received communications from the court of Vienna? This negotiation opened the 17th of April, 1797. But what was become of the milliards of paper which were to bear down the finance of France? These they had got rid of, at the expense to their government of only six millions sterling; and contrived to continue the war, which had been pronounced by our ministers impossible. Their paper was extinct, instead of being extended. But what was our state of

finance? We were driven to every desperate resource: somebody said something of swindling, and this was very near the truth. With regard to subscriptions, he must repeat what had been said by Mr. Burke, who had great weight with ministers: "It was one step towards the dissolution of all property." We were going all over the country, making public and chartered bodies apply the property entrusted to them for certain uses to the exigencies of government.—The bank of England is made to give 200,000*l.* without the advice of council. Why had they a council? Why should they throw away their own money, and the money of others, at the feet of the executive government? It was contrary to the principles of justice, and contrary to the rules of law.

There was another point which demanded serious consideration: it had been said, in another house, "that offices and places were held by a stronger tenure than any freehold." This was a doctrine which should never go unrefuted by him: to consider offices and places under the crown of equal or superior weight with freehold property was a most dangerous principle. Offices were obtained by accident, intrigue, or court corruption, and ought never to be placed on the footing of a freehold. If property was insecure, liberty would soon become so; indeed, property might sooner subsist without liberty, than liberty without property.

The marquis next expatiated upon the folly of the ministers, in endeavouring to extend our empire by conquest: it was pleasing to weak minds, because it extended patronage; but, in a national view, it was destructive. We had conquered islands, and given them up.

Corfica

Corfica had been ours, at an immense expence, and was resigned; and it would have been well if we had abandoned our mad schemes of conquest in St. Domingo. Of the state of Ireland he thought differently from the marquis of Downshire; he believed it held from one end to the other by military tenure. That very day he had received accounts, not from a politician, who coloured facts to suit his system; not from a man who was paid for writing news; but a plain individual, who affirmed, that the farmers in Ireland were declining their tillage! What a scene of calamity did this open! at least, it was the possibility of a famine in one part of the empire. But to look at it upon a larger scale; what was the British empire? It consisted of Great Britain and Ireland, with its dependencies, which he conceived to be a considerable burden in any but a commercial view. Even India was only of importance for its wealth; and that was little advantage compared with the losses of life and corruption of morals which it occasioned. Scotland was said to be quiet, and no distrusts, reigning between the gentry and the labourers, leading to disaffection; though the state of trials would scarcely lead one to this conclusion. But the time might soon arrive when England must support Scotland to carry on a war in Ireland; and in this way, if the country was made of gold, and men sprung up as mushrooms, we could not long continue this system. If we were secure from invasion, the want of money would destroy our efforts.

He much objected to coercion; it required superior talents to that of lenity: we might not always hear of a Richelieu, or an Oliver Cromwell; and, from the earliest

history of mankind, the precedents were twenty to one in favour of gentle measures. The difference between a wise and a weak man was, that the wise man saw an event three days before the other.

Respecting the specific motion before the house, the marquis said, though he had always been inclined against similar motions, he was for this, from the experience of 1782, where he found ministers called in to make a peace, and then dismissed. He called for the dismissal of the present ministers immediately, because we were in a desperate situation, and no time was to be lost. Let us but have an administration who could procure tranquillity, and they would achieve great good, although those who were in power should return to it, and those who procured peace were to be hanged for their trouble.

Lord Mulgrave defended the conduct of the ministers, especially as it respected the finances of this country. So far, he said, had it been from any thing approaching to *swindling*, that our engagements had been most punctually and honourably fulfilled, which evinced their capacity and their uprightness. The confidence of the people also was forcibly proved, by the spirit and alacrity with which they now pressed forward with voluntary subscriptions in aid of the growing exigencies of the state. If there were any objection to be urged against administration, it was, their manifesting a desire to enter into a negotiation with France when there was no probability of success. Respecting the last, he believed there was no difference of opinion as to the cause of its termination, nor would it admit an argument in favour of the enemy.

His lordship inveighed with great force and ability against the principles of the united Irishmen, who, he said, were prepared to throw their country into the hands of France; but if it was ever so unfortunate as to fall under the tyranny of the directory, it might now anticipate the horrors of slavery, by reflecting on the situation to which they had reduced all who had listened to their invitations of fraternity. These were the fatal effects which he deprecated, and on these he rested his resistance to a conciliation with the rebels of Ireland, and his defence of the present ministers; for if they could not make peace, as was stated by the duke, nor conciliate Ireland, as was affirmed by lord Holland, was there not reason to apprehend that France, viewing a change of ministers, as a change of the system of the war, as an acknowledgment that we were the original aggressors, would extend her demands with the lamentations of the new ambassador, and grow in insolence as the ministers of the new creation enlarged their sympathies and professed their griefs? He was not for entrusting power to the hands of any men whom the French would regard as their friends; nor did he think it either safe or expedient to remove ministers, who enjoyed the confidence of the country, to make room for those who were supposed less objectionable to the directory; and under these circumstances he could not approve the motion of his grace.

Lord Grenville considered the present motion as much more important to the future interests of the country, than in its reference to the conduct and character of the whole British nation. It related less to these than to the

system on which the parliament and people of England were now acting in opposition to the arms and principles of France. In order to decry this system, and induce the nation to confess the crimes and folly, the injustice and cruelty, with which his grace had charged them, he had revived all the unfounded allegations respecting the principle of the war, so often made in that place, and so often rejected. The decisive proofs upon this subject were to be found in the journals of the house, not in loose recollection and vague report. The speeches with which the king had opened and concluded each session of parliament afforded authentic records of the language of government concerning the origin, grounds, and progress of the war. There were many declarations besides which the house had made at different periods, to obviate misrepresentation. Why were not these appealed to? This was *his* defence of parliament against the imputation of its having varied its language or disguised its objects—of having engaged in the war for the restoration of monarchy, or having pursued it with any other view than that of obtaining an honourable peace for this country.

But, it was asserted, that ministers had pledged themselves that the allies would never desert them. Was it possible such a pledge could have been given, or parliament ever require it? The British government could not control the conduct of foreign powers. They had, indeed, alleged, particularly in the case of Austria, the various motives of good faith, honour, and dignity, of interest, and even security, which ought to induce that power to abide by its engagements with

with Great Britain; and if they had not yet been taught, that by making the public faith of their governments, they had shaken the foundation of their thrones, we might regret the circumstance for their sake, and lament it for our own; but we could not, in justice, impute the blame of blindness to men who acted on more honourable principles and with a wiser policy. We had also this consolation, that if we contend alone, it is against an enemy exhausted by the effects of that very system of alliance so condemned. What able statesman would decline availing himself in a just contest of useful allies, because there could be no certainty of their permanent assistance; or refuse a powerful aid, because it might possibly be withdrawn before the termination of the war?

In all the statements of our profress and miscarriages, not the slightest mention had been made of our naval triumphs: on the affairs of the continent, in which we had only a secondary interest, they had dwelt with peculiar emphasis; but of that which was the primary object of Great Britain, not a word had been uttered. The house was adjured to dismiss the ministers, without examining the principal feature in their cause. For the systems of foreign courts, whom we could not direct; for the success of military plans which we could not control; for the operations of distant armies, in which we had not the smallest share; the character and conduct of ministers was attacked. Of that which is immediately within the sphere of British government, which claims the first duty of administration, and the first attention of parliament, they banish all considera-

tion. Against this mode of trial, his lordship said, he must decidedly protest: in that part of the war which belonged to England, and in which alone our conduct could appear entire and unmixed, we had obtained successes which surpassed the most brilliant examples of our ancestors. It was with these that he was not afraid to compare the present war, demanding of his opponents what other period of our history could be found, when, after the decisive and glorious victories gained over the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, the British navy had rid triumphant at the same moment at the mouths of Brest, Cadiz, and the Texel.

“ But we had evinced a disposition to continue the war beyond the time when peace could have been obtained.”

It was difficult to meet an assertion which did not specify the time to which it referred. As a general assertion, he denied it in the most unequivocal terms; but as far as he could collect the time alluded to, it was that of Robespierre, of whom he could not speak in terms of abhorrence equally forcible with those used by every Frenchman. He mentioned the name to remind their lordships of the system of terror then pursued. There was then no government in France, unless a reign of assassins, butchers, and executioners, deserved to be called so. There was no tendency to peace, unless it could be found in the reports of Barrere, who first brought forward the comparison of Rome and Carthage, who then first announced the principle *Delenda est Carthago*, leaving to his successors the first example of that language so completely since adopted by the French directory.

If other proof were wanting, it might be found in that decree of giving no quarter to the British troops; a decree, which in justice to the French troops, little as he was disposed to praise them, he must say, that even *they* had refused to execute. So far was he from thinking that, at that moment, there was any real chance of negotiation, he believed, from his soul, that any British minister, then sent to Paris, would have been sent to the guillotine with the rest of the victims. From the fall of Robespierre, every opportunity which pointed towards peace had been eagerly embraced; the question of the negotiation at Paris had that night been revived—often as it had been discussed before; but his grace had brought forward an accusation so extraordinary, that he could not refrain expressing utter astonishment at it. The duke had affirmed, “that the plan of peace offered by Great Britain rested on the partition and spoliation of the little powers of Europe.” Spain and Holland had never before been considered in the description of “*little powers*”—nor would it have been regarded as a proof of pacific disposition, if we had announced at Paris, that peace must be deferred till Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were compelled (by what means he knew not) to restore the ancient limits of Poland.

We were no parties to that partition which we had always reprobated, but which we had no means to prevent, much less to rescind after its completion. Holland, when we were first driven into the war, was a friendly independent power, with whom rested the defence of those possessions which we considered as the keys of the British empire in India. We offered to

France, that if she could replace Holland in that situation of independence and amity towards us, we would restore those conquests; adding, that we would weigh to what extent our own safety would allow us, to relax from demands in which that consideration had formed the principal ingredient.

So far from plundering the little powers, the projet had been expressly framed to prevent such a measure. If, by the restoration of our conquests in France, we could have procured the Netherlands for the emperor, all plea for those extensive schemes of partition now in agitation would have been removed. The failure of that plan had led to the system now pursued at Rastadt, without the concurrence of Great Britain. Of the negotiation at Lisle, the duke had found it impossible to speak in terms contrary to the sentiments of the country upon it; and therefore had contented himself with blaming the choice of the negotiator. On this, he should only remark, that he was now censured for employing a man on whose conduct, in the most difficult situation, neither malignity nor faction could fix the slightest imputation.

The subject of “radical reform,” for some reason of management or intrigue, seemed to be put less forward in this night’s debate than formerly: the light was thrown on other parts of the picture, whilst this was shaded over, and kept with care in the back ground. Still however it was there: the duke had declared he would never belong to any government that did not carry through this radical reform; and concluded his speech with imprecations on himself if ever he acted with the present ministers, who were hostile to it.

Whatever

Whatever dislike his grace might feel to their system, it could not possibly exceed the detestation which they entertained for the principles and conduct of *radical reformers*. Their opinion, indeed, was the same which had been delivered by Condorcet, who, when he announced with joy that the patriots of England were labouring in that cause, added, that from such reform the transition would be short to the establishment of a complete republic.

The duke, indeed, had consented that the new ministers should postpone the question in England; but in Ireland, he required it should be carried immediately: nor was this all; peace must be procured with France notwithstanding her inveterate hostility to us: and a noble marquis had said, what he seemed to think a matter of much indifference to the house, though to the new minister it might be a matter of some consideration, "that the peace must be made, though the person who made it would probably be hanged." The principles on which such a peace was likely to be effected could easily be collected: in addition to all our "injustice," in opposing it, we must humble ourselves to the directory, and confess our sincere repentance for the bloodshed and carnage *they* had occasioned. The marquis had given the house an estimate of the value of our foreign possessions: perhaps the directory, out of pity, and in consideration of our humility, would deliver us from some part of the burden under which we complained; they might possibly have the goodness to relieve us of Jamaica, to take upon themselves the defence of our Indian possessions; perhaps even to discharge us from the weight of Ben-

gal; and though we might lose the best part of our commerce, more than half our revenue, and the whole supply of our naval strength, we should certainly remain a light, disburdened, well-compacted power, peculiarly fitted to resist the future enterprises of France, and to defend ourselves against that tyranny which even the noble lord had described as the utmost of human misery. If these were the conditions of the peace, he seriously believed the marquis's prediction would be verified—"the ministers who made it would be hanged;" and he was sure they would deserve to be so.

But the house had heard that night another matter of no slight importance; the corresponding societies had been mentioned: what these societies were, their publications, their meetings, were in the memory of their lordships.

Lord Downshire had told them, that even the united Irishmen would not have proceeded to their enormities without these encouragements. Yet with these very societies the duke and his party were suspected to have formed a mysterious enigmatical connexion. He trusted this suspicion would be cleared up—he hoped no member of that house could have the smallest difficulty in disavowing the charge, and he *solemnly called upon the duke to do so*.

For himself, and those with whom he had the happiness of being connected, he had explained the motives of their conduct; it was for the house to decide upon the question; it would not affect the principles on which they acted, anxious only to bear their part, whatever it might be, in that noble stand which placed this country at this moment in a state of greater

consideration and respect in Europe than ever she had acquired at the head of the most triumphant league. If they were anxious for glory, it was the glory of resistance, first in labour, first in danger, and, he trusted, not last in honour!

The marquis of Landfdown in reply said, the noble lord derived no inconsiderable aid from a loud voice, a confident manner, and an authoritative air, the usual concomitants of office. But nothing should prevent his maintaining what no wise representations could do away. He denied the arguments used by the secretary of state: he contended that it was not the interest of France, any more than of this country, to divide the German empire, and dissolve a number of the small independent states which were so many years the bulwarks, and preserved the balance, of Europe, and to divide them, so as to add them to three or four great powers. To this the republic was driven. Great Britain had refused them reasonable conditions of peace, which they were anxious to obtain, and their only alternative was to hang round the emperor, and make the best terms they could with him. It was not to the time of Robespierre he alluded, when he spoke of the best opportunity of making peace; though even then advantageous terms might have been made; and he saw no reason why it might not be concluded at this moment. His lordship concluded with lamenting the dangers of the present contest, saying, that in a few months it may be a question about the people's liberties, their lordships' properties; and Heaven forbid it should ever touch the crown!

The duke of Bedford rose to observe, that the secretary of state had

been driven to his usual miserable shifts, and again assimilated his own fate with that of the country, to avert the vengeance of an irritated and injured people. He felt no surprise at being himself calumniated; and he was now determined to trouble them no more, since his conduct, and not the distresses of the country, was made the subject of discussion. Their lordships could best judge whether he had formed any mysterious and enigmatical connexion with the corresponding societies, or with any set of men who were traitors to their country. He was now called to answer the charge alleged in such extraordinary terms, as "management, intrigue, and trick," and it might astonish the house that to such charges he made no reply. There was such a thing as true honour, and there were characters who imbibed it from their infancy. Those who possessed it were as little capable of suspecting others of meanness "and mysterious enigmatical connexion" as they were of practising it. He should be sorry if the house imagined him capable of descending to such low and degrading resources; but to those who did suspect him he should make no reply, but a declaration of sovereign contempt for them, their character, their conduct, and their opinions!

The question was called for, and the house divided, on the duke's motion.

Non-contents 88, proxies 25—113.

Contents 11, proxies 2—13.

As soon as the division was over, lord Romney moved the following resolution;

"Resolved,

"That in a crisis, in which all the interests of the country are at stake, we have seen the zeal and public

public spirit of every rank rising in proportion to the magnitude of the occasion, and animated by the same sentiments: we deem it an indispensable duty, instead of distracting the council of our sovereign by proposals of change, to renew the declaration of our adherence to the principles which have governed the council, and in which the parliament has uniformly concurred for the security of these kingdoms against foreign attack, and for the maintenance of our religion, laws, and constitution."

The resolution was carried *ne mine contradicente*.

We shall close this chapter with a short account of the progress of a bill for regulating the publication of newspapers, which was passed in this session.

On the 13th of June, the attorney-general brought in a bill for regulating the proprietors and publishers of newspapers. Mr. Jekyll opposed its being read the third time, from what he called a motive of constitutional jealousy of every thing which appeared an attack upon the liberty of the press. The house, he said, ought to be extremely cautious before they assented to any measure which might diminish that inestimable blessing. It was now upwards of a century since it had been touched; the jurisdiction of the star-chamber, and the power of the licenser of the press, might easily be recollected. This abominable jurisdiction was contrived by the long parliament, and enforced during the two detestable reigns of Charles II. and king James. After the revolution, these regulations continued only six years; and (if he remembered aright) were ended in the year 1694. He knew the attorney-general had affirmed, that this was not an at-

tack, but a regulation of the liberty of the press: but it created a facility in prosecutions against it, and this was objection enough; for it was the commencement of a system tending to destroy freedom; and, with that freedom, public liberty. The censorial power of our press was the great guardian of British liberty, and a celebrated author (M. de Lolme) had assigned it as the cause. This bill would make men of property and respectability retire from newspapers altogether; and they then would fall into the hands of men of desperate fortune and low character, and the consequence would be an increase instead of diminution of the licentiousness of the press. Hand-bills on brown paper would be substituted every day for a useful well-regulated paper. This bill would render innocent persons liable to prosecution, merely because they were proprietors, although they had no share in the management of the publication. He opposed it; therefore, as an infringement on the invaluable blessing of liberty, handed down to us by our ancestors.

The attorney-general said, his object was to restore, not infringe upon it: the true liberty of the press was, that every man might publish what he pleased, but he should be responsible to the public for what he published. Any man might make fair and free remarks on public men and public measures; and such men might carry on their newspapers after this bill had passed as well as before: it only secured to the public that which they had a right to demand, the appearance of a responsible party in a court of justice, so as to be amenable to law. So far from this being a means of flinging the newspapers

into the hands of the dregs of the people, it would take it out of such hands, and exclude all persons, who were not visible to those whom they calumniated, from being able to shelter themselves in obscurity. He had so frequently explained himself upon this bill, that he would only now add, it was upon the principle of the liberty of the press he brought it in, to restore this sacred blessing, by rendering those who injured the characters of others answerable for it in the same way that every other man was answerable.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that he considered this subject to be of so important a nature, that he could not allow it to pass without stating his objections. The measure came from the king's attorney-general; a quarter from whence any measure should be regarded by Englishmen with suspicion, especially this: it was the offspring of a very doubtful parent, ushered into the world under very unfavourable auspices, and introduced at a time in which it might reasonably be supposed government would be desirous of keeping its conduct from public investigation. The law was already armed with more than power sufficient for punishing the errors and restraining the excesses of the press; but a government aiming at tyranny would never think the press enough under control, until it was able to commit every outrage without the fear of reproach. To practice injustice without hearing of it, was the grand *desideratum* and key-stone of tyranny; and thus, every state aspiring at that object, never failed to complain bitterly of the licentiousness of the press, and of the difficulty of coming at those persons, the proprietors of public prints, who, if not

venal, were marked out as victims.

A good and free government had nothing to apprehend, and every thing to hope, from the liberty of the press. But despotism courted shade and obscurity: it dreaded the scrutinising eye of liberty: and if an arbitrary disposed prince, supported by an unprincipled minister, and backed by a corrupt parliament, was to cast about for means to secure such a triple tyranny, no means better could be devised than the bill upon the table.

The great man with whom the minister seemed condemned to form a striking and everlasting contrast (his father), when pressed by the sycophants of his time to allow a measure of this kind to be brought into parliament under his administration, when urged to it in order to suppress the calumnies against his *own* reputation, replied with a dignity of soul which stamped his character—"No—the the press, like the air, is a chartered libertine." The present ministers sought to scare us into their measures, by holding out the dread of a revolution, whilst themselves were the greatest, the only revolutionists from whom we had any thing to fear, from whom we had suffered much, and had still more to expect. They had already nearly completed a great revolution, not in favour of, but against liberty. He then reminded the house of the unconstitutional measures daily introduced: one he said, he could not forbear naming; the infamous practice (by which the whole law of imprisonment was changed) of sending men to those Bastilles which disgraced the country—those private prisons, where, under the pretence of regulations, punishments were

were inflicted upon men as illegal as they were cruel. And what were those regulations so called? To keep men in dismal, heart-sickening solitude—to feed them upon bread and water, and that scantily too—to doom them to hard labour (an indefinite term) exacted by stripes, at the will, perhaps, of a merciless goaler. If this was not tyranny, he knew not what the definition or essence of tyranny was. Natural it was for such a government to complain of the press: it was part of that revolution which had been brought about, and which the present bill would secure, the seeds of which were sown as early as the accession of the present king to the throne; and the effects had been foreseen by the wise lord Chatham, and the country had been forewarned by him. But ministerial corruption blinded the nation then, as it did now; and there was reason to fear it would end, as that great statesman foretold, in the subversion of our old free constitution, and the establishment of a German government. He did not mean this as a term of invective: but he firmly believed there was a plan for governing this country, not according to its old liberal maxims, as established at the Revolution, but according to a system repugnant to every principle of justice and of liberty. The bill appeared the more dangerous, because it was not a direct open attack—it was a measure which sapped and undermined; and, without wearing the garb of violence, like the silent lapse of time, was so much the more certain of its effect. Seeing therefore the mischief, and no adequate good remitting from it, relying upon the sense, spirit, and well-founded jealousies of our forefathers upon this subject, he

concluded with saying, he would guide his conduct upon this occasion by their judgment, and decidedly vote against such a bill, deriving, as it did, its origin from the attorney-general of the crown.

Mr. Ryder rose, and challenged any one to prove that this bill had the smallest tendency to make that criminal which was not criminal by the law of the land before. It did not vary the manner in which libels were to be tried; it was only to prevent the evasions of the proprietors of the newspapers from being answerable for any thing which appeared in their papers. Answerable they always were by law; and this was to compel them to come forward, and abide the event of a fair trial in a court of justice. This was not only the law of England, but of all countries, under all governments, since the press had been invented.

Mr. Sheridan contended that it was bad in principle. Government pretended that they could not find the *editor* of the *Courier*; but it was not true; there was always a responsible person concerned in that paper, whose name and address must be at the stamp-office. The first object of the bill was to throw all the newspapers into the hands of government. Such he was afraid would still be the effect of it. Persisting in this measure only proved there was a systematic design to put an end to the liberty of the press altogether. The visible publisher of a newspaper had hitherto been considered as the responsible person in a court of justice; but now a different plan was adopted. He objected to this: there were many who contributed to the publication of very excellent works, useful to the public, who yet had good reasons for concealing

cealing their names. What was the evil of this? There would always be a publisher easily brought forward to answer all the purposes of security for what was printed. He then proceeded to show that this bill tended to do away the spirit of Mr. Fox's bill; and, lastly, objected to it, because it reversed the order of judicial proceedings, by casting the *onus* on the person accused, not the accusing party.

The solicitor-general replied, that the honourable gentleman did not understand the bill: insinuations were thrown out that government was destroying the constitution of the country—a most unjust and false accusation. In the *Courier* was one of the most atrocious libels respecting French prisoners. The prevention of such libels anonymously put in, and disseminated far and wide, was alone the object of the bill.

Mr. Sheridan wished to know whether the editor of a newspaper, if he could prove the paragraph had been taken from a French paper, should be liable to the penalties enacted in the bill.

The solicitor-general answered, that if the paragraph tended to inspire contempt of his majesty's person or government, the editor of a

newspaper publishing such a libel should be liable to these penalties, whether copied from a French newspaper or not.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed the strongest disapprobation of the manner in which the bill was opposed. He felt particularly shocked, he said, at the language used by sir Francis Burdet; and still more so, because, from the liberal principles of that baronet, he was likely to express the sentiment of a large community. The tendency of such expressions and intemperate zeal was mischievous.

Mr. Robert Thornton said, that no precaution ought to be omitted to curb the licentiousness of the press. We had witnessed the horrors of the revolution in France; we had to deplore the rebellion in Ireland; the principal source of each was the scandalous abuse of the liberty of the press. The question being put for the postponing of the bill, the house divided:

Ayes	-	-	9
Noes	-	-	44
			—
Majority	-		35

The bill afterwards passed both houses, and received his majesty's assent.

CHAPTER VI.

Debates in the British Parliament concerning the Affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Moira's Motion in the House of Lords—negatived. Interesting Explanation between the Earl of Moira and the Marquis of Downshire. The Duke of Leinster's Motion respecting Ireland. Lord G. Cavendish's Motion in the House of Commons on the same Subject—negatived. Mr. Fox's Motion on the same Subject—rejected. Message from his Majesty. Proposal from certain Militia Regiments to serve in Ireland. Debates on this Proposal in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

THE discontents in Ireland began about the commencement of this session of parliament to hasten to a crisis; and the disturbances, of which the reader will find a detail in our next chapter, were

were on the point of breaking out. To avert these calamities, some well-intentioned members endeavoured to interest the British houses of parliament in favour of the Irish people, and to recommend measures of lenity and conciliation. —How far these endeavours were well-timed or judicious, will be discussed in the succeeding chapter. For the present, we shall content ourselves with presenting a simple sketch of the debates.

On the 22d of November, the earl of Moira renewed the motion which he had made in the preceding session respecting the affairs of Ireland. The state of the empire in general, he observed, was materially altered since that period; many interesting political events had taken place; the most prominent amongst these was certainly the rupture of the late negotiation for peace. This, as was declared by the highest authority to that house and to the country, was broken off on no trivial grounds; it was in consequence of no less a cause than a settled determination on the part of the enemy to subvert the constitution and government of this kingdom. If the statement was just, he entreated their lordships to look at the fatal consequences which such a prospect presented. He should argue upon the supposition, that this representation was just, though his own opinion was very different. If the contest became a struggle for existence on the part of both governments, what was the end to which it would lead? what was to be the situation of the country under this protracted expenditure, when its finances already were depressed and embarrassed? If this event of the negotiation had been foreseen (as had confidently been asserted),

ought not provision to have been made to support the burdens which it rendered necessary? ought not some means to have been employed to enable us to have put an end to the cause from which the necessity of the contest proceeded? If we were merely to stand upon the defensive, and if the war was to be protracted a year longer upon this footing, the resources of this country could not sustain the embarrassments which would arise *in addition* to the difficulties we endured already. To judge of our situation, it would be necessary to take a view of the recent events of the war. No person rejoiced more than he did in the victory obtained over the Dutch fleet; yet what was the effect of this brilliant exploit upon the state of the nation? It was acknowledged that some design had been in agitation, some danger had been threatened; and the impending mischief had for the moment been turned aside; but was the experiment to be repeated! were we contented merely to parry the blow which aimed at our existence? In such a system he saw nothing but ruin to our resources, nothing but complete destruction to the oppressed and tottering fabric of our finances. They had indeed been extolled as adequate to any exertions we might be called upon to make; but he professed himself at a loss to discover upon what foundation this sanguine representation had been built. He did not deny that we had great means of defence; but he must complain of their improper application, and of the mischievous consequences that resulted. There were rumours of new schemes of finance, and extraordinary ways of supporting the efforts which it would be necessary to exert; and this

this did not furnish a very encouraging argument in favour of our situation.

If, however, the enemy was bent on the destruction of our constitution, the best mode of repelling the danger was to interest the hearts of the people in defence of the advantages they enjoyed, to convince them they had something worth contending for, and impress the nation with the blessing which they might lose. It was necessary also, that every part of the country should be able to contribute to its defence. His lordship said, he feared that this was not the case: he had seen a paper, stating the supplies of the present year, which enumerated, amongst other articles, a sum for the service of Ireland; and this was set down as a reason for continuing the restriction on the bank. If Ireland, instead of being assisted by England, was now (to say nothing more) but a dead weight upon her in her present embarrassed state, it was a consideration of the most serious importance. When our resources were so vaunted, it was a painful reflection to know, that the sister kingdom was no longer in a condition to contribute to the general cause. If Ireland was reduced to such a state of wretchedness, that men actually died for want, without any failure of the natural supplies of subsistence; if manufactures in parts of the country, where formerly they had been most flourishing, were reduced to nothing; if the industry of the people was suspended; to what cause was it to be ascribed? When the increasing commerce of this country was made a subject of exultation, who would rejoice to think it was increased at the expense of the sister kingdom? If the manufacturers and merchants of Eng-

land found their trade extended, he was persuaded they were too generous, too liberal, too high of spirit, and too just, to wish to engross profits in which their fellow subjects in Ireland did not participate. In the addresses that had been sent about, to solicit subscriptions for the relief of the distressed manufacturers in Ireland, it was stated, that the greater part of them were out of employment and starving. He referred their lordships to the application made by the lord-mayor of Dublin for relief; by which document it appeared, that upwards of 37,000 manufacturers were reduced to the extremity of distress in that city. To prove the fact, by another instance, in the towns of Belfast and Newry, the customs had usually produced 150,000*l.*; the present produce of them would not amount to a fifteenth part of the sum. The causes of these unhappy effects there must originate in something connected with the internal system of the country. Last year, it was in vain that he called the attention of the house to their state, in vain he predicted the consequences which our system had now produced. The situation of Ireland was now more urgent; and, by every motive of justice and policy, we were called upon to remedy the evils which the sister kingdom suffered, and to prevent those which might ultimately extend to us. It had been said, that for their lordships to interfere would be to usurp an authority over an independent country; to which his answer was, that the circumstances were such as might be the foundation of an address for the recall of a viceroy, and, therefore, the house was competent to the review of such proceedings. To move this address was far from his intention; he

he highly respected the character of the present lord-lieutenant of Ireland; he was convinced that he used every effort in his power to alleviate their situation; but he must contend, that the plan, so unwise in its application, and so obstinately pursued, was the cause of all the calamities which it endured. The plan was a plan of ill-judged severity; severity, not only in individual direction, but general tendency; nor were the measures warranted by sound policy. Men, influenced by their passions, who were kept constantly irritated and inflamed, might sometimes proceed to inexcusable lengths; but this did not justify a system of oppression. In observing the state of Ireland, the first thing that struck him was the light in which it was customary for the military to view an Irishman, and the fatal effects of encouraging such unjust prejudices: in their estimation, every Irishman was a rebel to the English government, and all kinds of insult were exercised on this supposition, even in those parts of the country where things were as quiet and peaceable as within seven miles of London. His lordship related one circumstance, to give some idea of the insult to which every man there was liable. The curfew was mentioned in the history of England, and had always been considered, as a degrading badge of servitude; it had been established in Ireland, with all the rigour of barbarous times. An instance had occurred within his own knowledge, in which a party of soldiers had come to the house of a man by the road side; they insisted upon his extinguishing his fire and candle; the man entreated that he might be permitted to retain his light, because his infant daughter was in convulsions,

and the mother hanging over the child in its bed, in agony at its distress, and waiting in hopes of a favourable moment, to offer it some relief, which she could not possibly do in the dark. The party, however, insisted that the fire and light should be extinguished, and all further opposition would have been fatal.

In former times it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the inquisition in detestation: one of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was, that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, and in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by protestants in the practice of the inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security, were taken away. In alluding to the inquisition, he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features. If the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he was merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting was in practice, which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman, even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picqueted till he actually

actually fainted; picqueted a second time till he fainted again; and, as soon as he came to himself, picqueted a third time, till he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture: men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with the repetition of this cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our system. They were notorious; and no person could say who would be the next victim of the oppression and cruelty which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms: it never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising, that any reluctance had been shown to comply with it, by men who conceived the constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order, the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property, was burnt: but this was not all; if it was supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burned down in a single night.

Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the privy council, or at their lordships' bar. These facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channel of the newspapers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which had been practised towards the Northern Star, when a party of troops, in open day (and in a town where the general's head-quarters were), went and destroyed all the offices and property belonging to that paper: it was thus authenticated accounts were suppressed. His lordship concluded with entreating the house to take into serious consideration their present measures, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented: the moment of conciliation was not yet passed; but if the system were not changed, he was convinced Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, that it was a matter of no small difficulty to enter into the question now brought forward, on the vague grounds and isolated facts upon which it was supported. The noble baron had spoken of our depressed resources, and ill-applied means of defence; and had given it as his opinion, that should the war be protracted another year, its sure consequence would be the ruin of the country. An opinion so disheartening and unfounded, he hoped, would be singular. For his part, he was
fully

fully satisfied, that we had means and resources abundantly sufficient to prosecute the contest, not only one year, but to the utmost extent which the imagination of any man could suppose the enemy to pursue it. Our naval exploits, our brilliant victories, and the advantages resulting from them, were just reasons for exultation. But what are we told?—that we had only *parried a danger*! Could the house hear with patience so low a statement of our important successes? Whatever our situation was, be it more or less exposed to difficulty and danger, it admonishes us cordially to unite in the defence of our constitution. For the necessity of this concurrence, he appealed, not only to England, but to every branch and member of the British empire, whose individual interest and safety, as well as that of the public, must depend on this co-operation. He was far from being able to discern what should alienate the affections of Ireland, or indispose her from this general union. He expressed his surprise to hear this government accused of hostile dispositions towards the sister country, or eager to keep up in it a system of coercion. He confidently appealed to the house, whether we had ever abandoned measures of concession or conciliation? For the whole space of thirty years his majesty's government had been distinguished by the same uniform tenderness of regard, by the same adherence to the principles of a mild system. Amongst the various instances exhibited, of liberality and kindness on the part of this country towards Ireland, he adverted to the establishment of its parliament into an independent legislature, and a wide extension of its commercial privileges: nor could we enter into a discussion like the present,

consistent with the independence we had sanctioned: it would be an undue interference with the Irish legislature, and might be regarded as a manifest breach of solemn compact. The agitation of the question would be an impropriety in the house, and he would use no further arguments to prove it. But that which had excited his astonishment in the earl of Moira's speech, was, the cruelties said to be promoted by the British military, at the instigation of our government. It was, indeed, no arduous task to exonerate the former from any charges of inhumanity. Bravery, clemency, and good nature, were the characteristic features of the English disposition. That there might be individual exceptions, he pretended not to say; but, if such excesses were perpetrated, were there no courts of justice, no laws, no magistrates, no tribunals open to the complaints of the oppressed? Ireland had its juries as well as this country, and the same safeguards were provided for the lives of the Irish as for Englishmen. Indeed, if a system so rigorous as was described, had been pursued, it must naturally be resented by a spirited and independent people. But what was the object for which these troops were sent over? To protect the great body of the people against conspiracy and assassination; to overawe and counteract the machinations of a set of men, who were actively plotting the destruction of their country, and favouring the designs of our most inveterate enemy. If against such men they had been at times incited to acts of harshness and severity; if they had been occasionally warmed into a sense of indignation, which broke out into insults and outrages, no one, who understood the heart of man, would wonder. What was
more

more natural than that a large body of Englishmen should be enraged against the abettors of a conspiracy, to deliver up the country to the French invaders? That such a system did exist, had been proved? and that large sums had been distributed to hire assassins to murder those who were inimical to their traitorous plans; to intimidate all witnesses, who came to give evidence against them; and even to deter juries from giving a conscientious verdict. Were not the same terrors hung over the heads of the judges and magistrates, to scare them from the performance of their sacred duty? Was this a system to be viewed with the cool composure, and deliberate circumspection, of civil prudence? Impossible! But it was the cause which was to be lamented; and if it had instigated some spirited individuals to acts of cruelty, they were to be attributed to those men whose atrocious conduct and evil designs had provoked them. Keen, notwithstanding, must be the regret which such unwarrantable revenge had excited in every humane bosom. The same sensations must be awakened upon this subject in the Irish: and here he could not withhold joining the tribute of praise paid by earl Moira to the present governor of Ireland. No public man, placed in so critical a situation as lord Camden, had ever displayed more exemplary moderation in the discharge of a painful duty. If severe measures had been adopted, the circumstances of the country had required it; and if any partial abuses existed, we had only to lament them. He could not, therefore, see what utility could be derived from the removal of a person whose conduct was thus commendable, and whose only care seemed to be a

punctual execution of the laws. If any abuse attended the system, on which the government of Ireland had acted, the laws were open to grant redress, and inflict punishment. No imputation could justly be cast upon the British military, who had been sent to Ireland for the purpose of protection; and were paid by that country for defending their liberties. Now was it only the English military who acted on these lamentable occasions? The nobility and gentry of Ireland were actively employed in the same service; and to their spirited exertions would the Irish owe their laws, their properties, and their lives. Of the press, which was said to be abridged of all its freedom most unjustly, he held now in his hands a paper printed, the contents of which were too shocking to read: its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name, to the poignard of assassins. It loaded his majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and reviled the English nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hand of *English ruffians* the property which those English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors. This was no ambiguous language; it developed their project of separating Great Britain and Ireland, an object which was suggested by France: and if this impious attempt should succeed, what would be the result, but that confusion, anarchy, and the public enemy, would rush in upon the country? Such was the situation in which an open conspiracy had reduced the sister kingdom; and how could it be meliorated but by a system of vigorous laws; nor could those laws be enforced without entrusting great power to those on whom we impose the arduous task

task of enforcing them. The question was, would their lordships interpose on the present occasion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and the Irish magistracy, that we were more careful of the interests and happiness of their people than they themselves were; and that the English military were not to obey the Irish laws, but the arbitrary instructions of the British parliament? Earl Moira said, that no sentiment had fallen from him to that effect. He had not reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law, but the conduct of the executive government, which was repugnant to the feelings of the Irish people, inconsistent with the British character, and highly injurious to the real interests of both countries.

He asked the noble secretary, whether he knew of any point, under the general relation of the two countries to each other, in which any peer of parliament had a clearer right to address them than himself on the present subject? and, if he were now to move an address to his majesty to remove lord Camden, whether he was not competent to make, and the house to agree, to such a motion? He referred to a case which occurred in a reign when no privileges of the parliament were supposed to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown—the reign of Charles the II^d. The case was that of the duke of Lauderdale. The parliament of Scotland was then independent of this country, and both stood precisely in the situation that Ireland now did respecting England; and yet the parliament here came to a vote, that the evil counsellors about the king was a grievance, and that the duke of Lauderdale was not fit to be trusted in any office or place of trust, whilst he was in

1798.

Scotland: which vote was doubtless intended to have been followed by an impeachment, which did not take place, owing to the dissolution of parliament which soon followed. But this illustrated the principle, and established the right of a member of the British parliament bringing forth a motion to advise his majesty to remove any of his ministers in such part of his dominions as were possessed of legislative bodies of its own. If, therefore, from motives of respect to the high station and personal character of lord Camden, he forbore agitating the question, it was not because he was not entitled so to do, if there existed a necessity for so doing.

Lord Grenville, he said, had only taken notice of partial points and incidental abuses. He had stated facts: a combination, he would admit, was formed in Ireland, and a most powerful alarming combination; but coercion was not the means of dissolving it. But had not the course of conduct adopted by the British legislature for these thirty years past been a uniform series of conciliatory measures? to which he replied, it did not become the secretary of state to lay much stress on the British legislature towards Ireland, while, by his own admission, it exercised an authority so unwarrantable, that the British legislature fifteen years since, on a principle of justice, thought fit to renounce it altogether.

There existed a conspiracy of united Irishmen; and many persons who had joined that body had committed acts culpable in the extreme; but he did not believe the cause assigned just now was the real one: it was not originally with the design of overturning the constitution that these Irishmen united; it was with the view of a parlia-
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mentary reform; nor could they be censured for it, when the house of commons itself had come to a resolution for that purpose. He was far from approving the outrages alleged, and some of which he did not doubt they had committed; but the odious detestable practice of assassinations did not arise from any settled plan to overturn government, but from private malice and revenge, the effect of personal disputes. The state of Ireland was most deplorable; it was too pressing to admit delay; and what would be the consequence if an army was to land under the present system of coercion? Destruction—which would extend to Britain. There could be no reliance placed upon the people unless they had hopes of conciliation: he again most strongly recommended it. He stood there not merely as a peer of parliament, not as a member of a judicial assembly, but in the capacity of an hereditary counsellor of the crown. He offered this advice to his majesty in that house, he offered it to their lordships, and he offered it to the country; conscious of having performed an important duty in these arduous times.

The lord chancellor rose to rectify an expression, he said, of his noble friend, who had stated that it was a point of form for the parliament of Great Britain to abstain from any interference with the independent legislature of Ireland: on the contrary, it was not merely the form, but the essence of public faith and justice: it was matter of fact, that Ireland was as competent by law to make laws, superintend the administration of justice, enact any measure for its internal regulation, in like manner as Great Britain ever had done formerly, or did, at the present moment, for this

country; and the more so, because there the parliament had an unappealable jurisdiction, which there was no power in this kingdom to alter or vary. The case of the duke of Lauderdale was not applicable, for though he was a member of the executive government, it was not on any action in his official capacity that the vote to address his majesty to remove him was founded. It was because he was one of the cabal (as the famous administration of that period, 1673, was then called), not for his conduct in Scotland, that the duke of Lauderdale fell under the animadversion of parliament: there was no attempt of the English to interfere with the Scotch parliament.

It was too true, that many individuals have been assassinated in Ireland, and many more marked out for assassination: this, though lord Moira thought it arose from malice and revenge, was to him a proof that there existed a strong conspiracy against all whose duty it was to preserve order. He was called upon (he said) to bear this testimony, as also of the printed paper before mentioned; by which it was too evident that a number of individuals were doomed to be the victims of destruction in future.

As to the regulation of putting out the lights, which had been considered as a badge of slavery, it depended on circumstances whether it was so or not: in the present instance, it was a humane as well as a prudent regulation. If there was good reason to suspect that there were dangerous conspiracies carrying on in the houses in question, by enforcing the extinction of fire and candle, the inhabitants were prevented from incurring the guilt, and rescued from the punishment of nefarious practices: he knew

knew nothing of its being improperly enforced; it was a measure suggested to the parliament of Ireland; they had considered and determined on it; for us, it was useless to cavil at it, as there was no power in this country to put an end to that regulation: it was particularly unfit for the discussion of the house, as their lordships had no authentic information of the grievances of Ireland in the first place; no power to redress them, if existing, in the second; they could not pass an opinion on them regularly, nor attempt to act, without subverting law, and counteracting authority. But arms had been demanded, when they only were retained for self-defence. This might be a fact; and justified by the same necessity. Times of imminent danger required vigorous exertions: but was this any proof that Ireland was not governed by law? Those who best knew the officers of the courts of law there would attest, that nothing need be feared for want of the due administration of justice in that country. It was from misinformation, or too hasty zeal, that any insinuations were thrown upon the Irish parliament by the noble lord, as if they would not take care of the welfare and the interests of the people of that country. For himself, he could not help expressing a hope, that in future a little reflection would take place before any observations were made public which might irritate the minds of men, but which, resting upon bare assertion, however respectable, could lead to no conclusions but errors.

Earl Moira said, that he suspected the paper alluded to only to be an invention, to justify the measures adopted and complained of in Ireland. No printer of a

newspaper could have gained it from an authentic source; for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination would communicate his own criminal intention, or that of his colleagues. It was not by a system of terror that assassination was to be prevented: if you wish to prevent it (continued his lordship), awaken them to the sense of its *baseness*: by stating to them only that it is cruel, you produce no good, as they are actuated by passions which have been worked up into fury; they cannot be deterred by any thing you can say of cruelty. Give them an elevated idea of their own condition; teach them to feel the dignity of human nature undebased by guilt; and unstained by the foulest, as it is the meanest of crimes, assassination; and this can only be done by convincing them that they live under a just and equitable government.

Lord Grenville protested that he did not take his information from any newspaper, but from a printed hand-bill; which bore at its head a description of a number of persons, who were known as witnesses, informers, and spies, and were to be considered as proper objects for death—the inference was, every person concerned in bringing the united Irishmen to justice was to be assassinated. He trusted that he knew too much of the disposition of men belonging to public assemblies to attribute to them all the same motives and the same views; but the object of most of the acting and leading members of the united Irishmen was, to overthrow the government of that country, and render it a province to France.

The question of adjournment was then put and carried.

After this debate, no direct motion

was introduced on the affairs of Ireland in the house of peers till the month of March; but many casual allusions were made to them, as our readers must have perceived, in the agitation of other subjects. In the course of one of these, a conversation took place between the earl of Moira, and the marquis of Downshire, in which the gauntlet dropped by the former nobleman was taken up by the other, with respect to the proofs to be exhibited of severities exercised by the military on the people of Ireland.

On Monday, 26th of March, the house was more than usually attended, to hear the explanation between the earl of Moira, and the marquis of Downshire, respecting the state of Ireland.

The earl of Moira opened the subject with supporting his former assertions. He had the affidavits of one hundred persons, he said, to prove that terror had been employed in forcing confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours: that torture had been used, such as picquetting and half-hanging; that houses had been burnt most wantonly, and in prodigious numbers. The deponents were ready to come forward to the bar of the house with their testimonies; and he had but one reason for not calling upon them, which was, the irritated state of Ireland; and for this reason he desisted from doing any thing to exasperate; but if he was obliged, by a denial of these assertions, to produce his proofs of them, he must, in his own vindication, make them public; otherwise, he would content himself with placing his affidavits in the hands of the noble lord upon the woollack, without stating their contents. He called upon the marquis to advance

what he thought fit upon the subject.

The marquis of Downshire replied, that he was well convinced his lordship could have no improper motive for introducing it, though it would have given him peculiar satisfaction not to have it agitated here, having, he conceived, no right, as peers of a British house of parliament, to discuss the matter; and the discussion led to danger. Zeal had carried the noble lord too far in his resentments against the executive government. He was ready to admit, that some of the army, perhaps the undisciplined troops, might have done wrong; but he would contend it was not in consequence of their orders. Excesses had been committed, but these had been exaggerated. It was the case in the American war; and lord Moira might remember (for he had served in it with as much benefit to his country as honour to himself), how often the opposition newspapers abused the army under his lordship's command for outrages and cruelty; and when he now expressed his anger against military excesses, he might recollect how difficult it was to restrain them. Respecting coercive measures, he saw the necessity of them; nor would he disown, nor was he ashamed, of having been one of the first to advise them; the first to recommend to the executive government to issue the proclamation which was issued in the county of Down. He said then, and he said now, that the united Irishmen held forth the emancipation of the catholics, and a parliamentary reform, as a stalking horse, to deceive the vulgar and the ignorant. Very different sentiments were entertained by the respectable and reflecting people of Ireland

Ireland. He never knew a catholic of education, who was a friend to what was called *unqualified* emancipation, nor an enlightened protestant who was an advocate for radical reform. The curfew was the mere tolling of a bell, to warn the inhabitants to put out their lights at a certain hour in the evening, and that practice was enforced only in the proclaimed districts. As to the proclamation, which was so much complained of, as an engine of terror, it was no terror to the good; it was a protection to his majesty's subjects in their persons and properties, and agreeable to the wishes of all who did not seek to make Ireland a province of France.

The marquis then read some authentic documents, stating the imports and exports, excise and customs of Belfast. The customs in 1795 amounted to 101,000*l*, and the last decrease was no more than 7,073*l*. Belfast and Cork were the only towns which had suffered a defalcation in the receipt of their customs since the war commenced, whereas the city of Dublin had benefited by an increase of 8,000*l*. Limerick, Waterford, and Newry, with some other ports, had had a proportionate increase. The principal cause of decrease in Belfast was owing to a less quantity of rum having been imported lately, a circumstance which, as an Irishman, he rejoiced in, and considered as an important national advantage, since it was occasioned by the great increase of distilleries in consequence of the rapid improvement of agriculture.

He adverted again to the misbehaviour of the military; he lamented it, but exonerated the government from any blame, and general Lake in particular, who, he

said, was respected by the traitors themselves. As an instance of the provocations which frequently urged the military to act with violence, he mentioned the office of the newspaper printed in Belfast having been destroyed by soldiers belonging to a regiment which had been libelled by that paper. The soldiers carried an advertisement expressing their sorrow, their shame, and their contrition for what they had done. The printer threw the advertisement at them, and refused to insert it. Upon which they went to the office and destroyed all the materials, but they submitted immediately to their officers, and suffered the punishment due to their outrage. A regiment saw eight or ten of their comrades shot. These excesses, therefore, ought not to be ascribed to the executive government, who forbade, and who punished them.

Lord Moira then replied, that as the marquis had no intention to contradict the statement he had made, he was freed from the necessity of proceeding further in the proofs of his assertions. But he wished to know what was meant by coercion, if the case of Ireland could be compared with that of the Low Countries?

Here he was called to order by the earl of Caernarvon, who hoped to appear justified in interrupting him, and thus putting an end to this irregular proceeding by the opinion of both the lords engaged in the conversation. There was no need of any proofs. No person could doubt the earl of Moira being persuaded of the truth of the facts he had stated, and it appeared he had taken pains not to be deceived; but he trusted that his lordship would not think he had a right to force every difference of opinion

to an issue which was not necessary, and attended with danger.

The earl of Moira said, he had only one observation to make respecting the documents; that they did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops respecting which government could not be fairly blamed. They were of a different description: one particularly related to—Here his lordship was stopped by the duke of Athol, who disapproved of the further investigation, and wished their lordships to recollect that this was no question before the house, moving for the house to adjourn.

Lord Carlisle said there were two ways in which the information might be communicated; by reading the affidavits as part of the speech, or laying them on the table; but they could not be placed in the chancellor's hands during the sitting of the house.

Lord Moira replied, that if he laid them upon the table, they must be made public, and the consequence be, that they would be printed. He would, therefore, deposit them with the lord-chancellor as soon as the house adjourned.

Lord Grenville submitted it to the noble lord, whether, against his own opinion, against that of the marquis of Downshire, and against the judgment of the house, who were anxious to stop the agitation of so delicate and dangerous a subject, he would not forbear to utter another syllable?

The earl of Moira acquiesced, and the house adjourned.

Shortly after this interesting debate, the rebellion unfortunately broke out in Ireland; and a peer of the highest consequence in his native country introduced the subject to the British house of peers; but as the debates on that occasion

were not allowed to be published, we can only present our readers with the motion, and a brief statement of its fate.

On the 15th of June, the duke of Leinster, after a speech, in which, alluding to the late occurrences of Ireland, his feelings were greatly affected, moved an address to his majesty, humbly requesting,

“That his majesty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this house a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which had led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils. That, however alarming the discontents now prevailing in the sister kingdom were, we would not despair, but that the result of such discussion would enable us to assist his majesty, according to our constitutional duty, with some well-adapted remedy; such as might restore, in that distracted part of the British empire, confidence in the laws, by due administration of them, obedience to his majesty's government by a temperate use of its powers, and union amongst all descriptions of subjects in that kingdom.”

A long and animated debate followed, in which the motion was supported by the duke of Leinster, duke of Devonshire, earl of Suffolk, duke of Norfolk, lord Fitzwilliam, lord Moira, lord Holland, lord Besborough, duke of Bedford, duke of Leeds; and opposed by lord Townsend, lord Carlisle, lord Grenville, lord Spencer, and the lord-chancellor. Contents 18, non-contents 51.

For the protests on the motion for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland being negatived,

see

see the Public Papers, p. (184), &c. in this volume.

At the end of the debate, the following amendment was moved by the duke of Norfolk, which, after being incorporated in the main question, was also negatived:

“ And we farther feel it our duty to state to his majesty, that understanding the system of coercion has been enforced with a rigour which, if related in detail, would too severely wound his paternal feelings; that confessions had been extorted by torture—a practice held in abhorrence in every other state of Europe; to implore his majesty to direct an immediate change of system, as the only means of ending the calamities of that unhappy country, and to remove from their stations those persons under whose authority these atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of hatred and revenge.”

The subject was also agitated in the British house of commons; but, for the reason already assigned, we are unable to gratify the curiosity of the reader to its full extent.

On the 14th of June, Mr. Sheridan moved for “a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland,” which was negatived by a majority of 159 against 43.

On the following day, June 15, lord George Cavendish, after a short and emphatic speech, introduced the following series of resolutions, as a proper system to be adopted by the house for the salvation of Ireland;

“ Resolved,

“ 1. That whenever this house is called upon for supplies of men or money, to be provided by levies and taxes on our constituents, it is

our right and duty to watch over and control the purposes to which they are to be applied.

“ 2. That this house is ready to make every exertion in its power to enable his majesty to subdue all rebellion against his lawful authority, trusting he will temper severity with mercy, and never lose sight of that equitable policy which, by the redress of real grievances, may secure to him the loyalty and affection of his people.

“ 3. That it is the opinion of the house, although we shall be ready, at all times, by all just means, to maintain the unity of the British empire, and our connexion with Ireland as a part of it, yet we never can believe it is the wish of his majesty to support the principle of governing that country as a conquered and hostile country; a principle no less contrary to justice, than to the interests of the two kingdoms.

“ 4. That it is the duty of the ministers to advise his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to repeat the recommendation which he made through the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to that kingdom in 1793—seriously to consider the situation of the Irish catholics, and consider it with liberality, for the purpose of cementing general union amongst his majesty's subjects in support of the established constitution.

“ 5. That such persons as have expressed their disapprobation of measures of concession, and under whose administration Ireland has been reduced to a situation so imminently dangerous to the interests and happiness of the empire, cannot be effectual channels of his majesty's royal grace and beneficent intentions towards their fellow subjects.”

His lordship concluded by moving the first resolution.

Lord John Russell seconded it.

Mr. Canning opposed it in a speech of more than an hour long, and moved the order of the day on the whole series of resolutions.

Mr. Fox then gave notice of a motion in case the resolutions should be negatived; Mr. Dundas followed Mr. Fox; Mr. William Grant, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, spoke against, Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan in support of them.

Ayes	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
Noes	-	-	-	-	-	-	212

Majority - - - 146

The other motions were then severally put and negatived.

Mr. Fox then moved the following proposition, which he had announced:

“Resolved,

“That this house (understanding it to be a matter of notoriety, that the system of coercion had been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and particularly that scourges and other tortures had been employed to extort confessions) is of opinion, that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name, and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice those atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but of resentment and terror.”

The motion was supported by Mr. Sheridan and colonel Walpole, and opposed by Mr. Douglas, Mr.

Wilberforce, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Dundas.

Ayes	-	-	-	-	-	-	62
Noes	-	-	-	-	-	-	204

Majority - - - 142

On Tuesday, June 12, lord Grenville presented the following message from his majesty:

“G. R.

“His majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful lords, and considering that it may be of the utmost importance to provide for such emergencies as may arise at this critical conjuncture, is desirous that this house will enable him to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigencies of affairs may require.”

His lordship was then proceeding to move an address of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious communication, when the earl of Suffolk rose, and requested the noble secretary of state to communicate to the house some idea of the object of the message, as the most alarming intelligence was, he understood, that day received from Ireland.

Lord Grenville said, he did not conceive it his duty to detail the news that might arrive from Ireland or any other country. As to the message he had just delivered, he could not see any necessary connexion between it and the affairs of Ireland.

The earl of Suffolk said, he thought it ill became ministers, who had brought all these calamities on the kingdom, unconstitutionally to shelter themselves under the king's name, and to refuse granting information to the house on a point that so nearly concerned them.

Lord Grenville made a short reply, and denied that he had attempted

ed to shelter himself under the king's name, in order to shrink from his responsibility as a minister. He should, however, persist in refusing the information called for by the noble lord.

The question was then put, and the address was voted *nemine dissentiente*.

Notwithstanding this conversation, it was generally understood that the message in question bore a relation to the affairs of Ireland; and, on the 18th of June, lord Grenville rose to present another message from his majesty, to acquaint the house, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, &c. of different regiments of militia of this kingdom, had made to his majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country.

Lord Sydney rose, and moved their lordships, that the house be cleared of strangers, which was accordingly done.

A bill to meet the object of the message was produced by lord Grenville, and read a first time.

On Tuesday, June 19, strangers were again ordered to withdraw. The king's message, relative to the militia of Great Britain serving in Ireland, was then read, which gave rise to a long and spirited debate.

The earl of Caernarvon moved an amendment, upon which the house divided.

Contents - - - - 13

Non contents - - - - 45

Majority - 32

The house being resumed, the address was carried, and a bill, empowering his majesty to accept the offers of such regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland was

brought in and read a first and second time, and passed through the committee.

The subject was introduced to the house of commons on the 19th of June, when a message was sent down from his majesty, of the same purport as that received by the lords.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure that was recommended by the message, he would move "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly thanking him for his most gracious communication to the house."

The address, which was, as usual, an echo of the message, being read, Mr Nicholls said, he felt it his duty to oppose the address on a variety of grounds; for, if the address were adopted, the principle of the militia bill, as originally established, would be completely abandoned. The militia would be no longer a safeguard against the unconstitutional use which bad ministers might make of a standing army, in order to encroach on the rights and liberties of the people. The unconstitutional use, he observed, of a standing army was dreaded, and anxiously looked to by the jealousy of our ancestors; and it was the duty of the house not to assent to the measure proposed, as it would have a tendency totally to unhinge the old system, by making the militia a part of the standing army, with which it ought to be most religiously unconnected. We had been lately told, that it was necessary that this country should become an armed nation, in order to frustrate the attempts of the enemy to invade us. Was it then consistent with the safety of this kingdom, after a considerable part of the regular forces had been already sent

out of it, to deprive it also of the protection of the militia, and to confine its protection to the new volunteer corps? Besides, the measure would be cruel and unjust to those who, wholly unsuspecting of any such intention, had entered *bona fide* into the militia service. There was another observation, to which he was anxious to draw the attention of the house; and this was, that the house had not as yet proceeded to any act, or given any pledge, with respect to the causes and origin of the rebellion in Ireland. What measures had been pursued in that respect were adopted by virtue of his majesty's prerogative: if the army now in Ireland was not able to arrest the progress of the rebellion, they must be opposed by a great body of men; and there were, consequently, great grounds for thinking that government had acted wrong in the system they had pursued against that kingdom. But upon this subject we were now left in the dark, nor would an inquiry into the discontents of that country be assented to by the ministers. After making some pointed remarks on the conduct of government in the removal of lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, he concluded by saying, that the house ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the question before they proceeded to give their support to the executive government, and fully to ascertain the causes of the discontents that had driven that unfortunate country into the present unnatural contest. Viewing the measure in these different lights, he said, he would give it his decided negative.

Mr. M. A. Taylor said, he could not but wish that ministers would condescend to state a few reasons why the constitution should be thus shook to the foundation. The mi-

litia was raised for the defence of this country; such was the nature of their engagement when they enlisted, that they should not be compelled to serve out of it. But it might be said, that in the present instance they were merely allowed to follow their own inclination. But if one regiment offers, their example would make it compulsory on every other to do the same, otherwise their courage and patriotism might be brought into question. For his part, he thought there was more courage in refusing to go than in going. In his capacity of an officer in the militia, he felt himself called upon to defend this country, and this country alone would he defend. The army had, he observed, already experienced a breach of faith in government by a number of men being draughted into different regiments in which they would not have enlisted; and the consequence of this breach of faith was, that government was at a loss how to recruit the army: however, they attempted to recruit it from the supplementary militia, but their attempts were generally unsuccessful. Here, he remarked, was another breach of faith. For though the present measures purported to rest on a voluntary offer, yet it was compulsory in truth and in fact. The right honourable secretary of state adduced no reason or argument in favour of the measure, only hinted that some military gentlemen had volunteered their service. The honourable gentleman next made some observations on the militia act, on which, he said, he should keep a steadfast eye, as the land-mark of the constitution, which says, "the militia shall not go out of the country." Therefore he *felt it his duty to oppose the measure.*

Mr. Laurence Palk also opposed the measure.

Mr.

Mr. Pierrepont said a few words against the measure, and contended that it was a most gross and flagrant violation of the constitution. And whoever of his majesty's ministers advised it, they had acted, in his opinion, with great boldness.

Mr. D. Ryder said, it was with the greatest astonishment he heard mention made of the boldness of ministers in advising the message now under consideration. What then would not be said of their boldness, if, after having received such offers of voluntary service from a great body of men, ministers should have advised his majesty to repress such a spirit, and to repel such offers, at a time when a rebellion of the most heinous nature had reared its head? It was the interest of both countries that it should be immediately crushed. Could we quietly sit down and see our fellow subjects daily massacred in the most barbarous and shocking manner? He remarked, that as great a part of the regular troops as could be spared had already been sent over. Did gentlemen apprehend no danger for this country? should it be left without a due proportion of regular troops? He was at a loss, he said, to see the force of the constitutional objection that was urged against the message: was it more unconstitutional to employ the militia in Ireland, when they volunteered their service, than to employ them in England? After making some other remarks, he concluded by expressing his hearty approbation of the measure.

Lord William Russell said, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder) had expressed some surprise that ministers should be accused of boldness in advising a measure like the present; but was it not boldness to propose any thing that sub-

verted the principles of the militia laws. The militia was intended to defend the liberties of the country, and for this only were they established. But what was the nature of the service they were now to be inured to? They were to be sent for the purpose of forcing upon Ireland a system of government, which nine tenths of its inhabitants disapproved and abhorred. Nor would it be a matter of choice with them as pretended, but compulsory. He had often disapproved of the pernicious system that had been long pursued in Ireland; which, in fact, had driven the unfortunate people of that country to such extremities; nor would he be now so blind to the example he had before him as to vote a single man for the maintenance of such a system.

Mr. Banks said, though he could not approve of the measure proposed, he could not but reprobate the language held by the noble lord who had just sat down. For his part, he thought that no rebellion ever was more unprovoked than that now raging in Ireland. However, he was afraid if the principle of sending the militia to Ireland, for the defence of England, were once admitted, there was no species of warfare in which they might not be employed. They might be sent to Ostend or Quiberon, on the ground that such measures were in their nature defensive. He concluded, with moving an amendment, to leave out all but the two first paragraphs; to express the high sense the house entertained of the zeal and patriotism of those who had offered to come forward with their services; to assure his majesty that the question suggested in the message was one of the utmost consequence,

on

on which the house were not in the present circumstances prepared to give an opinion.

The secretary at war said, that the honourable gentleman who had just sat down had given more the appearance of argument to what he maintained than any of the gentlemen on the other side. One honourable gentleman had obscurely developed those principles on which the sending an additional force to Ireland was opposed; and the noble lord, who had spoke last but one, had proved an ample commentator on what that honourable member had only partly disclosed. The noble lord had said, that he would not vote one man to assist the government of Ireland in subjugating the people of that country. Was not this the expression of a wish that the rebellion might not be suppressed? (a cry of, hear! hear! from the opposite benches). Mr. Windham said, it was not by any means his wish to misrepresent the noble lord; and, if he had done so, the opportunity would presently occur of his being set right. It had been suggested that the house ought to pause before it agreed to the address; but were honourable gentlemen to pause, while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the king's troops and rebels were fighting, and not assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty? His honourable friend (Mr. Banks) had admitted that the militia might be reduced, and wished that a corps might be formed from it, consisting of such as were really disposed to volunteer their services against the rebels; however, if this were once done, the alleged constitutional check would cease; that if the militia was originally a check,

any reduction of it would diminish that check. The objection that the militia had been originally raised merely for the protection of the country, and never to be sent out of it, did not appear to him stronger than might be urged in the case of the fencible corps, who had been raised on similar terms. It had been said, that no necessity existed for sending the militia to Ireland; but Mr. Windham said, the house were in possession of documents sufficient to show that Ireland was in imminent danger; and the disaster to England would be great if Ireland was lost. With regard to the supposition that many people would probably not again enter into the militia, if this measure was adopted, he could only say that he thought it probable; but even supposing it possible, he should not set that against the salvation of Ireland.

Lord William Russell said a few words in explanation.

Mr. Sheridan asserted, the motion which had just been submitted to the house was the most extraordinary in its nature that ever was heard. The right honourable gentleman, however, who moved the address, seemed to have considered the measure proposed as one to which no objection could possibly be framed; and he introduced it as one which demanded neither apology nor explanation. It was impossible to forget how lately the right honourable gentleman came down to the house, and stated the country to be in imminent danger, which required the exertion of every hand and heart for its defence. It was somewhat extraordinary then, that, after that statement, he should call upon the house to give their consent to strip the country of the militia forces, on which

which it relied for its defence. From the lord's bill it appeared, that the militia force, which it was thus intended to send to Ireland, was 12,000; but if such additional force was wanted, why not send all the regular troops which were to be found before the constitutional principle was violated? Why not send 2,000 of the guards in town; and instead of 12,000 send only 10,000? It had been asked by a right honourable gentleman, what would have been thought of ministers if they had concealed the offer made by the militia. If ministers could have done what they now propose, without consulting the house, he would venture to say that they would have heard nothing of the offer. Although they might hold in contempt the advice of the house, they were not quite bold enough to act in violation of the law, which he hoped would still be found too powerful for them.

Mr. Sheridan next made some remarks on the expression of his honourable friend, who had said he would not vote a single man for the purpose of subjugating the oppressed people of Ireland; great stress had been laid upon this as being unconstitutional, but surely it was neither unconstitutional nor unparliamentary for a member of this house to say that he could not give his aid to any system of measures, or any acts of the executive government, till he had examined and approved of the grounds on which they were justified? The right honourable gentleman expressed a doubt whether at all the gentlemen in opposition were willing to give their support to extinguish the rebellion in Ireland. "I am aware (said Mr. Sheridan) that the right honourable gentleman is desirous to lead us into slippery ground. I would ask

him, whether he means to say, that in every case this house is bound to take part with a king of Ireland, and an Irish house of commons, against the people of Ireland? Will he maintain that proposition generally? This house is not bound to sanction the injustice, and to strengthen the oppression which the legislature of the sister kingdom, however independent, might be pleased to inflict." Mr. Sheridan then went into the grounds of the dispute between the government and the people of Ireland, and remarked, that under the government of lord Fitzwilliam the people exhibited the most fervent and sincere loyalty; but, after being deprived of the government in which they would confide, and thrown in the hands of a ruler they detested, it was not to be wondered at that they should feel emotions of indignation and discontent. "Every man (said he) in this house, too well recollects the subscription set on foot in London to support the industrious manufacturers in Ireland wholly without employment; of this description there were from 30 to 40,000 men in Ireland: such was the situation of so many individuals; and when charity was wearied out, unable longer to supply their wants, it was not the poison of French principles, but the want of bread that seduced them." But to return to the measure, it had been said by some honourable gentlemen that the service of the militia was voluntary, Mr. Sheridan, on the contrary, contended that it was not. The case of the fencibles was mentioned as in point, but nothing could be more different. The fencibles were raised on certain conditions between the individuals, authorised by ministers: the militia was raised not by contract between individuals,

duals, but on a compact of law; and it was vain to talk of a thing being voluntary where no real option was left. "We are now called upon (said he) for our last military stake, the militia; and it is natural to ask, where we are to look for defence? Is the danger, to which the public attention was so forcibly directed, less now than it was? Before the trials at Maidstone took place, we were informed by a right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Dundas) that dangers of the utmost magnitude existed, and he called upon men to forget their political divisions, and unite in the great object of national defence. Many of those who had been in the habit of opposing ministers showed a zealous disposition to support the great object of national defence; and in many cases they have been answered by a behaviour highly discreditable to ministers." As an instance, he mentioned the case of his honourable friend (general Tarleton), who manfully offered his services wherever they could be employed. Notwithstanding, however, they were rejected with contempt. After remarking some instances of the same kind, he concluded with concurring in the amendment.

Mr. Dundas said, that he had no reason to regret that he did not detain the house in making his motion, by endeavouring to explain the reasons for making it; neither should he even now have thought it necessary to say much, but for some personal allusions. With respect to the idea, that this measure was unconstitutional, upon the ground that the militia was established as a check upon a standing army, he would only observe, that it was not upon this ground that the measure was moved, or

adopted. Relative to what he had said on a former occasion, respecting calling on all descriptions of people to prepare against the attack of the enemy, he was ready to be examined upon what he then said, and wished it might be compared with what he now proposed. He admitted at once, that at that time he distinctly stated, in plain language, that the salvation of this country depended entirely on its own exertions; and he would now say, that twelve thousand of the militia ought to be sent to Ireland; and that was the resolution he intended to propose, should the house agree to the address which he had moved. He begged gentlemen to recollect the change which had taken place since the time he made the declaration that this country must make great preparations against the enemy. At the beginning of this year our militia were about 36,000 men, now they were 100,000 men. At that time we had cavalry forces of about 7,000 men, we now had about 20,000: he should be relieved, therefore, from any charge of inconsistency, in having at one time said it was necessary for the people to prepare for the safety of the country, and now to propose to send out of the country part of its force. All he desired gentlemen to allow was, that there was now an existing rebellion in Ireland; and of what nature was that rebellion? The honourable gentleman himself would not venture to tell him that there did not exist a great body of low people, who wished to separate that country from this, through the arms of France. What consistency, then, was there between the observations and the proposition of the honourable gentleman, "that Ireland should not be a post
of

of France." Need he say, that to give to France Holland, Flanders, and all the places upon the continent opposite to our coasts, was not so dangerous to Great Britain as if they had a post in Ireland. To send troops to Ireland, therefore, to quell the rebellion there, was in other words sending troops to prevent the French from obtaining a post there; and that was in reality defending Great Britain. Gentlemen called for documents to know that there was a rebellion in Ireland, but perhaps they wanted to know whether it was a justifiable rebellion. Did they mean to wait to settle this point until Ireland should become a province of France? for that might be the effect of their opposition to this measure being successful. Some gentlemen had wished to know whether there were not regular forces in this country that might be sent instead of the militia. The militia force, he had already stated, was more than double what it was a short time ago; nor had he any scruple in saying, that if any part could be spared, it was out of the militia forces, because they could be most easily supplied and recruited. Mr. Dundas admitted, that the measure before the house was liable to many inconveniences, and that he felt great pain in being compelled to bring down the message. He admitted the truth of what had been said, viz. that many would go under this measure either from false pride or shame; but he hoped the house would feel with him, that, of all things, the rebellion in Ireland was the greatest inconvenience. With respect to what had been said of general Tarleton, he had said nothing about the propriety of employing him; however he had no doubt, if he was employed, he would

soon forget his politics, and become a very good officer.

He did not recollect that there were any more arguments for him to answer upon this occasion; the simple question was, whether the house would take upon itself the responsibility of letting the rebellion go uncrushed, when they had an opportunity of crushing it?—Those who thought they ought not to allow his majesty to have that advantage without examining into circumstances, and who chose to take upon themselves the responsibility of risking the fate of Ireland, and eventually of England itself, would give to his majesty advice accordingly.—Thank God, he was not of that opinion!

Mr. Sheridan said a few words in explanation, relative to what he had remarked respecting Ireland becoming a post of France.

Mr. Tierney said, if ever there existed a minister in the country who more than another should mourn for the country, it was the present: he should come to the house clothed in sackcloth and ashes, to find himself obliged, in the fifth year of the war, and after an expenditure of above two hundred millions of money, to bring down to that house such a proposition as the present. He then adverted to the circumstance of there being no official communication to the house of the rebellion, before parliament was called upon to take such an important step; this he considered as a serious omission. He said that the right honourable gentleman could not be at a loss for the form of communication; for the case of communicating the American affair to the house from the throne was directly in point; and said that those proceedings were such as should have been adopted

adopted on the present occasion. A week was then allowed before the king's message was taken into consideration; but how different was the mode adopted in the present instance. No communication whatever was made to parliament of the existence of the rebellion. If Ireland was so situated, as that the presence of this body was essential to its preservation, it became necessary for him to watch the interests of England. He should not, he trusted, be suspected of a disposition to separate the interests of the two countries; but, if the interest of the one clashed with that of the other, it became him to recollect that he was a representative of England. If the honourable gentleman should attempt to convince him, that the measures pursued in Ireland originated in the agency of France, he would have great difficulty, as he could not conscientiously believe that France had any share in them. Not having the opportunity of reference to official documents, he could only form his opinion from such information as he was able to collect. For instance, he found that lord Fitzwilliam was of a different opinion, and that his lordship had not formed his opinion from the consequences of the measures which had been pursued; but that he now referred to letters written three years ago, in which he urged the necessity of concession to the catholics; and said, he should feel himself as much disposed to give credit to the noble lord, as to the statement of the right honourable gentleman. Mr. Tierney next read the preamble to the militia act; and observed, that the force was intended not only as a body for the defence, but that it formed a part of the constitution

of the country, from which the greatest advantages were derived. Where was a substitute to be found for this body? It was evident, he said, from the act, that the men, if disposed, should not be permitted to leave the kingdom, as the tenor of their oath was to serve faithfully in Great Britain. It was obvious, that a militia, embodied for five years, was sufficient for all domestic purposes; and, as there were 3,500 guards, he thought the militia were competent to do their duty. Mr. Tierney then reprobated the conduct of administration; and concluded by expressing his determination not to support, by a single man or a guinea, a government so administered as that of Ireland, until satisfied that the rebellion proceeded from French interference, operating on the discontented in that country; nor would he send 12,000 of the militia of this country to the assistance of men, whose conduct, he said, had been so scandalously disgraceful.

Mr. Wilberforce could not be satisfied with giving a silent vote on the measure, partly on account of its singularity, and partly because his sentiments and feelings did not exactly coincide with those which any gentleman had expressed in the course of the present debate. The honourable gentleman who had just spoken had strangely and most unwarrantably contended, that the militia-men, by the engagement which they took on entering into that body, to serve anywhere in Great Britain, were precluded from serving out of Great Britain, even by their own consent. What sort of an argument was it, that by engaging to do a particular thing, or up to a certain extent, a person precluded himself from doing something more, or beyond that

that extent, if he chose it. He felt it, however, his duty, to declare that he considered the measure as being but too likely to be productive of lasting injury to that most excellent institution the militia. Strong as he felt this objection to be, yet what was to be done? A rebellion to a most alarming extent had broken out in Ireland, and continued to rage, even with increasing violence. If it had grown into a maxim of unquestionable authority, "in war, he who gains time gains every thing;" in the case of an insurrection in a country, circumstanced like Ireland, the maxim was still more clear, and of infinitely more cogent application. Gentlemen argued against the measure, because they wished that conciliatory measures should be tried rather than coercive, and that the effusion of blood should be spared. It was precisely these very considerations, Mr. Wilberforce declared, which urged him most powerfully to support the present measure. The force actually in Ireland, at present, might perhaps be sufficient in the end to reduce the rebels to subjection; but it could only be after a long and severe struggle; and if the house wished to dispirit the rebels, and to induce them to desist from their efforts, they must strengthen the arms of government by powerful reinforcements, in order to convince them that all further resistance would be fruitless. Mr. Wilberforce said he was convinced, that the measure was in itself objectionable, yet he must give it his decided support on the ground of necessity, and still more on the principle of its being calculated to spare the effusion of human blood.

Lord George Cavendish said a few words against sending the mi-

litia to Ireland: as being entirely unconstitutional.

Sir W. Pulteney agreed with gentlemen on both sides, that this was a question of great importance, and must have a great effect on the militia in future. The rebellion, however, was not owing to Jacobins; and he was afraid that sending the militia was now unavoidable; but this was no excuse for those who brought us into the embarrassment.

Mr. Manning was anxious that the measure should be carried into effect with as much attention to constitutional principles as possible. He wished that his majesty should be empowered to offer a bounty to such militia-men as should choose to enter, to fill up the vacancies in skeleton regiments; that the militia-men should have permission so to do; and that they should receive bounty. Thus not a moment's delay would be occasioned in sending troops to Ireland; and thus, having raised 12,000 men constitutionally, it would be easy to fill up the vacancies in the militia from the supplementary corps. He should, however, vote for the amendment proposed by Mr. Banks.

Mr. Dundas rose to explain, but was prevented by the speaker.

Mr. Rider said a few words; after which the house divided on the question for the amendment.

Ayes	-	47
Noes	-	118

Majority 71

The original motion was then put and carried.

Wednesday, June 20. On the order for reading a second time the bill to enable his majesty to accept the services of 12,000 men of the militia to go to Ireland being read, General Tarleton opposed he

bill. He thought, that before the country was stripped of the militia, means should be taken for the defence of this country, the situation of which was as critical as Ireland. He entered into a statement of the military force of the kingdom, and concluded, that the force to which the defence of the whole coast of England and Scotland, arsenals, &c. was committed, were only 37,000 men, who had carried firelocks a year. The volunteer corps were not in such a state of discipline as to be effective, and the provisional cavalry were not to be relied upon.

Mr. Dundas made a short reply, and contended, that the volunteer corps which had come forward to offer their services, had been pronounced, by officers of the militia, to be in such a state as to be effective, if necessity required; and the provisional cavalry were, in general, a corps which, in case of emergency, might prove of the greatest advantage to the country.

Mr. Jekyll said, in obedience to the dictates of his own conscience,

and in compliance with the duty which he owed to the people of England, he must make all the stand he was able against a measure which flew in the face of the constitution; for no information had been laid before the house to guide its judgment on the propriety of the motion. And until proper documents were laid before the house, to prove that an unnatural and wicked rebellion raged in Ireland, how could we know but that the people of Ireland had a right to make this resistance—(A murmur of disapprobation arose; and Mr. secretary Dundas moved that the standing order for excluding strangers be enforced, upon which the speaker ordered the gallery to be cleared). The debate continued for some time; after which the house divided on the question for the second reading of the bill.

Ayes - 43

Noes - 11

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Majority - 32

The bill was afterwards read a third time and passed.

CHAP. VII.

Affairs of Ireland. The late Rebellion connected with remote Causes. Brief Sketch of the History of Ireland, as relating to those Causes. National Character of the Irish Peasantry. Concessions made to the Roman Catholics. Further Concessions required. Ill Policy of Lord Fitzwilliam's Administration. Republican Faction in Ireland. Society of United Irishmen—Its Institution. Views of the Society. Theobald Wolfe Tone. Constitution and Laws of the Society. Affiliated System. Orange Men. Defenders. Convention Act. Connexion formed by the United Men with France. Mission of Jackson. His Trial and Conviction. Trial of Stone. Flight of Tone, Rowan, and others. United Irishmen joined by Mr. O'Connor. Accredited Minister from the Irish Directory received at Paris. Invasion of Ireland. Why the French were not supported by the Peasantry. Military Organisation of United Irishmen. Insurrection Act. New Plan of Invasion. Intended Insurrection. Conspiracy in Part developed to Government. Reports of Secret Committees. Severities exercised in Ireland. Efforts made by the Whigs

Whigs to conciliate the hostile Parties. Miserable State of Ireland at this Crisis. Troops embarked on board the Dutch Fleet for the Invasion of Ireland. Wretched Policy of the French. Disturbances in Ireland. Town of Cahir ransacked by the Insurgents. Proclamation. New Attempt to conciliate made by the Whig-Party—Ill-received by the United Irishmen. Mr. Arthur O'Connor. Trial of O'Connor, Binns, &c. Execution of O'Coighly. Destruction of "The Press." Discovery of the grand Conspiracy. Leinster Delegates, and some of the Directory, apprehended. Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Plot for a general Insurrection—Discovered and defeated. The Rebellion breaks out in various Places—Rebels repulsed at Naas—Take the Town of Prosperous—Defeated at Kilcullen—At Rathfarnham—At Tallagh-hill—At Carlow—At Kildare. Progress of the Rebellion in the South. Cork Militia defeated. Battle of Enniscorthy. Rebels advance and take Wexford. Mr. B. B. Harvey appointed Commander in Chief of the Wexford Rebels. Battle of Ross. Horrid Massacres by the Rebels. Rebels repulsed at Gorey and Newtown Barry. Col. Walpole defeated and killed by the Rebels. Rebels repulsed at Arklow. Battle of Vinegar-hill. Wexford retaken. Execution of Rebels there. Ill Conduct and Cruelty of Rebels. Rebellion in the North. Antrim taken by Rebels, and retaken by General Nugent. Battle of Ballinahinch. Lord Cornwallis appointed Lord Lieutenant. Conciliatory Measures. General Amnesty. Trial of I. and H. Sheares, and other Conspirators. Submission and voluntary Confession of Arthur O'Connor, and other State-prisoners. Justice and Equity of Lord Cornwallis's Administration. Bill of Attainder. Final Dispersion of the Rebels. Invasion of Ireland by General Humbert. General Lake defeated. Lord Cornwallis advances to attack the French—And defeats them at Ballinamuck. Napper Tandy lands in Ireland—Returns. Defeat of the Grand Expedition for the Invasion by Sir J. B. Warren. Capture, Trial, and Death, of Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. Entire Suppression of the Irish Rebellion. Reflexions.

THE fatal contest which had been long expected, and long feared, in Ireland, broke forth this year, with all the horrors which naturally accompany such an event. To understand the nature and foundation of the disturbances, it will be necessary to carry our views back to the earlier periods of the Irish history, and to consider the whole of the predisposing causes in a connected series.

It has been said that history in general is no other than the melancholy record of human crimes and human calamities. To no history can the remark be more applicable than to that of this unhappy kingdom. Previous to its subjugation

to England, this island was the constant theatre of bloody and destructive wars between the petty sovereigns, who exercised a precarious, but tyrannical authority over the different provinces; and from that period few and fleeting were the intervals in which the country was not agitated by inveterate and cruel struggles to regain that imaginary independence, which the natives never failed to lament they had lost.

It has been a matter of dispute between the historians of the two countries, whether the sovereignty of Ireland was acquired by Henry II. by conquest or by cession. The dispute is little interesting in itself,

and is not easy to be determined. Ireland, distracted by intestine divisions and contests, saw a foreign force introduced by one of its native princes, who had been expelled from his sovereignty for his licentiousness and tyranny. Supported by the party of the exiled prince, the English found but a feeble resistance to their arms; and the king of Leinster was reinstated, partly by their assistance, but more by the weakness and disunion of his adversaries. Henry found the road made plain and easy to him by the valour and ability of Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, the first adventurer who undertook the restoration of the exiled prince; and the monarch of Ireland was happy to purchase for himself the peaceful enjoyment of his dignity and dominions by a compact; in consequence of which, he was to be invested with all the rights of sovereignty, as the vassal of Henry; for which he consented to do him homage, and to pay, as an acknowledgment of his dependence, a small annual tribute. A certain part of the kingdom was ceded to the English adventurers: this part was governed by the English usages; and an officer of the king of England presided over its government, under the title of lord deputy, while the rest of the country remained under its native princes, and subject to its original (Brehon) laws.

Not content with the boundary, which, by the first treaty, was assigned them, the English settlers gradually extended their territories, by encroachments and conquests, on their less warlike neighbours; but it was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the country could be said to be completely subjected to the English yoke. In the course of these transactions, however, many

of the native Irish were dispossessed of the inheritance of their ancestors; they, consequently, regarded the new settlers as intruders and plunderers: insurrections were frequent; and each insurrection produced new forfeitures: and the causes of animosity were multiplied, in proportion to the efforts which were made for the recovery of their lost rights.

At the celebrated period of the reformation, a new cause of disunion was generated from that strong attachment to their ancient religion, which forms a striking feature in the character of the native Irish. The agreement in religious sentiment formed a bond of attachment between such of the English settlers as refused to conform to the religion of the court, and their Irish brethren. National prejudices were forgotten in those of religion. The catholic descendants of the first adventurers now intermixed, more freely than they had done before, with a people whom they had treated as their vassals: Their origin was forgotten; they became naturalised to the soil, to the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The character of protestant, or of papist, formed at length the great line of distinction: these terms were equivalent to those of English and Irish; and even the principal marks to distinguish the alien from the native.

Hence, in every struggle that occurred for the recovery of their national independence, and the property of their ancestors, religion was deeply blended with civil claims; and the re-establishment of the catholic faith was equally an object with the restoration of their estates.

A connexion with the Catholic powers of the continent was a necessary effect of this harmony in religious

ligious sentiment. Thus, when Hugh earl of Tyrone, in the reign of Elizabeth, formed the daring project of erecting Ireland into an independent sovereignty, he was at first secretly, and afterwards openly, assisted by Spain. The insurrection is described, by a declaration of the privy-council, as "an universal Irish rebellion, to shake off all English government."—Forty years had scarcely elapsed, from the period in which this rebellion was suppressed, before it was succeeded by another, more general, if possible, and more dreadful. The insurrection of 1641 is written in characters of blood, and marked out for the horror and amazement of posterity. Religion was not only a motive, but the avowed pretext of the insurgents. Even the catholics of the pale, the descendants of the first English adventurers, took an active part in the insurrection: and that they acted in concert with the catholic powers on the continent can scarcely be doubted. The leaders of the rebellion were publicly assisted by money from the papal treasury; and an accredited legate from his holiness occupied a seat in the convention of Kilkenny. On the suppression of this rebellion, the forfeitures were many, and were confirmed by the act of settlement, passed in the reign of Charles II.; these were succeeded by others, which took place after the memorable stand made by the catholics of Ireland, in favour of a popish monarch, in the year 1690; and while their religious prejudices continued to be invaded, a large proportion of the natives were deprived of their inheritances; and, to the zeal of bigotry, the sense of supposed injustice was added, to stimulate the

passions of indignation and revenge, and the hope of retaliation.

In the Irish, these passions, with respect to what is termed the protestant ascendancy, are hereditary. The protestants are still considered as intruders, who have plundered the natives of their property, and overturned their religious establishment. Many causes have co-operated with this sentiment, to render the lower classes untractable and desperate; and an occasion or excuse has seldom presented itself, without an evident inclination on their parts to throw off the British dominion. The peasantry of Ireland are ignorant, savage, extremely poor, and, we must in candour add, in some measure oppressed. The grazing system, and the monopoly of farms, have precluded many families from a decent and independent subsistence, and reduced them to a precarious and dependent situation. The outrages of the Whiteboys, in the year 1762, and for about ten years succeeding, have been attributed to this circumstance. But when it is remembered, that the exaction of tythes was the alleged plea of the insurgents, and that all of them who suffered were of the Catholic persuasion, we shall not be accused of partiality in saying, that religion must have been at least one of the principal motives.

The repeal of Poyning's law, which established the independence of the Irish parliament, and the concession of a free trade, which were granted to the Irish in the year 1782, it was hoped, would have satisfied the inhabitants at large, and would have established the island in peace and prosperity. In that arrangement, however, which was principally effected by

the protestant interest, the catholics were not invested with the full rights and privileges to which they conceived themselves entitled, though the penal statutes against them were repealed, and though they were placed upon an equal footing with protestants, with respect to the tenure of their landed property.

In a former volume we gave a distinct account of the further concessions which were made to the catholics of Ireland in the year 1793. By that arrangement, they were invested with the same privileges as his majesty's protestant subjects, except only the being eligible to the great offices in the state, about 32 in number, and the right of sitting and voting in both houses of parliament. Whether these few points were worth a contest on either side, it is not our parts to determine. It was said, on the one part, that to admit the Roman catholics to the principal offices of the executive government, and to seats in the legislature, would be to lay the foundation of a revolution, not only in the ecclesiastical establishment, but even in the government; that not only the property of the church, but all which was derived from the authority of Great-Britain; every thing possessed by the protestants, as the inheritance of their ancestors, would be forfeited. The proceedings of the catholic convention in 1645, and the still more violent and tyrannical acts of the catholic parliament in 1689, were triumphantly referred to, and the inveterate and unsubdued spirit of the Irish papists were alleged as reasons against investing them with too much power. It was answered to these reasons, that the appointment of the executive officers of

the state rested entirely with his majesty and his lieutenant, and that there was little danger that persons hostile to the establishment should meet with their approbation. With respect to the right of sitting in parliament, it was argued, that still the majority of electors were of the protestant faith, and that, consequently, a majority of catholic members was not likely to be returned.

In the year 1795, earl Fitzwilliam, as we have related in a preceding volume, was appointed to the government of Ireland; and he, according to his own statement, went with full powers from the British ministry to satisfy all the claims of the Roman catholics. Whether that was a wise measure, or not, this is neither the proper time nor the proper place to discuss. However that may be, it can never be sufficiently regretted that the hopes of the catholics were elevated only to experience the bitterness of disappointment. The recall of earl Fitzwilliam certainly created much discontent in Ireland, and was at least a dangerous circumstance in the hands of the disaffected party.

Thus were the minds of the Irish peasantry prepared by ancient prejudice, and what they considered as recent injury, for a state of insubordination; and, in such a state of things, it was natural to expect that Ireland should be in some degree affected by the momentous changes which were taking place on the continent of Europe. A considerable faction had existed almost from the first dawn of the French revolution, secretly attached to republican principles, and who impatiently desired a participation of that equal liberty, which they erroneously believed was to be the fruits

fruits of the contest in which the Gallic reformers were engaged. Besides these, there were many ambitious and disappointed men, who are ever ready to join the standard of revolt; and there was a still larger body, who saw defects in their constitution, which they persuaded themselves a little virtue and energy in the people would lead the government to reform. The catholics were still the most numerous; and, on that account, the most powerful part of the nation: these it was necessary to conciliate; and the party contrived to implicate their own claims with those of a people, who were to be their principal agents in effecting their designs.

The project of a parliamentary reform, and what they chose to term catholic emancipation, or a full restoration to the catholics of all the privileges of Irish subjects, were the ostensible principles upon which the society, since become so famous under the name of UNITED IRISHMEN, was formed. It was instituted in the year 1791; and a code of laws for its regulation was drawn up by a man as much distinguished by his talents as by his unfortunate and premature death, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. This gentleman was but little indebted to the adventitious circumstances of birth or fortune for his celebrity and influence. He was the son of a tradesman in Dublin: he was educated in Trinity-college, and brought up to the bar. From inclination, and probably from principle, he attached himself to the popular party, and was the leading person in the establishment of the society in question. The constitution of this society evinced much ability and political knowledge; and it certainly was well calculated to

effect, not merely its ostensible objects, but even a separation from the British connexion; which, there is reason to think, was meditated by some of the leading members, latterly at least; though it is but just to acquit the great majority of the members of any treasonable design in the first institution of the society. The first and principal article expressed, that "the society was constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a community of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Each particular society, or division, was originally to consist of thirty-six members, which number was afterwards reduced to twelve. Each of these elected their own treasurer and secretary; and also appointed delegates to what was called the baronial committee: to which function of delegates, by a subsequent regulation, the secretaries succeeded *ex officio*. And the lower baronial committee consisted of five secretaries, who were invested with the sole direction and superintendence of the five societies which they represented. From each lower baronial committee one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which also superintended all the lower baronial committees within the county or district. One or more delegates from each upper baronial committee formed a county committee; and two or three from each county committee formed the provincial committee. An executive directory was chosen for the whole kingdom by the provincial committees, and consisted of five persons, who were only known to the

secretaries of the provincial committees, who were the scrutineers of the ballot. The directory exercised an almost unlimited authority over the whole body of the union, though their names and persons were utterly unknown to the members, who gave implicit obedience to an invisible authority. An oath was administered to every new member on his admission to the society, which pledged him to "persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion;" and also in the obtaining of "a full and adequate representation of the people of Ireland." The oath further engaged him, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, should ever induce him, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member or members of that and similar societies.

Thus constituted, the society, for the first two or three years after its institution, by its circumspection, escaped the vigilance, or by its insignificance failed to excite the suspicions of the government. Its organisation was gradually perfected, and proselytes were daily brought over to the cause. It was in the spring of 1792, that what is termed the affiliated system, or a complete connexion and correspondence between the united men throughout the kingdom commenced; and to complete the arrangement, emissaries were dispatched from Dublin, and from the province of Ulster, to all parts of the country. Whatever might be the views, however, of a very few of the leaders, it does not appear that the majority of the members had at this period, or for some time after, the least intention or expectation of effecting any thing beyond a reform of parliament, and

what they termed catholic emancipation.

Since the dreadful massacre of 1641, and the subsequent civil war in 1689 and 1690, the jealousies and the fears of the protestants of Ireland, and those of the established church in particular, have ever been awake against every design which appeared to favour the catholic cause. The extension of privileges, which was granted to the papists in 1793, was but ill-received by a large body of the protestants; and it is remarkable, that the speech of the Irish chancellor on that occasion predicts, that the concessions which were then made would not be satisfactory; but that, on the contrary, "the avowed object of Irish reformers, and catholic emancipators, was separation from Great Britain." It is not our wish to enter into any party disputes, or to make a panegyric on the leaders of any party; but common candor extorts from us the confession, that the speech to which we allude is replete with historical learning, and judicious argument; and it may be read as containing, we believe, a just summary of the principles upon which the protestant party in Ireland have acted. Impressed, therefore, with the apprehension (whether well or ill-founded, it is not our business to inquire), that to extend the powers and privileges of the catholics was to put weapons in the hands of men, who would only use them to the overthrow of the civil and ecclesiastical establishments, and alarmed at the proceedings of the united Irishmen, some of the more sanguine of the supporters of what is called the protestant ascendancy, formed counter-associations. With more zeal than judgment, they assumed the external marks of party distinction; and, as the memory of

William

William was justly held in veneration by the protestants of Ireland, as their great deliverer, the party were soon distinguished by the name of orange-men. In the county of Armagh, where religious feuds had long been carried on with peculiar asperity, the two parties entered into actual and violent contentions; and, we fear, whatever might be the spirit or the conduct of the papists, the orange-men did not conduct themselves with temper, and with charity. They are charged with outrages, which, if true, would disgrace any cause; with burning houses, and with a settled plan for expelling all the catholic inhabitants from the county and the province; to seize the arms of the papists was the plea, and, probably, the motive under which these excesses were committed; but it is seldom that party rage confines itself within the measures absolutely necessary for self-defence.

The religious feuds, which in this manner originated in the county of Armagh, are said to have given rise to that description of people who have been stigmatised by the name of *defenders*. The orange-men had been active in depriving the papists of their arms; and the latter party retaliated by plundering by night the houses of the protestants, ransacking every quarter for arms, and murdering those who had the spirit to resist. The defenders were bound to secrecy and union by a solemn oath, and acted in all their predatory excursions with the same alertness and vigilance which had distinguished the white-boys a few years before.

In the mean time, the Irish government, now seriously alarmed, passed an act against the holding of seditious meetings, or conventions,

for any political purpose, without the sanction of the magistrates. An act was also passed against administering the defender's oath; and many of these deluded people were, from time to time, apprehended, tried, and convicted, at the different assizes for their respective counties. The united Irishmen appear to have had no immediate connexion with the defenders; yet through their secretary, it is alleged, they raised money to support and defend some of them upon their trials.

The French government, from the first of the contest with this country, we may indeed say in the very commencement of it, seem to have been remarkably ignorant of the state of the people, and the government with whom they had to contend. They have repeatedly fallen into the error, which some, indeed, of the tory party in Great Britain have held or countenanced, that all who disapprove, in any degree, of the conduct of ministers in Great Britain are disposed to a revolution. No error can be more flagrant or more fatal either to be received by an enemy, or cherished by the administration. Of the persons hostile to ministry in Britain, some are so upon mere party motives, that is, attached to the men who wish to supplant the present ministers, and to occupy their stations; and it is not likely that persons of this description should be desirous of a revolution, which must defeat the very hopes on which they act, and involve the majority and minority in one common ruin. Some again are the remains of the old whig party in this kingdom, who venerate the constitution, and only condemn the ministers when they suppose them to have committed innovations upon it. Some are in opposition upon religious prejudices.

dices, because they have ever been hostile to the ecclesiastical establishment. None of these descriptions of men, however, are to be regarded as friendly to a revolution. We have, on the contrary, ever affirmed, that the actual republicans in this country are few, and those are to be rather considered as speculative than active democratisers. The persons who are desirous of a change of government in this country are also comparatively very few; and these are men of desperate fortunes, or in the lower classes of society. These have ever been our sentiments, and, we are persuaded, the course of events, and the cool judgment of posterity, will confirm our verdict. So ignorant, however, have the French always been of the real disposition of the people of England, that they have continually flattered themselves, that if the standard of revolt was once erected, millions would flock to enrol themselves under it. In the year 1794, a person of the name of Jackson, who had been a clergyman of the church of England, and was, previous to his going to France, connected with some of the daily papers in London, obtained, through some Irish or British emigrants in Paris, an introduction to the jacobin party which was then in power. Jackson came to England with no recommendation except to a Mr. Stone, whose brother at that time resided in the Gallic metropolis, and was, we believe, employed as the printer to the convention. The object of the mission was, apparently, to form a connexion with the disaffected party in this kingdom, and to facilitate a plan of invasion, which seems to have been, at least remotely, meditated at that time. It is remarkable, that though Jackson was a native of Ireland, this country, and not his

own, appears to have been the sole object of the French at that period. Stone, however, to whom he was recommended, was better informed; if we may credit his defence on his trial, he earnestly deprecated any plan of invasion here; and some persons, with whom he communicated, advised Jackson to turn his attention to his native country, as a theatre better adapted to revolutionary movements. Jackson proceeded to Ireland with this view: he was there introduced to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, at that time imprisoned in Newgate for seditious or treasonable practices, and to Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, both of them persons of high authority in the society of united Irishmen, and, indeed, men of influence in the country. From his communications with these and other persons of the same description, he was informed of the true state of Irish politics; and something like a plan began to be formed for a co-operation with the French in an invasion of Ireland. During his stay in England, however, Jackson had communicated pretty freely with a person who had formerly exercised the profession of an attorney. This man he made his confidential agent, and entrusted with all his secrets. In the mean time this person had revealed to the British ministers the views and conduct of Jackson, and he was ordered by them to watch all his motions, which he carefully did. In conclusion, Jackson was apprehended, brought to trial in Dublin, and convicted of high treason. The unfortunate man anticipated the sentence of the law; and having, as is generally believed, taken poison previously to his being called into court to receive sentence, he suddenly, as his council began to argue an arrest of judgment,

ment, sunk down at the bar, and expired. Stone was also apprehended in England; and, after a long detention in Newgate, was brought to trial before the court of King's Bench, and acquitted; principally, we believe, on the ground that he had discouraged the idea of invading Great Britain, and was not concerned in the transactions of Jackson in Ireland.

Immediately on the conviction of Jackson, Mr. Tone, and some others of the united Irishmen, absconded; Mr. Hamilton Rowan soon after made his escape from Newgate; and from this time, till the latter end of the year 1795, there appears to have existed no direct communication between the French government and the united Irishmen, as a society at least.

Soon after the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, the society of united Irishmen received a considerable accession of men of parts and influence. Mr. Arthur O'Connor, in particular, who had distinguished himself by his able support of that nobleman's administration in the house of commons; Dr. M'Nevin, who had been chairman of the committee for enforcing the claims set forth in the catholic petition; and, we believe, Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent citizen of Dublin, who had been a distinguished supporter of the same principles, joined the society. What is called the *military system* had commenced before these gentlemen became members. It was completed in the province of Ulster on the 10th of May 1795; but it had not made any considerable progress beyond the northern province before the autumn of 1796, when emissaries were sent into the province of Leinster to propagate the system, and to urge the fabrication of pikes, and the

procuring of arms. It is affirmed; in the report of the Irish house of lords, "that, on this occasion, the stale pretexts of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation were found ineffectual for the seduction of the people of that province; and therefore the emissaries of treason, who had undertaken it, in order to prevail with them to adopt the system of organisation, first represented that it was necessary in their own defence, as their protestant fellow subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, having sworn to wade up to their knees in popish blood." By the confessions, indeed, of counsellor Emmet and Mr. Bond, both of them members of the Irish executive directory, it appears that catholic-emancipation was a mere pretext, as no ecclesiastical establishment was to have been permitted had the measures of the society been successful; and the mass of the people too, it appears, were perfectly indifferent with respect to a parliamentary reform, and were wrought upon, chiefly by the prospect of the abolition of tythes, and a persuasion that their condition would be bettered by a revolution.

Through the medium of Mr. Tone, and other Irish refugees, a regular communication was opened, in the year 1795, between the French directory and the united Irishmen. In the latter end of that year, a messenger was dispatched to France from the society, and that messenger is supposed to have been Mr. Edward John Lewins, an attorney in Dublin, and a very active member. Early in the succeeding year, therefore, a proposition was received from the French government, that an army should be sent over to Ireland, to assist in
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the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from the British connexion. The proposal was duly considered, and, after some deliberation, accepted by the society : but to arrange the preliminaries for the invasion, it was determined that some of the most eminent of the leaders of the republican faction in Ireland should have an interview with a confidential agent on the part of France. With this view, in the course of the summer of 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, proceeded to Switzerland.—Near the French frontier, an interview took place between these gentlemen and general Hoche ; and in this conversation, it is believed, the whole plan of the invasion was finally adjusted. Of the abortive expedition of general Hoche, in the winter of 1796, the effect of this conference, and the causes of its failure, we have formerly spoken. The determined loyalty, evinced by the great mass of the Irish nation on that occasion, is a circumstance which has occasioned surprise, and is even now more calculated than before to excite our astonishment, since we are now acquainted with the measures which had been adopted in Ireland to give effect to the invasion. The mystery is however, in some degree, developed by the testimony of some of the members of the Irish directory. In the month of November, an express was received, informing the Irish executive (as the five members of the directory were termed), that a descent was immediately to be made with a force of 15,000 men ; but in a few days after, a letter arrived, which they considered as authentic, acquainting them, that the expedition was deferred till the spring, when it

was intimated, that full employment would be found for the British forces by the invasion of Great Britain itself, as well as the sister kingdom. The people were therefore left wholly unprepared for the reception of the French, and unapprised of the measures which had been previously taken. The letter, stating that the expedition was deferred, was probably a contrivance of some agent of the British government, but of this we are not officially informed.

The military system, as it is called, proceeded with vigour after the renewed communication with the French government in 1796. As the province of Ulster had been always the most forward in every preparation, the organisation was first completed there ; the other provinces were less forward ; but Leinster, we believe, was the second in readiness. The mode of arming was communicated by an order from the Irish executive, which enjoined, that every member of the union, who had the means, should provide himself with fire-arms ; and that those who were unequal to this expense should provide themselves with pikes. The military organisation was founded on the civil arrangements. The secretary to each small division, or society of twelve, was the petty officer, under the title of serjeant or corporal ; the delegate of five societies to a lower baronial was usually a captain, and thus had sixty men under his command. The delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or distinct committee was usually the colonel ; and thus a battalion consisted in general of about 600 men. The staff officers were appointed in the following manner ; the colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons

persons to the executive, one of whom was appointed by that body adjutant-general to his county. His duty was to communicate all military orders from the executive. The commander in chief, and the superior officers were, we believe, appointed by the directory alone.

It was in the month of March, 1796, that the famous insurrection act, empowering the magistrates in any county or district to proclaim it out of the king's peace, and consequently to subject the inhabitants to military law, was passed; but this law was not acted upon till the month of November following. Various opinions have been entertained of the operation of this act; by one party the salvation of the country is attributed to the vigour which it gave to the supporters of government; by the other, it is alleged to have increased the discontents it was intended to suppress, to have produced some horrid acts of injustice and oppression, which irritated the people, and added to the numbers of the disaffected. We have our doubts whether either of these opinions is strictly just. Vigorous measures were at that season undoubtedly necessary on the part of government; and the conspiracy had struck so deep a root, that the increase of the numbers of united men did not certainly depend on a few solitary instances of cruelty or oppression; on the other hand, a wise government should be always cautious of the multiplication of penal statutes; and the defeat of the conspiracy certainly was not the effect of this law—it was brought about by more effectual means, by a discovery of the plot, and by striking at the root of the evil by securing the leaders.

After the abortive expedition of Hoche, the members of the Irish

union were not discouraged. The alliance with France, on the contrary, became more firmly cemented. A regular communication and correspondence was established. Lewins, who has been already mentioned, was appointed as the resident minister of the Irish directory at Paris. He passed over, under the assumed name of Thompson, from Ireland to Hamburgh. There he obtained letters of evidence from the French minister to general Hoche, whom he met at Frankfort, and afterwards proceeded to Paris, where he remained, as the accredited minister of what they vainly termed "the Irish republic." Of the nature of the negotiations carried on by this agent, we are not yet correctly informed; but, in the summer of 1797, a special minister was sent, in consequence of an application from the French directory, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the invasion. Dr. M'Nevin, who had acted as secretary to the Irish executive, was appointed to this service, and, in the month of June, proceeded to Paris, with fuller powers, and more specific instructions, from the Irish directory than had been furnished to Lewins. As the principal intention of Dr. M'Nevin's journey was to arrange the plan of the intended invasion, he came with a precise project for the expedition. He recommended, that the attempt should be made at Oysterhaven rather than at Bantry; because the reduction of the city of Cork would be greatly facilitated by that arrangement. An additional supply of arms was also required, as large seizures had been made by the Irish government; and the expenses of this armament, as well as of the preceding one, under general Hoche, he undertook, should be

be defrayed by funds, for which the Irish republic, as soon as regularly constituted, should be responsible. The negotiation was then pending at Lisle; and it was strongly urged upon the directory, by the Irish agents, to insist on the separation of Ireland from Great Britain as one of the preliminaries. Dr. M'Nevin was further instructed to negotiate a loan of half-a-million, in France or Spain, on the credit of the Irish directory; but in this object of his mission he failed. According to the memorial drawn up by Dr. M'Nevin, and presented to the French government about this time, about 150,000 united Irishmen were organised and enrolled in the province of Ulster only.

While these negotiations with the enemy were in agitation, the impatience of some of the party in Ireland could scarcely be restrained; and, in the spring of 1797, a plan was seriously discussed among the leaders in Dublin for a general rising, without waiting for foreign assistance; but it was overruled by the Dublin part of the committee, who had cooler heads, or better information, than their associates. The Irish government, in the mean time, equally alarmed and perplexed by different menacing and contradictory reports, knew scarcely from what quarter to expect the blow, or what measures to adopt, either to discover the lurking treason, or anticipate its effects. They appear to have been for a considerable period ignorant of the nature of the constitution of the united Irishmen, of the extent of their views, and of their power. A discovery of some importance in the beginning of the year 1797 enabled them in some measure to de-

velope the mysterious proceedings of the society, and to place themselves in a posture of defence. Information had been received, that a seditious meeting of some description or other was to be held at the house of a person of the name of Alexander, at Belfast, on Friday, the 14th of April, 1797. On this information, colonel Barber, with a detachment of the army, proceeded on that day to the place of meeting, where he found two societies or committees actually sitting. Colonel Barber was accompanied on this occasion by Mr. Fox, the storekeeper of the ordnance, and this gentleman entered one of the rooms, and lieutenant Ellison the other. They seized the papers and minutes. They found the printed declaration and constitution of the united Irishmen; various reports from provincial and county committees, and several other important documents which left them no longer in doubt respecting the extent and the views of this formidable conspiracy. By the activity of the magistrates in other parts of the kingdom certain other papers, which were circulated by the society, were discovered, and served to throw further light on their proceedings, and to confirm the discoveries already made.

The papers which were seized were subjected to secret committees of both houses of parliament; and, upon the evidence they contained, a report was drawn up by each house. The vigour and activity of government was increased; a large accession was made to the military force of the kingdom; the insurrection act was put in force in several parts; considerable districts were proclaimed out of the king's peace; and large seizures were made
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of concealed arms. In pursuing these measures, it would be absurd to deny that many acts of rigour, we might, perhaps, say, of cruelty, were committed by the agents of government. Fear and alarm are strong passions, and there are, perhaps, none that actuate the human breast which dispose more to cruel and sanguinary conduct. Several persons were flogged and otherwise tortured to extort confessions. These are proceedings of which we cannot approve. Every punishment inflicted without trial is a violation of justice; and men, who were contending for the government and constitution of their ancestors, ought to have been the last to violate that constitution, whatever the temptation. In the confidence of a good cause, they ought to have adopted implicitly the maxim—"Fiat justitia ruat cælum;"—with the dignity becoming patriots they ought to have placed themselves upon the defensive at every point, but not have suffered the slightest violation of those sacred rights they were so gloriously defending. We much question, whether the policy of these proceedings was not as erroneous as the proceedings themselves were blame-worthy. The inferior agents were little acquainted with the great scheme on which their chiefs were proceeding; and it is manifest, that the conspiracy was at least not discovered by the infliction of arbitrary punishments. To defeat seditious machinations, rewards are always a more powerful instrument in the hands of government than punishments. The men who enter into conspiracies are commonly ambitious, and often avaricious.—The band is easily broken by holding forth proper temptations to such persons to return to

loyalty and forsake their fellows in iniquity; and, in fact, it was by these means, and not by the other, that Ireland was saved.

Candour will, however, be cautious in imputing to the government every excess into which a heated soldiery may be occasionally betrayed; and, on the other hand, if some acts of gross severity were exercised, let it be remembered that the provocations were many. Unhappy Ireland was at this period the theatre of assassination and outrage. The houses of the peaceable inhabitants were frequently assailed by night by persons in connexion with the society of united Irishmen, and some respectable persons were murdered in the most barbarous manner, without provocation, and, in some instances, without an attempt to defend themselves.

The whig minority in the Irish parliament (whom the noble author of the report of the secret committee of the lords, with becoming candour, exonerates from the charge of being privy to or conscious of the designs of the traitors) made at this time some efforts to steer a middle course, and to effect, by conciliation, what others were effecting by force. In the month of May, 1797, Mr. Ponsonby introduced a motion into the Irish house of commons in favour of a parliamentary reform. The arguments on both sides turned chiefly on the present circumstances of the nation. Those who supported the motion urged it as a means of satisfying the people, and allaying the discontents. The ministerial side of the house asserted, on the contrary, that no time could possibly be so unfavourable as the present for making any experiments on the government and constitution

tion of the country. The motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and seventeen votes to thirty. The introduction of the motion certainly evinced, that the minority in parliament were unacquainted with the views and arrangements of the united men; otherwise they must have known, that, at the period of which we are treating, no concession of the kind would have satisfied that faction, whose object unquestionably was to destroy the connexion with Britain, and erect Ireland into an independent republic. After this effort, the whig party in Ireland seceded in a body, and never afterwards took a part in the parliamentary discussions.

The fatal effects of party and disunion were at this period apparent in almost every part of the kingdom. Commerce appeared to be totally stagnant, and agriculture could not be said to flourish, while whole districts, through alarm or disaffection, were nearly depopulated. A proclamation was issued by the government on the 17th of May, which exhibits a most affecting picture of this miserable country. It is the picture of a people deserting all their peaceful occupations, and preparing for civil war. It states, that under various pretences, the most alarming and seditious assemblages were convened; that large armed bodies of the malcontents had plundered the houses of the peaceable inhabitants; that the district, or yeomanry forces, had been attacked with a view to disarm them; and that the growing timber of the country had been clandestinely cut down and conveyed away for the fabrication of pikes and offensive weapons. It is further stated; that the exertions of the civil power had proved in-

effectual for the suppression of the conspiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects; and that it was now become necessary to employ the military force:—that orders had, therefore, been issued to all officers commanding his majesty's troops, to oppose, with their full power, all such as should obstruct them in the execution of their duty. The proclamation concludes with an offer of pardon to all such persons as had joined the treasonable societies, on their return to their allegiance, excepting only such as had been guilty of murder, conspiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houses, or other acts of plunder and devastation.

Not intimidated by the determined spirit of this proclamation, nor even by the active exertions of the military, the united men proceeded with redoubled vigour. The concealed arms were slowly discovered, and with difficulty, since there does not appear to have been any general depôt of arms; but each individual took care of his own. It is even stated, in the report of the committee of the commons, that soon after the proclamation of the 17th of May, an active effort was made to produce a general insurrection throughout Ulster, the orders for which were given about the latter end of that month, in conformity to a plan which had been previously prepared. A slight movement did accordingly take place, but the main design was frustrated by the vigilance and activity of general Lake. Many of the leaders were compelled to fly, and some were apprehended. From the examination of John Hughes, of Belfast, however, before the committee of the lords, it appears that the insurrec-

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tion did not take place, because the majority of the counties in Ulster were disinclined to come forward, and the majority of the rebel colonels were of opinion, that it was imprudent to act, at that period, without foreign aid.

The expected assistance, was indeed, at this period, in a very forward state of preparation.

In the month of July, the Irish directory received dispatches from their ministers at Paris, announcing that the armament then fitting out in the Texel was intended for Ireland. In consequence of this information, the approach of the invaders was announced at the provincial meetings, as appears by the provincial reports, in which it was stated, that the expedition was to proceed from two parts; that the French government had commanded their admiral to proceed to sea as soon as the wind should be favourable, and fight the English, and that the Dutch admiral had received similar orders. With this view, the troops, under the command of general Daendals, had actually embarked on board the fleet in the Texel; but, for what reason is uncertain, were suddenly put on shore. The Dutch fleet was afterwards ordered to put to sea, and was defeated off Camperdown, by the British fleet, commanded by admiral lord Duncan, as related in our last volume, on the 11th of October, 1797.

After the rupture of the negotiation at Lisle, the French government gave the strongest assurances to the faction in Ireland of speedy and effectual support; and that they would never abandon the cause of the Irish union, or make peace with Great Britain, until the separation of Ireland from that government should be effected.

1798.

Notwithstanding this apparent harmony, however, we have been assured, that considerable jealousies existed between the Irish faction and the French directory. The ambition of the French has uniformly increased with their success; and it was believed by some of the Irish, that the real object of the Gallic directory was not to assist, but to subdue them. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the chiefs of the union, were desirous of a force not exceeding ten thousand men, nor less than five, and about 40,000 stand of arms. The French, either because they really harboured the design, which has been imputed to them, or finding themselves unable to make any effort, refused to send less than an army of 50,000 men. The plan recommended by lord Edward was certainly that which was most adapted to insure success. It was to embark the troops in frigates, or other light sailing vessels; not to send them all in one fleet; and to land them on different parts of the coast, in bodies sufficiently strong to make a stand against any force that might easily be collected; but not so numerous as to require a fleet to convey them, or to occupy much time in their debarkation. Happily for these kingdoms, the ambition, or mistaken politics of the French rulers led them to reject this plan, and to pursue measures which ended in the frustration of the conspiracy, and the disappointment and confusion of its abettors.

Thus the winter of 1797 was suffered to pass by the French government without a single effort to assist their Irish confederates; and thus the favourable and the critical moment was suffered to elapse. The Irish government was now

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completely on its guard, and the vigilance and activity of the ministry there unquestionably deserve commendation. Wearied out, at last, by the tardy proceedings of their allies, and perceiving that their opponents were increasing in strength, while their own party was visibly on the decline, towards the beginning of the year 1798, the faction, it appears, resolved upon a desperate effort. In the month of February a military committee was appointed by the executive council of the rebels; detailed instructions were issued to the adjutant-generals; and thanks were voted to the several colonels for their assiduity in embodying and organising the people. In the meantime, the Irish executive prepared a dispatch for the French directory, pressing, in the most earnest terms, for the promised succours; but it was found impossible to convey it thither. Though many of the united men were deprived by government of their arms, and though many deserted the cause, yet the zeal and impatience of the people in some districts kept pace with the ardour of their leaders and the urgency of their affairs. In the months of February and March, many parts of Leinster and Munster were in the actual possession of the united Irishmen, and other parts were secretly under their control. The nocturnal insurrections were innumerable throughout the kingdom. In one instance an attack was made in the open day. The town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, was invested by a party of 800 men, chiefly cavalry. It was retained in their possession till a regular search was made for arms, and they were suffered to evacuate it in order and without molestation. The acts of murder

and barbarity committed on these occasions, we are sorry to add, were numerous; and such was the terror generally excited, that the report of the committee of the commons states, that very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow, fled for safety to the garrison towns. The Irish government, justly alarmed, therefore, at the progress of the conspiracy, issued, on the 30th of March 1798, a proclamation, stating, that the traitorous conspiracy, which had for some time excited, had at length broken out into open acts of violence and rebellion; that, therefore, orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision, for the immediate suppression thereof; to endeavour to recover the arms which had been plundered, and to disarm the rebels, and all persons disaffected to his majesty's government, by the most summary and effectual measures.

Previous to the issuing of this proclamation, a generous and humane effort was made by the earl of Moira, supported by all those who were at once the friends of order and of liberty, to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom by measures of conciliation.

On the 19th of February, 1798, lord Moira submitted a motion to this effect, to the consideration of the house of lords. In his speech, his lordship repeated nearly the same facts which he had stated in his place in the British house of peers.—He related that “many individuals had been torn from their families, and locked up for months in the closest confinement, without hearing by whom

whom they were accused, with what crime they were charged, or to what means they might recur to prove their innocence; that great numbers of houses had been burned, with the whole property of the wretched owners, upon the loosest supposition of even petty transgressions; that torture, by which he meant picquetting and half-hanging, had been used in more instances than one, in order to extort from the sufferer a charge against his neighbours." If he should be contradicted with respect to these facts, he professed himself prepared to "produce the affidavits of them," and declared his intention of moving "for the examination of the deponents at the bar." After charging the British cabinet with all the evils in Ireland, which his lordship considered as consequences of the perverse principles they had adopted for that country, his lordship proceeded, in strong terms, to recommend a conciliatory system. He allowed that conspiracies might exist, and that atrocities had been committed in the country;—"but (said his lordship) have you not laws to repress these enormities? and, if your statutes are not sufficiently forcible for that purpose, why do you not apply to parliament for provisions better calculated to repress the mischief? If there are delinquencies there must be delinquents. Prove their guilt and punish them; but do not, on a loose charge of partial transgression, impose infliction on the whole community. The state of society is dreadful indeed, when the safety of every man is at the mercy of a secret informer, when the cupidity, the malevolence, or the erroneous suspicions of an individual, are sufficient to destroy his neighbour."

After proposing an address to the lord-lieutenant, to urge his excellency to pursue such conciliatory measures as might allay the apprehensions and extinguish the discontents unhappily prevalent in the country, his lordship proceeded to notice the two great points in debate, the concession of those immunities which were still withheld from the catholics, and parliamentary reform. On the first of these questions he declared, that his mind had been long decided, nor could he see the policy of refusing to give such a body of men a common interest with their countrymen. With respect to the other, he declared himself not a friend to parliamentary reform—not because he foresaw from it any of those ruinous consequences, on the certainty of which declaimers had rested their opposition, but because he thought it would not answer the expectations of those who brought it forward. If, however, it should be found that the general voice of the people was desirous of the measure, and that it would be a means of tranquillising the public mind, he wished to give up his private opinion to the general good.

The earl of Moira was answered by lord Glentworth, who remarked, that the motion appeared to him to be calculated to dishearten and dismay the loyal, and to animate and invigorate the disloyal. The noble earl, he said, in his statement, seemed to mistake the effect for the cause. The measures of which he complained were the consequences, and not the cause of dissatisfaction; government was certainly to blame, but it was for not having resisted those measures sooner. He then entered into a detail of the machinations

of the united Irishmen, which corresponded, in a great measure, with what has been narrated in the preceding part of this chapter. He professed not to justify the burnings, &c. mentioned by the noble earl; at the same time, he thought examples were not unnecessary; but assured the noble earl, that government never gave orders for military outrage. He asserted, that, during the late negotiation, there were at Lisle Irish agents who saw the French directory more frequently than the embassy did, and dissuaded them from peace. He mentioned the licentiousness of certain newspapers, and observed, that in France the guillotine would have stopped the circulation of such papers long ago. The noble lord then enumerated several instances of murder perpetrated by the insurgents; and aptly compared their proceedings to those of the infatuated disciples of the Man of the Mountain.

The ablest opponent of the earl of Moira was, however, the lord-chancellor. He began with paying a just compliment to the character of the noble earl; but attributed to his residence out of his own country his ignorance of the actual state of it. He asserted, that the system of government had been a system of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland; in none had it so completely failed. His lordship gave a masterly detail of the proceedings of the united men, to prove that their object was an overthrow of the government, and a dissolution of the British connexion. He did not justify the proceedings of the orange men, but asserted that they were not enemies to their country. His lordship then proceeded to examine the facts alleged by lord Moira. He acknow-

leged that a blacksmith had been picquetted, which led to the discovery of 100 pikes, which had been forged by him as the instruments of murder and treason. He did not justify the burning of houses, cottages, &c.; but observed, that when treason and rebellion make it necessary to call out the military, it is not always possible to restrain their resentments. With respect to treating with the united Irishmen, the chancellor observed, that so hostile were they to British connexion and regular government, that they would as soon treat with himself as with the earl of Moira.

In the course of his speech, the chancellor passed some reflections on the bishop of Down, who had promoted a petition to his majesty in favour of conciliatory measures. From the charge of disaffection, the learned prelate very satisfactorily exculpated himself. He professed that he was a friend to conciliation. Coercion, he said, had been tried long enough—he attributed much of the calamities of the country to the recall of earl Fitzwilliam. With respect to catholic emancipation, he considered it as a matter of right, not of favour; and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the state of the country rendered absolutely necessary. The motion was also supported by lord Dunfry, who asserted that the present system was the cause of the existing discontents. It had been asked of the noble earl who made the motion, why he had not now brought before the house a catalogue of those enormous cruelties which he had detailed in the British house of peers? Instead of being asked such a question, the noble and learned lord should rather have thanked him for the conciliating and pacific manner

in which he proposed to act. But if noble lords wanted such a catalogue, he could furnish them; he could relate to them not simply the burning of houses, but the murder, in cold blood, of their inhabitants: he could give them an account of three men particularly, who, after having had their houses burned to the ground, were shot by the military, after having been for some time prisoners: and he could add to these accounts the much more numerous instances of men torn from their family and country, and, without the form of a trial, transported for life.

The earl of Moira made a very able reply, and again offered to substantiate his facts at the bar of the house. He admitted that a conspiracy did exist in the country against the government. But he "attributed that conspiracy to the severe and unconstitutional measures which government had adopted," and to "that most impolitic and lamentable measure, the recall of earl Fitzwilliam." The motion of earl Moira was negatived by a large majority.

We have given a brief sketch of this interesting debate, because it involved some striking facts, which serve to illustrate the melancholy state of the kingdom at this juncture. We must, however, remark, that the whig party of Ireland, on this occasion, as well as on many others, certainly betrayed their ignorance of the dangerous machinations of the leaders of the conspiracy. We certainly greatly disapprove of what has been termed "a vigour beyond the law;" we disapprove of every act of violence or punishment, *not sanctioned by a legal verdict*. That these acts might, in some degree, irritate and spread disaffection among such of the peo-

ple as were not in the secrets of the united Irishmen is probable; but it must be allowed, on the other hand, that no measures of conciliation were likely to have effect with the leaders of that society. For in the very day in which the earl of Moira introduced his motion to the house of lords, a resolution was passed by the united committees of Ulster and Leinster, and entered in their books, importing, "that they would pay no attention whatever to any attempt that might be made by either house of parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object they had in view, as nothing short of the complete emancipation of their country would satisfy them."

Hitherto the Irish government seems to have proceeded on a system not deficient in vigour, but it was a vigour ill directed, and little calculated to ensure the great objects, safety and success. Individuals had been punished, and many persons had suffered, both in their property and persons; but they were individuals of no rank or consequence, and probably little acquainted with the nature of the business in which they were engaged. The great authors and designers of the mischief still remained untouched, the union undissolved; the rebel directory still reposed in peace, issuing their mandates in secret security,—
 "They rode in the whirlwind, and directed the storm." Accident, rather than policy, seems happily to have led the government to those discoveries which were of real importance, and to those effective measures which, fortunately for both kingdoms, completely defeated the mischievous intentions of so dangerous, because so able and powerful.

erful, a band of conspirators. But before we proceed to this part of our narrative, it will be necessary to notice some transactions in England, which, though not immediately connected with the discovery, have a near relation to some of the principal members of the faction.

It has been already related, that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the nephew of lord Longueville, and a distinguished supporter of earl Fitzwilliam's administration in the Irish parliament, soon after the recall of that nobleman, became an active member of the society of united Irishmen. He had been seated in parliament by the interest of his uncle; but upon that nobleman expressing his displeasure at some parts of his parliamentary conduct, had resigned. The splendid talents of Mr. O'Connor were a serious accession to the cause of the united men, and his courage was equal to his talents. A newspaper, called the Northern Star, had been long published in Belfast, under the direction chiefly of Mr. Samuel Neilson, a distinguished member of the society, and devoted to their cause. This newspaper was suppressed by the interference of the military, the presses broken, and the printing house destroyed. To repair the loss, the united Irishmen had established in Dublin a newspaper entitled The Press, but the intemperate language of this publication soon subjected it to a prosecution; the publisher was imprisoned, and the paper in danger of being suppressed. In this crisis Mr. O'Connor came boldly forward, and announced himself as the proprietor and editor of the obnoxious paper. Mr. O'Connor was, at this period (the latter end of 1797), elected a member of

the Irish directory, in conjunction with lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Oliver Bond, a gentleman in a considerable commercial business in Dublin, Dr. M'Nevin, who had been actively concerned for the catholics during lord Fitzwilliam's administration, and counsellor Emmet. Strong suspicions, however, fell upon Mr. O'Connor; and his brother Roger O'Connor, esq. was apprehended and lodged in Cork goal, on a charge of high treason, from which, however, he was liberated at the spring assizes, from a total want of evidence against him. Thus circumstanced, in the beginning of the year 1798, Mr. O'Connor came to England, with an intention, as it afterwards appeared, of proceeding to France, in conjunction with John Binns, an active member of the London corresponding society, James Coigley, an Irish priest, and a person of the name of Allen. Mr. O'Connor, in the latter end of February went to Margate, intending to hire a small vessel to convey them to France. Some circumstances in their conduct, however, exciting suspicion, they were all apprehended, and first committed prisoners to the Tower, and afterwards to Maidstone goal. At Maidstone they were tried by a special commission on the 21st and 22d of May, and all of them acquitted, except Coigley, on whom had been found a treasonable and most absurd paper, purporting to be an address from "the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France."—Coigley was therefore condemned and executed; and Mr. O'Connor and Binns, after their acquittal, were detained on another charge of treason preferred against them.

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In the mean time, an act had passed the Irish parliament, authorising grand juries to present any newspaper, containing seditious or libellous matter, as a nuisance; and also authorising the magistrates, on such presentation, to suppress the paper, and seize and destroy the printing materials, &c. The paper called *The Press* was therefore suppressed, and some of its principal supporters taken into custody; but no discovery of importance resulted from this transaction.

The crisis had now arrived which was to prove fatal to the united Irishmen; and the discoveries which led to the developement and disappointment of all their machinations seem to have been effected with little effort on the part of government. In a complicated plan of conspiracy the agency of many persons must be employed; and as the plot ripens to maturity, the secret of it must be gradually disclosed. Among the persons whom it became necessary to entrust with a considerable share of confidence, was a Mr. Reynolds, who had formerly been a silk-manufacturer of some note in the city of Dublin, but had latterly resided in the county of Kildare. Having been sworn a united Irishman in February 1797, Reynolds was, in the following winter, appointed treasurer for the county, and also a colonel in the rebel army. The first disclosure which he made of the transactions of the united Irishmen was to a Mr. Cope, with whom Reynolds had some pecuniary transactions relative to a mortgage on lands in the neighbourhood of Castle Jordon. It was on the 25th of February, 1798, in the course of a journey to take possession of these lands, that Reynolds first communicated

with Mr. Cope on the business. At the persuasion of this gentleman, he disclosed to him from time to time the nature and extent of the conspiracy; and as a meeting of delegates for the province of Leinster was summoned for the 12th of March, at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, he also gave information of it to the government, through Mr. Cope. At the day and hour appointed for the meeting, the house of Mr. Bond was beset by the officers of justice; fourteen of the delegates were apprehended, with their secretary M^cCan; at the same time Dr. M^cNevin, and counsellor Emmett, and some other active members of the society, were taken into custody. A warrant had been issued against lord Edward Fitzgerald, but he escaped, and remained undiscovered for upwards of two months in the city of Dublin. He was discovered, however, on the 19th of May, at the house of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers, who resided near St. James's Gate. On the police officers entering the room, the unhappy nobleman made a desperate defence; he wounded two of the principal of them, Mr. justice Swan, and a captain Ryan, dangerously; and was himself so severely wounded, that he languished a few days only before he expired. His death, it is said, was that of a christian; and his courage and fortitude would have done honour to a better cause than that in which he was engaged.

The seizure of the delegates was a death-blow to the schemes of the united Irishmen. A new directory was chosen, but they soon experienced the fate of the former; and, indeed, the rashness of their own conduct, in all probability, hastened the catastrophe. Their proceedings

were developed and disclosed by another informer; this was a captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, who had pretended to enter into the conspiracy with the intention of discovering their schemes, and betraying them to the government. It appears that a part of their plan was to gain over, as many of his majesty's troops as possible to their side, and particularly of the militia regiments, previous to their making a general attack upon the royal camp of Loughlinstown. For this purpose captain Armstrong appeared a fit instrument. He had been in the habits of frequenting the shop of a bookseller, of the name of Byrne, in Grafton-street, Dublin, who was generally regarded as one of the literary agents of the rebel faction. Among the leading members of the united Irishmen were two young barristers, of the name of Sheares, both men of excellent talents, and of unfulfilled reputation, and who had, both of them, we believe, been elected members of the Irish executive after the arrest of the old members on the 12th of March. To the acquaintance of these gentlemen Byrne proposed to introduce captain Armstrong, whom he had, from various conversations, been led to consider as a convert to their cause; and Armstrong had soon the address to insinuate himself completely into their confidence.

It was on the 10th of May that Armstrong was introduced to the Sheares's, and, at that time, the affairs of the united Irishmen appeared to verge towards a crisis. From this man, and other agents, the government learned that "a general rising," as it was termed by them, of the people, must im-

mediately take place; that the people began to be impatient from the criminal prosecutions; and that it was become necessary to make a home exertion, and relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succour. The whole of the united Irishmen throughout the kingdom, or at least throughout the province of Leinster, it appears, were to act at once in concert; and it was their intention to seize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery at Chapel-izod, and the castle of Dublin, in one night, the 23d of May. One hour was to be allowed between seizing the camp of Loughlinstown, and the artillery at Chapel-izod, and one hour and a half between seizing the artillery and surprising the castle; and the parties who executed both of the external plans were to enter the city of Dublin at the same moment. The stopping of the mail-coaches was to be the signal for the insurgents every-where to commence their operations. It was also planned that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. The united men were, however, at this period, not exactly agreed as to the nature of the insurrection. Mr. Samuel Neilson, who had been peculiarly active in Belfast, and (as was intimated before) one of the proprietors of the Northern Star, with some others of the leaders, were bent upon attacking first the county gaol of Kilmainham, and the gaol of Newgate, in order to set their comrades at liberty; and the project for attacking the latter was also fixed for the 23d of May, the night of the general insurrection. The Sheares's, however, and others, were of a contrary opinion, and they wished to defer the attack of the gaols till after the general insurrection

rection had taken place; and even threatened to give notice to government of the plot, if Neilson and his friends did not immediately desist.

Both plots were, however, completely frustrated. Messrs. John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended on the 21st of May, and Mr. Neilson and others on the 23d; the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant and council in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and in fact the whole city was converted into a garrison. Thus the rebels were unable to effect any thing by surprise; and without leaders, almost without arms or ammunition, the infatuated multitude adventured on the bloody contest. Notwithstanding the apparent forwardness of the north, the first commotions appeared in different parts of Leinster. The northern and Connaught mail-coaches were stopped by parties of the insurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of rebels attacked the town and gaol of Naas, about fourteen miles from Dublin, where lord Gosford commanded. As the guard had been seasonably increased, in expectation of such an attack, the assailants were repulsed, and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or discipline, they sustained, for some time, the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the fencible corps raised by sir W. W. Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The king's troops lost two officers, and about thirty men, and the rebels had about 140 killed before they

took to flight. They were, however, completely dispersed, and several of them taken prisoners. On the same day, a small division of his Majesty's forces were surprised at the town of Prosperous; and a detachment at the village of Clare cut their way through to Naas, with considerable loss. About the same time, general Dundas encountered a large body of insurgents on the hills near Kilkullen, and 130 of these misguided persons were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 rebels, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Cloudalkin: in their progress, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of lord Roden. After some resistance, the rebels were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders Ledwich and Keough were taken. They were immediately tried by a court-martial, and executed, having pleaded in vain that they had been forced into the service.

On the 26th, another body of rebels was defeated at Tallagh-hill, about 13 miles from Dublin, with the loss of 350 killed; among whom was their commander, who was supposed, from different circumstances, to have been an officer in the French service. In the mean time alarming commotions had appeared in the remoter parts. The town of Carlow was attacked on the morning of the 24th of May, by about 1000 rebels. The first movement, on the part of the insurgents, was to possess themselves of some pieces of cannon, which, however,

however, they were forced to abandon. The command of the town, or the garrison, as it was termed (for at this unfortunate period the principal towns were converted into garrisons), was entrusted to major Dennis, who, with one troop of horse, and two companies of militia, assisted by some corps of volunteers, defeated the rebels with the loss of 400 men. As the inhabitants were accused of having fired out of their houses upon the king's troops, the military, in revenge, are said to have burned a part of the town. The town of Kildare was also rescued from the rebels by sir James Duff, on the 29th of May, after an action in which 200 of the insurgents were killed.

It was, however, in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford that the rebellion raged with the greatest violence. On the 25th of May they appeared in great force, supposed to the amount of 15,000 strong, in the neighbourhood of Wexford and Enniscorthy, which is situated on the river Slaney, about 12 miles distant from Wexford. A party of the North Cork militia were ordered out from Wexford, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foot, and major Lombard, to meet the party of rebels, which was advancing towards that place. They marched to a place called Oulard, where they were met by the insurgents in great force. The ground where the king's forces took post was so unfavourable, that, after firing three rounds, the whole party was surrounded and cut to pieces, except colonel Foote and two privates, who alone escaped.

Flushed with this success, the

rebels, on the 28th, made an attack on the town of Enniscorthy, which they carried sword in hand, with the loss however of 500 men. "The loyalists," it is said, "would have repulsed the rebels, had not the catholic inhabitants treacherously set fire to the town, to smother the troops who were defending it*." The mode in which the insurgents made their attack is said, on the same authority, to have been by driving an immense number of horses and cattle before them to disorder the ranks of the loyalists, and throw them into confusion.

On the 29th, a small reinforcement of the Donegal militia arrived in Wexford; but a party of the Meath militia, with three howitzers, advancing on the same service, fell into the hands of the rebels. On the preceding day, however, the Cork and Donegal militia, who were in Wexford, marched out to a place called the Three Rocks, to meet the rebels; but they found them in such force, that, after some firing, they were obliged to retreat, and re-enter the town. There were, at this period, confined in the gaol of Wexford, where they had been committed on the 26th, on treasonable charges, Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. J. Colclough; the former a protestant, and we believe educated to the bar; the latter Roman-catholics; but all of them men of fortune, and of considerable interest in the county. The majority of the protestant inhabitants, who were not on military service, with numbers of the women and children, had got on board the vessels in the harbour, in order to effect their escape to some

* See a Narrative of the Sufferings and Escape of Charles Jackson.

part of England or Wales. Those who remained on the 30th of May assembled in council with the principal officers, for the melancholy purpose of deliberating on the best mode of treating with the rebels; and it was determined that two gentlemen, Mr. Richards, a barrister; and Dr. Jacob, a physician, who was at that time mayor of the town; should proceed to the rebel camp, and make the best conditions they were able with respect to the lives and properties of the inhabitants. In the mean time the troops and some of the women effected their escape to Duncannon fort, which was distant about twenty miles. At about one o'clock that day the white flag was displayed on the town-house, and the vessels in the harbour were ordered back to the quay, having been unable to sail. A scene of abominable tumult and disorder ensued on the rebels gaining possession of the town; the houses of the protestants were ransacked, and their inhabitants, or the majority of them, cast into prison. The gentlemen, whom we just now mentioned as having been confined on treasonable charges, were liberated, and Mr. B. Harvey was nominated to the chief command of the rebel army.

After leaving a large garrison in the town, the rebel army marched, under the command of Mr. Harvey, to the attack of New Ross, where major-general Johnson was posted with a considerable force. The town was regularly summoned by Harvey, who now assumed the character of general; and, on the morning of the 5th of June, it was attacked with great impetuosity; but, after a contest of several hours, the rebels were completely repulsed; and late in the evening

they retired to Carrickburne, leaving behind them several iron ship-guns, which appear to be the only artillery with which they were provided on this occasion. The slaughter of the rebels was prodigious; the king's troops lost about ninety men killed, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the county of Dublin militia, and about 130 in wounded and missing. It is shocking to relate, that in revenge for this miscarriage, the rebels in Wexford massacred, in cold blood, ten of the unfortunate protestants of Enniscorthy, who were imprisoned in Wexford gaol. Ninety-five of the loyalists of Wexford were, in a few days after, taken out of the prison, and wantonly and barbarously murdered on the bridge, by the rebels.

In the mean time, another party of the county of Wexford rebels attacked the small town of Gorey, but were repulsed; and another party from Vinegar-hill, a strong station within a mile of Enniscorthy, proceeded on the 1st of June to Newtown Barry. They surrounded the town in such a manner, that colonel Lestrange of the King's County militia, who commanded there, was obliged at first to retreat, in order to collect his forces. He then attacked the rebels, and drove them through the town with great slaughter, their loss being computed at 500 killed; while colonel Lestrange's whole force was, at least, 100 men short of that number.

These successes were, in some measure, counterbalanced by a check which the royal forces experienced on the 4th of June. Colonel Walpole, on that day, attacked a strong post of the rebels, near the Slievebay mountain. In the beginning of the action, the com-

commander was unfortunately killed by a shot in the head; and his corps, being in a situation where it could not act with advantage, was forced to retire to Arklow, with the loss of 54 men killed, and two six-pounders. Encouraged by this success, the rebel army, on the 9th of June, presented itself before Arklow, where general Needham commanded a considerable body of the king's forces. They approached, in two strong columns, from the Coolgrenny-road along the sand hills, while the whole of the intermediate space was crowded by a rabble, armed with pikes and fire-arms, and bearing down without any regular order. The position general Needham had chosen was a very strong one, in front of the barrack. As soon as the enemy approached within a short distance, he opened a very heavy fire of grape-shot, which, he observes, did as much execution as, from the nature of the ground, and the strong fences of which the rebels possessed themselves, could have been expected. This continued incessantly for two hours and a half, when the enemy at length desisted from their attack, and fled in disorder on every side. The rebels, as usual, lost a great number, while the loss of his majesty's forces was inconsiderable.

Hitherto the king's troops had been able to act only on the defensive; but general Lake now began to advance towards the seat of the rebellion in the south, with large reinforcements. On the 11th of June, major-general sir Charles Asgill attacked a rebel camp at the Boar, near Ross, which he dispersed.—Fifty of the rebels, with their leader, were left dead on the field of battle. The main body of the rebels still retained their strong position on Vinegar-hill; a position

from which they could not have been dislodged, had they been well provisioned, and possessed of sufficient military skill. General Lake, aware of the difficulties he had to encounter, of the great disadvantage of a repulse, and desirous of terminating the war in this quarter of Ireland, if possible, at one decisive blow, made his approaches quietly, and with great caution.—A cordon of troops was gradually collected from different quarters, which almost surrounded the rebel station. The 21st of June was destined for the grand attack, which the commander in chief, general Lake, ordered to be made, in several columns, under generals Dundas, Johnson, Eustace, Duff, and Loftus. The rebels maintained their ground obstinately for an hour and a half; but at length, sensible of the danger of being surrounded, they fled with precipitation. The slaughter must have been very great, though general Lake, in his dispatches, said it could not then be ascertained. The rebels lost thirteen small pieces of ordnance, of different callibres.

Immediately after this action, a large body of the king's forces advanced to Wexford, which general Moore entered so opportunely as to prevent the town from being laid in ashes. Previous to evacuating the place, the insurgents endeavoured to treat. Captain Keughe, who had served with credit in the American war, and had risen from the ranks to the station of a commissioned officer, had been appointed by the rebels the governor of Wexford. On the approach of the king's troops, a captain Macmanus, of the Antrim militia, who had been taken prisoner in one of the actions in which the insurgents had been successful, and a captain Hay,

who

who had been taken in a sloop with lord Kingsborough in endeavouring to join their regiment (the Cork), were dispatched by Keughe, with offers to deliver up the town, provided all concerned in the insurrection should have their persons and properties guarantied by the commanding officer. General Lake, however, only replied, that he could not attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. To the deluded multitude only he promised pardon, on condition of their delivering up their leaders, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance. On receiving this answer, the rebel troops evacuated the town, which was peaceably taken possession of by his majesty's forces on the 22d of June.

Mr. Bagenal Harvey and Mr. Colclough quitted the rebel army

soon after the battle of Ross, disgusted, as they declared in their last moments, with the cruelties and oppression which had been exercised on such protestants and loyalists as fell into the hands of the rebellious mob. They were discovered, and taken in a cave on one of the Saltee islands (or rather rocks) which lie in the entrance of Wexford harbour, on the 26th of June*; and with Keughe, the rebel governor, and Cornelius Grogan, a very opulent and penurious old gentleman, who declared he had been forced to join the rebels, and some others, were tried by a court-martial, and executed on the bridge of Wexford.

The conduct of the rebels, even independent of the massacre of the prisoners, was extremely censurable, while the rebellion raged in the

* On their landing, Mr. Harvey appeared to be very much dejected, and scarcely spoke to any one. Mr Colclough, on the contrary, seemed to be in very good spirits. On hearing many persons inquiring which was Mr. Harvey, and which Mr. Colclough, he pulled off his hat, and, bowing in the most polite manner, said, "Gentlemen, my name is Colclough." They were then both taken to the gaol. Some of the soldiers, who had been of the party sent to the Saltee-islands to apprehend Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, informed me, that when they came to the island, they found but one house upon it, in which lived an old man and his family; that, upon their landing, they heard somebody holla, as if to give warning to others, and they then saw the old man run across a field into his house.—The soldiers followed him, and endeavoured, by every entreaty, to prevail upon him to discover to them the place where the fugitives were concealed, but without effect. Finding they could obtain no intelligence by this mode of address, and having certain information that the persons they sought for were there, they tied him up and gave him two dozen lashes, when he acknowledged that Mr. Colclough and Mr. Harvey were in a cave in a rock close to the sea-side. He then conducted the soldiers to the other side of the island, where they found the cave; but it was so situated that it was impossible to approach the fugitives without a great deal of trouble and danger. It was then thought most prudent to call to Mr. Harvey, who making no answer, the commander of the party told those within, that all resistance was vain, that he had a large body of men with him, and should immediately order them to fire into the cave, if those who were concealed there did not come out. On this, Mr. Colclough appeared, and both he and Mr. Harvey surrendered themselves. The soldiers were of opinion, that if he had defended himself, by firing through the chinks of the rocks, he might have killed several of them before they could possibly have shot at him with any effect. When he was taken, he had an old musket, a pocket-pistol, and two cutlasses. Mrs. Colclough was with them. There was a very neat feather-bed, blanket, and sheets, in the cave, and a keg of whiskey; also a jar of wine, a tub of butter, and some biscuits; a large pound-cake, that weighed above twenty pounds; a live sheep, and a crock of pickled pork; also tea, sugar, &c. Two chests of plate were also found near the cave. These were brought in the boat to town, and placed under the care of a magistrate. Mrs. Colclough was not brought to Wexford with her husband and Mr. Harvey.

Jackson's Narrative, p. 48.

county

county of Wexford. At Scollobogue, about eleven miles from Wexford, a number of protestant prisoners were massacred; with many circumstances of barbarity; and at the same place a barn was afterwards set on fire where the protestants were confined, and upwards of 100 were burned or suffocated; the wretched victims who attempted to escape through a small window being received on the pikes of the rebels, and thrown back into the flames. An almost indiscriminate system of plunder prevailed; nor were the leaders able to preserve the least order or discipline among their fanatical and licentious followers. It is a remarkable

circumstance, that though the chiefs of the united Irishmen were evidently hostile to all religious establishments, the people were directly the contrary; and the majority of them engaged in the cause professedly, because they believed "that the heretics, who had reigned upwards of one hundred years, were now to be extirpated, and the true catholic religion established." Such protestants as joined the rebel army were obliged to be baptised in the Romish chapels; and even Mr. Harvey, and the other chieftains, were compelled to attend mass, and, at least outwardly, to conform to the rites of that religion *.

Though the North had been the first

* County of Wexford, }
to wit.

Richard Grandy, of Ballystraco, in the county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before us his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and maketh oath upon the Holy Evangelists, that he this examinant was attacked and seized at the cross roads of Kilbride in said county, on Sunday the third day of June instant, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he had on the lands of Kilbride, by several persons armed with guns, pikes, and spears; that amongst the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Cothoun, Nicholas Browne, Michael White, John Moran, and Laurence Moran, all of Kilbride aforesaid, with many others, whose names this deponent knows not, though their faces were very familiar to him; that examinant was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrick Byrne, in said county, and in the afternoon of same day was brought to Mr. King's house at Schollobogue in said county; that he was introduced into a room where he saw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargo Castle in said county, esq.; William Devereux of Taghmon in said county, farmer; Francis Brien of Taghmon; and Nicholas Sweetman of New Bawne in said county, with a few more, whom deponent did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballytiegue in said county, and a son of said William Devereux, were of the number; that deponent was closely examined by said Bagenal Harvey, as to the state of Ross and Duncannon forts, and whether he was an orange man or an united man; that said Bagenal Harvey proffered him to take the oath of an united Irishman, and become one of their community; that at last opponent obtained a pass from said Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the guard of rebels who were stationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collop's Well, where he met with said Bagenal Harvey and said Nicholas Sweetman; that said Nicholas Sweetman signed the pass he had got from said Harvey; that he had not gone far before the pass had been taken from him and torn, upon which deponent was taken prisoner to Scollobogue House, where he was confined till the Tuesday morning following, with many other protestants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnaguer in said county, who had the command of the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners, had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company of rebels, till thirty-five were massacred; that the rebel spearmen used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through with their spears, and, in exultation, licking their bloody spears; that while this horrid scene was acting, the barn at said Scollobogue, in which were above one hundred protestants (as deponent heard and believes), was set on fire and all consumed to ashes; that examinant's life was spared because said Murphy knew said

Bagenal

first focus of sedition in the kingdom, yet, as was before remarked, they were neither so forward in their operations, nor were the movements of the rebels so formidable in that quarter as in the South. For this, various reasons have been

assigned. It has been said, that the protestants of Ulster began before this crisis to distrust the views of the catholics. Perhaps a more satisfactory reason is, that the views and attention of government were more particularly directed to this part of the

Bagenal Harvey had given him a pass; and through his intercession with said Murphy, Loftus Fressel was likewise spared; sayeth, they were both tied and conveyed within a mile of Ross, where they met said Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnstown in said county, esq., said William Devereux, and many others, unknown to deponent, retreating from the battle of Ross; faith that said Bagenal Harvey ordered said Murphy to take the prisoners to his lodging at Collop's Well, where he gave a pass to Loftus Fressel, but refused to give one to deponent, lest he should go to Duncannon Fort, and report what deponent had heard and seen; faith that he heard and believes it to be a fact, that said Cornelius Grogan had the command of the barony of Fort rebel troops at the battle of Ross; faith that he was taken to Foulke's Mill in said county that night, where he continued for two days under a guard dressing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty in said county, when he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy, parish priest of said place, to pass and re-pass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded; faith that he was sent to Taghmon, where the sitting rebel magistrates, John Brien, James Harpar, Joseph Cullamore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion that deponent might, with the priest's pass, have gone back again and remain there; faith that he strolled along the sea-side under the protection of this pass, till at last he effected his escape across the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday evening the 22d instant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning; faith that he often heard it reported while he was in custody, that John Colclough and Thomas M'Leard, both of Tintern in said county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; and further faith, that he saw John Devereux of Shalbeggan in said county, jun., at Scollobogue, on Monday the 4th instant, and that he seemed, and he verily believeth he had a principal command in the rebel army; faith that he likewise saw Charles Reily of Ramsgrange in said county, at the said camp at Carrick Byrne, amongst the rebels, very busy and active to promote their cause; deponent further faith, that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow; that after mass he heard said Murphy preach a sermon, in which he said, "Brethren, you see you are victorious every where, that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you; that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and the few that have fallen was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith; that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the heretics, who have now reigned upwards of one hundred years, should be now extirpated, and the true catholic religion established." And deponent faith this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and faith he has heard several sermons preached by the priests to same effect; and further faith, that he has heard several of the rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy, and elsewhere, declare, that Edward Roche the priest did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's army in his hand, and give them to the rebels to load their guns with; deponent further faith that any protestant who was admitted into the rebel army was first baptised by a Roman-catholic priest, and that every protestant who refused to be baptised was put to death, and that many to save their lives suffered themselves to be baptised.

Sworn before us his majesty's justices of the peace for said county, this 23d day of June 1798, at Duncannon Fort.

Bound in the sum of two hundred pounds
to prosecute, when called on, this examination with effect.

{ GEORGE OGLE,
ISAAC CORNOCK,
JOHN HENRY LYSTER,
JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

(A Copy.)

Report of the Irish House of Commons, App. XXXV.

Whatever

the kingdom; more troops were maintained there, and greater vigilance and circumspection were used by the officers, and other persons employed to quell the rebellion. In the counties of Down and Antrim, however, some alarming commotions were observed about the be-

ginning of June. On the 7th of that month, general Nugent, who commanded at Belfast, received information of an intended insurrection in the county of Antrim, which had for its first object the seizure of the magistrates, who were to meet that day at the county-

Whatever might have been the real views of the politicians whose harangues and writings tended to produce this dreadful rebellion, which, professedly, they denominated reform, toleration; &c. the very reverse would have been the effect of it. The intolerant prejudices of the catholics, it was soon proved, had no bounds. The extinction of the protestant religion was the favourite idea of the great mass of the rebels, and their strongest motive to action. Reform was never thought of by them, nothing less than breaking off all connexion with England, and a total change of the established government in Ireland; and even an expectation of being able to attack England as an enemy was warmly encouraged by them. So far from toleration in religious matters being allowed, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, and their other protestant leaders, thought it prudent to attend mass in their camps.

In the town of Wexford, protestant men and women were obliged to recant; and, with their children, were required to be baptised in the catholic chapel, after the Roman-catholic manner, and to attend mass. Even the protection, granted by the priests to the protestant men and women, after they had been thus baptised, was 'Protect, in the name of Jesus Christ, A. B. he or she having been made a christian, and a member of the catholic church.' (Signed by the priest.) But here I must, in justice to many excellent priests, make a distinction between them and such others as fomented the disturbances. It was not by desire of the priests of the town of Wexford, that the protestants were forced to yield to this necessity; but it was owing to the ferocity of the mob, who could not bear the name of a protestant. The conduct of the Roman-catholic clergy of Wexford cannot be too much commended. Dr. Caulfield, the titular bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, Father Curran, Father Bore, and, indeed, the whole of the priests and friars of that town, on all occasions, used their interest and exerted their abilities in the cause of humanity. Every Sunday, after mass, they addressed their audience, and implored them, in the most earnest manner, not to ill-treat their prisoners, and not to have upon their consciences the reflection of having shed innocent blood.

I wish I could, with truth, speak as favourably of other descriptions of the catholic priests, as I am bound to do of those of the town of Wexford; but greater monsters of iniquity than some of the country-priests I believe never existed. Every deception that could influence the minds of the infatuated people was practised by them. It will hardly be credited, in this country, that thousands of the Irish are in such a state of ignorance as easily to believe the most extravagant reports and delusions. At the battle of Three Rocks, before the town of Wexford was taken by the rebels, a priest, of the name of Murphy, marched at their head, telling them to follow him, and not to fear; for, if they took up the dust from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops; they would fall dead before them. The rebel-camps were constantly attended by numbers of these priests, saying mass every day, and pretending to give charms which would prevent the balls of the soldiers from injuring them. To this cause principally may be attributed the undaunted manner in which the rebels often faced the cannon. You might see hundreds of them, with cords round their waists, on which were seven knots, which they were persuaded to believe would effectually preserve them in the day of battle. That no compunction might rise in their breasts, on account of the murders they were daily committing, their priests assured them it was ordained by God, and that it had been prophesied there should be but one religion, and that was to be the Roman-catholic; so that, in destroying the protestants, they were performing a duty to heaven. It may here be asked, Were there no protestants among the rebels? I answer, Some few protestants there were; and they found it necessary to assent and to accommodate themselves to the humours, the prejudices, the vices, and cruelties, of the mob of catholics, and by that means prevented disunion.

Jackson's Narrative, p. 36, &c.
town.

town. The intelligence was however not received sufficiently early to prevent the insurgents from taking possession of Antrim; but the general lost no time in ordering a considerable force to proceed to Antrim through Lisburn, under colonels Clavering and Lumley; while another party, under colonel Durham, was dispatched to the same place through Carmoney and Templepatrick. The dragoons who arrived first under colonel Lumley were fired at from the houses, and obliged to retreat, with the loss of three officers and two currie-fixpounders. Colonel Clavering, on his arrival, finding the rebels pouring into the town in great force, judiciously took post on a hill on the Lisburn side. In the mean time, colonel Durham, with his detachment, advanced within half-a-mile of Antrim, and, after a cannonade of half-an-hour, drove the rebels from the town, and pursued them as far as Loane's castle and Randel's town. At the same time, a party of the rebels were repulsed from Carrickfergus; but a party of the Toome yeomanry were made prisoners by the insurgents at Toome bridge. We have no return of the loss of the rebels in the engagement at Antrim: but, on the part of the king's troops, several were killed, and lord O'Neil, and some other officers and men, dangerously wounded.

The insurrection now became almost general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim; but on the 12th of June the rebels received a complete defeat at Ballynahinch, where they lost upwards of 400 men. On the part of the king's troops, the loss was only five rank and file, and one officer killed, and fourteen wounded. The rebels, however, disputed the ground with

great obstinacy. Their leader, Munro, would have been delivered up by the treachery of some of his accomplices, but he was taken prisoner in the action and executed.

Though not dissatisfied with the conduct of lord Camden, the English government, considering the state of Ireland as more desperate than perhaps it really was, determined to give to the sister kingdom a military lord-lieutenant. The marquis Cornwallis arrived at Dublin in that capacity on the 20th of June, and immediately assumed the reins of government.—The conduct of his lordship was on the whole judicious.—On the 17th of July, he sent a message to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, intimating that he had received his majesty's command to acquaint them—"that he had signified his gracious intention of granting a general pardon for all offences committed, on or before a certain day, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as might be compatible with the general safety." But "these offers of mercy to the repentent were not to preclude measures of vigour against the obstinate."

In the mean time a special commission was opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal delinquents. Messrs. John and Henry Sheares, M'Cann, the secretary to the provincial meeting, and Mr. W. M. Byrne, an active member of the society of united Irishmen, were all tried and executed. Mr. Oliver Bond was tried on the 23d of July, convicted, and condemned; and in his fate the other conspirators now began to read and foresee their own. The rebellion was now apparently crushed. The people were every where returning in numbers to their allegiance, and

delivering up their arms. — Their hopes from France had been miserably disappointed; and nothing appeared before their eyes but individual destruction, without having effected any one purpose for which they had associated. Thus prepared for submission, and for the disclosure of the destructive plans in which they had been engaged, a negotiation was happily opened between the Irish government and the state delinquents. The circumstances which led to this treaty have never been published by authority; but we have reason to think, that our information on the whole is not incorrect. As Mr. Bond was highly and respectably connected, great interest was made from different quarters to save his life. We believe it was then intimated on the part of government, that if Mr. Bond would consent to give to administration all the information of which he was possessed relative to the conspiracy and the rebellion, his sentence might be commuted for that of banishment. Mr. Bond, we have understood, at first rejected this proposal, if his information or evidence should endanger the life of any man with whom he was connected. The scheme of mercy was then extended, it is said, on the part of government, to the whole of the state prisoners; and in the mean time Mr. Bond was indulged with a respite. After some negotiation therefore, in which it is said Mr. Dobbs, a member of the Irish parliament, took a very humane and active part, the whole of the state prisoners, including the two O'Connors, counsellor Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, and Mr. Neilson, consented to give to the government every information in their power,

on the conditions that they should be at liberty voluntarily to transport themselves to any country not at war with his majesty; that Mr. Bond * should receive a pardon on the same condition; and that no further prosecutions should be carried on upon the score of the conspiracy, except against actual murderers, or such rebels as should hereafter be taken in arms. The interesting information communicated by these gentlemen has been consolidated in the report which, on the 21st of August, was presented to the house of commons by lord viscount Castlereagh, and the substance of it has already been detailed with other matter in the preceding part of this chapter.

The system of moderation and mercy pursued by lord Cornwallis appeared peculiarly seasonable at this crisis, and was apparently attended with the happiest effects. The system of military law and military execution was relaxed throughout all those parts of the kingdom where the flames of rebellion appeared to be extinguished. In one instance, indeed, his lordship gave some offence to the more violent partisans of government, while his conduct had the praise of every friend of justice and humanity. — A yeoman was tried by a court-martial for the murder, in cold blood, of a person whom he asserted to have been a rebel. The yeoman was acquitted by the court martial, but on grounds so unsatisfactory, that his lordship publicly testified his disapprobation of the sentence, and dissolved the court-martial. How far the passing a bill of attainder, and forfeiture of the estates of lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. B. Harvey,

* He did not survive his pardon above a few days.

and Mr. Grogan, may hereafter be considered as in some degree a departure from this system of equity and moderation, we are unable to determine. Though justified by precedent, it may be questioned, whether to punish the children for the crimes of the parents be perfectly consistent with the mild and equitable spirit which otherwise animates the general system of British jurisprudence. The celebrated Irish advocate, Mr. Curran, in pleading against the bill, is said to have characterised it in his bold and energetic language as—"a measure of supplementary vengeance, seeking reprisals on the grave of the supposed culprit, and plundering the pittance of the widow, and the cradle of the orphan."

To compensate, however, for this solitary instance of severity, a bill of general amnesty was passed in the course of the session, with the exception only of Mr. Napper Tandy, and about thirty others, chiefly fugitives in France. A bill was also passed for granting compensation to such of his majesty's loyal subjects as had sustained losses in their property, in consequence of the late rebellion; and commissaries were named for carrying the same into effect.

After the signal defeat of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, and their consequent expulsion from Enniscorthy, Wexford, &c. a considerable number dispersed, and returned to their usual occupations. The more desperate retired to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow counties, where, for a while, they waged a desultory warfare—but in the course of a few weeks were completely subdued. On the 12th of July, however, a large body attacked the town of Clonard, but were repulsed with the loss of sixty

men, by colonel Blake. The rebel corps, after its defeat, moved towards Longwood, whence they were pursued almost to Culmullin, and about thirty were killed in the pursuit. The main body of rebels after this took post on a hill at Garretstown, whither general Myers directed his march, but found that they took advantage of the night to decamp. They at length took a strong position in the road to Ardee, where they seemed determined to make a stand; but as soon as the Sunderland regiment arrived with the battalion guns, they fell into confusion, and were driven into a bog, where great numbers were killed, and a quantity of pikes and muskets taken.

After these transactions, several of the rebel corps laid down their arms, and took the benefit of the amnesty, covenanting only for their chiefs, that they should be allowed to transport themselves to some country at peace with Great Britain. — Those who still resisted might rather be considered as small companies of banditti, who lurked in the woods and mountains, and committed nocturnal depredations, than as an embodied force.

It was happy for Great Britain and Ireland at this alarming crisis, that the French government was in the hands of the most incapable politicians, that, perhaps, Europe had ever seen upon the theatre of public affairs. They must have been acquainted well with the state in which Ireland was at this time.— Wexford was nearly three weeks in the possession of the insurgents, and their armies were, during the whole of that time, able to keep the field, and brave his majesty's forces.—Had the French directory embraced the opportunity, and pursued the plan which was laid

out for them by lord Edward Fitzgerald and others of the malcontents in Ireland; had they risked a few frigates and light vessels, with a proper supply of officers, arms and ammunition, with a few troops to keep the insurgents in spirits, Ireland would have been lost for ever, and ultimately Great Britain itself, since, we are persuaded that, in the present state of Europe, both islands must stand or fall together. They are naturally united, and the interests of neither will bear a separation. Providence ordered it better; and ordained that from this moment, and by this one fatal oversight, the enormous fabric of French power, raised on the ruins of order and of justice, should now commence its decline, and should gradually moulder to ruin. With that kind of after-thought, that sluggish and wavering policy, which particularly marks weak and bad statesmen, the French, in the latter end of August, detached a small force to the north of Ireland, under the command of general Humbert, the man of the French guards (if we are not mistaken) who stands recorded in our volume for 1791 as having been one of the first to enter the fortress of the Bastille on the memorable 14th of July, 1789. On the 22d of August, general Humbert landed at Killala, and the appearance of a French force excited, as might be expected, a general consternation throughout the kingdom. The numbers of the enemy were greatly exaggerated in the first accounts, and the invasion appeared in so formidable a light, that the lord-lieutenant determined personally to take the field at the head of a considerable army. It is remarkable that the invaders were joined by very few of the natives; and those who did repair to their standard were soon

disgusted, as we have understood, since the strictness of French discipline but ill accorded with the licentiousness and disorder in which the Irish insurgents had been accustomed to indulge. The first movements of general Humbert proved him a consummate officer, and worthy of a great command. Though the British force, which was to impede his progress, was not contemptible, he judiciously saw that to advance with confidence was essential to his future success. He proceeded, therefore, without loss of time to Castlebar, where general Lake was collecting his forces. On the 27th, he attacked the British general, and forced him to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and a few men. The force under general Lake has been variously stated; it was at first represented as amounting to 6,000 men, which number was afterwards reduced to about 1,000. The London Gazette says, general Lake "had not yet collected his forces;" yet it is hardly probable, that an officer so high in command should take a station so near the enemy with a very contemptible force. After this success, the French advanced towards Tuam; but their triumph was not of long duration; for on the 7th of September, the marquis Cornwallis came up with them in the vicinity of Castlebar, and obliged them to make a retrograde movement before day-break the following morning. The French general made a circuitous march to favour the flight of the rebel Irish, the majority of whom escaped by this manoeuvre. A column of general Lake's army, however, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Crawford, overtook the rear guard of the French, at Ballinamuck, at about seven o'clock in the morning

ing of the 8th, and summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to the summons, they were attacked by the British forces, when about 200 of the French infantry threw down their arms, expecting their example to be followed by the rest of their comrades. On general Craddock, and some other British officers advancing towards them, however, the enemy commenced a fire of cannon and musquetry, which wounded general Craddock, upon which general Lake ordered up a fresh reinforcement, and commenced an attack on every part of their position. The action then lasted half an hour, when the remainder of the British column making its appearance, the French surrendered at discretion. General Lake adds, "that the rebels who fled in all directions suffered severely." The loss of the British, in this action, was only three killed, and about sixteen wounded and missing. When the return of French prisoners was made, the public were surprised to find that this formidable host amounted to no more, including officers, than the contemptible number of eight hundred and forty-four. Three rebel officers, who had assumed the title of generals, fell into the hands of the victors; their names were Blake, Roach, and Teeling: about ninety-three of the insurgents, besides, were made prisoners. It has been said, that four of the rebels, who joined the invaders, were hanged at Castlebar for plundering, by the command of Humbert; and that one of the rebels, who attempted to massacre the prisoners, was cut down by the French.

What success the French directory could promise themselves from so contemptible a force is not easy

to conjecture; but that they did flatter themselves with some effects advantageous to their cause is evident; for on the 16th of September a French brig appeared off the little island of Rutland, on the north-west coast of Donegal. About eight o'clock the crew landed, and with them general Rey, and the celebrated Napper Tandy, invested with the title of general of brigade in the French service. They anxiously inquired after the fate of the French army which had landed at Killala, and, strange as it may appear, seemed disconcerted on hearing of their defeat. They next distributed some manifestoes among the country people; but the Irish had already suffered too much by their reliance upon Gallic faith, and were not too easily to be led into insurrection. Thus disappointed in every view, the enemy reembarked, and immediately quitted the Irish coast.

A more serious attempt was soon after made by the enemy; but, like all their operations, it was ill timed and ill concerted; it was not made till the alarm was given, and when the Irish coast was closely guarded by the British navy. In the latter end of September, a squadron sailed from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line, the *Hoche*, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, destined for Ireland. On the 11th of October they were descried by the British squadron, under sir John Borlase Warren, which consisted of the *Canada*, *Robust*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, *Æthalion*, *Melampus*, and *Amelia*; and which, in the latter part of the action, were joined by the *Anson*. At half past seven, on the morning of the 12th, the action commenced; and at eleven, the *Hoche*, after a gallant

defence, struck: the frigates then made sail from the British squadron, and the signal for a general chase was immediately made by the admiral. After a running fight of five hours, three of the frigates were captured in the course of the day, and three others afterwards became prizes. Thus the whole squadron, two frigates excepted, fell into the hands of the British; and the hopes of the French, as well as of the malcontents in Ireland, were thus completely defeated.

Among the prisoners taken in the *Hoche* was the famous and unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone, so long considered as the most active and able negotiator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was brought to Dublin, and tried by a court-martial there; and in a most manly defence attempted neither to deny nor excuse his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic. When he found that this plea did not avail, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon; and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court, however, did not accede to his request, and the unhappy delinquent cut his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal; but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. On the morning after he had made the attempt upon his life, Mr. Curran exerted his great talents in moving the King's-bench for a habeas corpus, upon this ground—"That court-martials had no jurisdiction over subjects

not in military service, while the court of King's-bench was sitting." The plea was, after a full hearing, allowed by the court, and the writ was ordered to be made out immediately; but on the arrival of the messenger at the prison, the unhappy man was found not in a condition to be moved with safety. The writ, however, was obeyed by the military, and the execution, which was to have taken place that morning, was suspended.

The rebellion itself did not long survive Mr. Tone, who, we have already seen, might be considered as the original projector of that formidable society which gave it birth. The few companies of rebels who lurked in the woods and mountains, dispirited totally by the ill-success of their allies, and dreading the approach of winter, successively laid down their arms. The last of their chieftains, who surrendered to government, was Holt, a man of mean origin, but of great spirit and enterprise. In the mountainous parts of Wicklow, he maintained, notwithstanding the failure of his confederates, a desultory warfare till after the defeat of the French under Humbert. It is believed that he at last made terms with government; but the utmost he could obtain was to save his life by relinquishing his native soil for ever.

By a calculation, which appears to be tolerably correct, upwards of 30,000 persons are supposed to have lost their lives in this deplorable contest, independent of those who were wounded, and of those who were transported or sent on board the fleet. Whatever might have been the occasional or even unjustifiable severities exercised upon suspected individuals, we must, in candour, acquit the Irish govern-

vernment of the charge which has, we think, rashly been brought against them, "of having goaded the people into rebellion." The rebellion was evidently the result of a deep conspiracy laid by a few ambitious and disaffected persons, who insidiously wrought upon the passions and prejudices of the lower orders of catholics to promote their own destructive designs. There is much reason to believe that the eyes of the people are now open to the mischiefs into which they had been seduced; and it only remains for government to sway the sceptre of authority with temperance, and properly to blend conciliation with a firm and not timid conduct. The path of peace and prosperity, we now think, is laid open to both parties; and, we trust, they will keep it. As a sovereign remedy for similar disorders, a legislative union of the two kingdoms has been recommended. We own ourselves partial to a unity of government; and we can see that the plan might ultimately be attended with some advantages; but those advantages are certainly remote, and they cannot be worth the risk of the smallest disturbance or discontent among the people. With respect to the immediate object, we cannot discover in what way a legislative union can be a means of preventing the revival of the scenes which we have now been reviewing. It cannot remove the prejudices of the catholics; it cannot enlighten the people, or relieve them from their burdens. It may indeed, on the contrary, for the moment, tend to increase one of the principal

grievances of which the Irish at present complain,—the expenditure of Irish property at a distance from the country, where that property is acquired. We think, in fine, that there are other measures which would be much more effectual than this in promoting the peace, tranquillity, and welfare of Ireland. If it were possible to promote, by any means, the transfer of capital to the Irish coast, and to excite in the people the spirit of commerce and manufactures; if some commercial concessions could be made by the opulence of Britain to the poverty of Ireland; if schools could be established for the promotion at once of knowledge and industry; if the gentry of Ireland could be persuaded to embody themselves in a patriotic union for the protection and the aid of the poor; if they could follow the example of a society in this kingdom, whose generous efforts in the cause of humanity are above our praise, "the society for bettering the condition of the poor;" and if they could reduce to practice some of the judicious speculations of that society, we are persuaded they would effect more towards reconciling the minds of the people to order and subjection than any experiment on the constitution and the government. We have had enough of innovation; and, however salutary the plan, we are persuaded, that in the present temper and condition of the Irish people, "this is not," to use the language of the British minister on another occasion, "this is not the time for reform."

CHAP. VIII.

Retrospect of Continental Affairs during the preceding Year. State of the belligerent Powers on the Rhine on the Opening of the Year 1797. Siege and Capitulation of the Fort opposite Huningue. State of the Austrian and French Armies in Italy. New and extraordinary Levies of Austrian Troops. March of the Papal Troops to the Aid of General Wurmser. Supposed Hostility of the Venetian Government. The French take Possession of Bergamo. Preparations made by Buonaparte. Attack of the Austrians under Alvinzi, and Repulse of the French to the Adige. Positions of Buonaparte. Battle of Rivoli. Success of the Austrians. Perilous Situation of Buonaparte, and of the left Wing of the French. Defeat of the right Wing of the Austrians. Battle of Porto Legnano. Defeat of the right Wing of the French. Provera's Progress towards Mantua. Rout of the right Wing of the Austrian Army. Attack of Provera on the Forts before Mantua. Sortie of the Garrison under General Wurmser. Defeat and Surrender of the left Wing of the Austrian Army under Provera. Destruction of the fifth Austrian Army in Italy by the French. Situation of Affairs in the French Republic. State of the Finances—Of Parties—Factions. Supposed Royalist Plot. Plan of the Conspiracy. Arrest of the Conspirators. Trial and Conviction of the Chiefs before a Military Commission. Effects of the Lenity of the Commission on the different Parties. Mysterious Conduct and Policy of the Directory. Confession of the Chiefs of the Conspiracy. Pursuit of the Remains of the Austrian Army, by the French, into the Venetian Territory. Surrender of Mantua. Preparations for the Invasion of the States of the Holy See. Intercepted Correspondence of the Papal Ministry. Manifesto and Proclamation of Buonaparte. Reflections on the Proclamation. Defeat of the Papal Troops. Surrender of various Cities. The miraculous Image of Loretto. Progress of the French Army towards Rome. Pope's Letter to Buonaparte with Offers of Peace. Conditions of the Peace. Buonaparte's Letter to the Pope. Negotiation between the French General and the Republic of St. Marino.

IN our last volume we promised a more ample and accurate detail of certain transactions of the French in Italy, than from the documents before us we were able at that time to lay before our readers. On a review of the whole campaign, we find the military movements of the French so much connected with the civil changes which they affected, and we find the official reports, from which our narrative last year was chiefly compiled, so defective, that we determined to lay before the public such a view of

the whole of these events, as, from the sources from which it is drawn, we can venture to pronounce at once correct and authentic.

The close of the year 1796 had been unfavourable to the arms of the French republic. The fort of Kehl, the only post which they held on the Upper Rhine, except the redoubt opposite Huningue, had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists; and the winds of heaven had visited their fleets in the expedition to the coasts of Ireland, so roughly, that all projects of future

ture invasion were deferred to an indefinite period. Notwithstanding these defeats, the campaign, on the whole, had been highly prosperous, as the conquests in Italy had more than counterbalanced the success of the allied armies in the north. The glory which the archduke had acquired in repelling the invaders of Germany was diminished by the length of resistance made at Kehl, whilst Moreau had added greatly to his military reputation by the skill with which he had effected his retreat. The redoubt opposite to Huningue, which had been, for some time, besieged by the Austrians, had, since the capitulation of Kehl, become useless, as the whole of Suabia, and the country on the right of the Upper Rhine was in possession of the Imperialists.

General Moreau determined, nevertheless, to defend it to the last extremity, having judged that, by detaining the Austrian army on the Upper Rhine, he should prevent them from descending to force the French from the posts they held on the right side of the Lower Rhine, down to Dusseldorf; as well as contribute to weaken their strength, in which he had so eminently succeeded by his resistance at Kehl. The fort around which the Austrians were now assembling their forces consisted of works hastily thrown up after the passage of the French across the river at Huningue, when Moreau penetrated into Germany, and was called the head of the bridge, though no bridge existed. It had originally been a regular fortification, constructed by the celebrated Vauban; but as these works had been levelled at every successive peace, the head of the bridge presented no other

appearance, previous to the last passage of the French, than scattered heaps of ruins, along which the cattle fed.

An island that lay a few yards below Huningue, and which served as a communication with the works on the opposite side, was also fortified. These two works contained about three thousand men. The Austrians, after having cannonaded it for a considerable time, opened their trenches to reduce it in the regular forms. The French, by their frequent sallies, had considerably retarded their advances, and had even pushed their success so far in one sally as to drive the enemy back to their most distant batteries, filling up part of the third parallel which they had opened, spiking numbers of their cannon, and bringing away others, with the prisoners which they had made. What rendered the attack and defence of this place so remarkable is, that there is scarcely an instance in history where so great an expense in military stores, and so large a waste of life has been made for an object apparently so trifling. The Austrians having received considerable reinforcements, and having transported the greater part of their heavy artillery and mortars from Kehl, had constructed new batteries so near the works, that the French having neither the means of securing themselves from the bombs, nor of making the enemy, from the great superiority of their numbers, and their artillery, desist from the enterprise, agreed, on the 5th of February, to a capitulation, by which they left the assailants in possession of the works, almost reduced to ruins, after withdrawing every thing from thence, even to the fascines and palisades. The Imperialists

Imperialists afterwards reduced this place to its primitive state by levelling all that remained.

The affairs of the Austrians were less fortunate on the side of Italy. After the defeat of general Wurmser, and his retreat to Mantua, every nerve was strained to repair the immense losses which had been sustained during the former part of the campaign, and general Alvinzi found himself, in a short time, at the head of a body of forces far superior to those of the republic. The general had formed a comprehensive plan of attack from the mountains of the Tyrol to the Brenta, but frustrated in his designs by the activity of Buonaparte; he was defeated, as we have already related, in various previous combats, from the 8th to the 12th of December, and was totally routed on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of December, at the famous battle of Arcole.

The emperor, however, far from being discouraged, had made the greatest efforts to raise this new army; he had stripped the whole of his frontiers; the youth of Vienna had formed themselves into regiments of volunteers, and no exertions were spared to retrieve the tarnished glory of the Austrian arms, relieve Mantua, and drive the French from Italy. This new levy of 40,000 warriors, of no vulgar or ordinary character, advancing with new and formidable trains of artillery, and with no common rapidity in their movements, were animated with high hopes that the purpose for which they were assembled would be accomplished.

The court of Rome, so far as its power extended, contributed also its aid. The forces which the pope collected were not, indeed, formidable, either for military fame

or numbers; but such as they were, his holiness put them in march towards Romagna, to watch the states of Reggio, Ferrara, Bologna, and Modena, which had declared themselves independent; and also to favour the escape of general Wurmser into the Ferrarese, or into the pope's territories from Mantua, in case he should not be relieved, which was discovered by his intercepted correspondence.

The government of Venice had preserved, or affected a strict neutrality between the belligerent powers, though their adversaries assert that the assistance given to the Imperial troops, according to the report of the French generals, was neither trifling, nor concealed. The province of Bergamo, they say, had shown the greatest hostility. In the city of Bergamo, an anti-gallican committee had been formed, the cause of the Austrians was openly countenanced, and many of the French had been assassinated. Whether these charges were true or false, the French found it *convenient* (and that has ever been sufficient excuse for their rapacity) to seize on the citadel, which not only silenced the Bergamese committees, but served to keep up the communication between the rivers of the Adda and the Adige. Buonaparte, informed of the rapidity with which the armies of the emperor and the pope were collecting, pressed the arrival of the reinforcements which his government had promised him, and made the necessary dispositions to withstand the shock. In the mean time he drew from every division in his army a small number of troops, which he formed into a moving column at Bologna, and to which, from the variety of its motions, and its presence in different quarters,

quarters, he contrived to give the appearance of a much more considerable army. While he was organising his troops at Bologna, Alvinzi had apparently marshalled his army for a general attack on the whole of the French line along the Adige. The Austrians had succeeded in repulsing the French from the various positions they occupied on the right of the river (the 7th of January). They had previously been defeated at Bevilague by the Austrian column which marched from Padua, and had driven back their advanced guard on the Lower Adige under general Augereau.

The divisions that marched from Bassano had cleared the plains, and nearly reached the gates of Verona, when they were stopt by the division under general Massena, who, after a most obstinate conflict, in which great numbers were killed, succeeded in repelling the assailants. These attacks made by Alvinzi on the right and centre of the French line, though they were a prelude to some general engagement, left the French in great uncertainty respecting the intentions of the Austrian commander, who had so well concealed his movements, that Buonaparte was ignorant whether the great mass of the Imperial forces were assembled on the Lower Adige below Porto Legnano, with the intention of penetrating to Mantua on the right of his army, or on that part of the river near Rivoli, at forty miles distance from the former, where the left of the French army kept possession of the country between the Adige and the lake of Guarda. In this uncertainty, Buonaparte, after leaving in the Cispadan provinces the troops necessary for their safety, visiting the blockade of Mantua, and reinforcing the divi-

sion of Augereau on the right with part of the moving column at Bologna, placed himself at Verona in the centre of his line to wait the event, and prepare himself for the irruption of the Austrians at whatever point they should make their attack.

While Alvinzi led the French to believe from the attacks he made on the right and centre of their line that his intention was to pierce by those points to Mantua, he had drawn off the main body of his forces towards their left on the Upper Adige. Had he succeeded in getting possession of the posts between this part of the river and the lake of Guarda, he would have compelled the French to draw back their troops from the line of the Adige, abandoning Verona in their centre, and Porto Legnano on their right, and thereby would have afforded the means of throwing succours into Mantua, with the left division of his army under general Provera, who was waiting the result of the attack on the right, to put in execution this well-concerted plan. The attack made by the Austrian forces on the higher Adige was at first successful. General Joubert, who commanded in that quarter, was compelled to fall back before so immense a superiority of numbers: general Alvinzi, it has been already observed, having made this the principal point of attack, had not only weakened the other parts of his line to augment this division, but had strengthened himself by considerable reinforcements brought up from every quarter.

The important post of Corona, after an obstinate conflict, and repeated attacks, was taken by the Austrians, and the French were compelled to fall back to their principal post at Rivoli. The nature
of

of this attack, and the numbers with which it was made, left no doubt in the mind of Buonaparte that this was the point by which Alvinzi meant to penetrate. Leaving Verona, after giving his instructions for the centre of his army, and also for the right of the line at Porto Legnano, and on the Lower Adige, where a continued and severe cannonade was kept up by the Austrian division under general Provera, Buonaparte put in motion a part of the division of Massena, and drew off the troops which were posted behind him at Denzenzano; directing their march in different columns towards Rivoli.

On his arrival, having changed general Joubert's plan of defence into an attack, he ordered the various posts before Rivoli, which had been evacuated, to be retaken. The execution of this order, which began with skirmishes, brought on the decisive combat earlier than the Austrian general had intended, who calculated neither on the presence of Buonaparte, nor on the reinforcements which the French were about to receive in that quarter. Hitherto all had succeeded agreeably to Alvinzi's wishes. The division of his army, which had been selected for this enterprise, having, by forced marches, in which they had scaled mountains covered several feet deep with snow, and traversed a country rendered almost impracticable, had so far seconded the general's plan, that having driven back the French to Rivoli, being in possession of the most favourable position for the general attack the next day, by which he had the means of turning the left wing of the French, and drawing back their right; having, also, during the night, taken every measure which could insure success, by organising

the mode of attack, so that the whole of his columns should act in concert; no doubt remained from the firmness which his troops had hitherto shown, that the enterprise would be crowned with success, and the victory be decisive.

Buonaparte's arrival deranged his operations; for although the French were still as disproportionate in number as when they retreated to Rivoli, since the general had come unattended with troops, yet in expectation that the detachments made from the divisions at Verona and Denzenzano would arrive in time to second the operations, Buonaparte ordered the attack to be made on the 4th of January.

General Joubert, who had hitherto been repulsed by Alvinzi's army, advanced at the head of a part of his division at break of day, along the heights of St. Marco, the post of which had been retaken during the night; another part of his division occupied the centre, and the left was to be successively reinforced by the divisions drawn off from the centre of the main army, and from other posts.

The general action which took place was fought for a considerable length of time with desperate valour on both sides. The advantages were long balanced, and the victory uncertain. The French were frequently repulsed in endeavouring to turn the Austrian divisions; for although the situation of the country favoured their attempts, the superiority of numbers enabled the Austrians to render them fruitless, and even to drive back the right wing of the French. The left wing was also thrown into disorder, and lost ground. Alvinzi having been thus far successful in repulsing both wings of the French, bore down with the main body of his forces on their

their centre, and gave his left wing the means of advancing with twelve companies of infantry, and thirteen battalions, to the position which the French had occupied. The right wing of the French, thus repulsed by the left wing of the Austrians, fell back on their centre, where Buonaparte, with the division under Massena, which had at this moment arrived from Verona, met the shock; and though he forced the assailants to retire, he could not repair the disorder of the right wing, which was compelled to take its position behind Rivoli; and this was effected not without considerable loss from the command which the Austrians had of the heights.

The head of the Austrian column having it now in their power to scale the entrenchments made on the road by the French, and even to penetrate, with a part of their cavalry, into the plains, there was no further obstacle to the re-union of the Austrian army in the rear, since the right division had also succeeded in turning the left division of the French.

The republican forces were therefore entirely surrounded, and their communication cut off with Verona and other parts of their army: their situation was therefore highly perilous. Wherever they cast their eyes, they beheld the enemy on every side. Buonaparte, who had fought the whole day in every direction, and was now driven to the centre, called his field-officers around him, and both armies seemed to wait in awful silence the event of the succeeding moments.

As the king of Prussia, at the battle of Cunnerdorf, in circumstances nearly similar, wrote to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have beat the Russians from their entrenchments; in two hours ex-

pect to hear of a glorious victory:" which was followed immediately by another courier, pressing her flight from Berlin with the royal family and the archives; so Alvinzi, equally confident of success, had dispatched a courier to Vienna, with news of the approaching capture of Buonaparte and the French army. The Austrians, from the heights which they occupied around, saluted the ears of the French with insulting invitations to surrender; and were dividing, in their imagination, the spoils. Buonaparte, without concealing from his officers the imminent danger to which they were exposed from the bravery and numbers of the enemy, coolly pointed out to each what he judged to be the least hazardous mode of extricating themselves from their perilous position.

The Austrians, after a general discharge, rushed on to scale the entrenchments at Rivoli, of which they were three times in possession, and were successively repulsed. A small battery of four field pieces had been brought, in the mean time, to cannonade the right wing of the Austrians, through which Buonaparte, it seems, had meditated his escape; but which projected flight he now hoped to turn into a victory. Two brigades, in three columns, under the generals Brune and Monnier, were ordered to attack this wing, and dislodge it from the commanding position which it kept on the heights. This desperate service the soldiers effected, advancing, at first, in regular order, singing one of their war-hymns; but they no sooner approached within gun-shot of the enemy, than they rushed on them with desperation. The Austrians, overwhelmed and confounded by the violence of the assailants, fled,
panic-

panic-struck, towards the lake of Guarda, and, meeting with a straggling party of light-infantry, who were trying to join the surrounded French army, and whom they supposed to be a more considerable body, laid down their arms, to the number of 3000 men.

The French army was now disengaged; but night put an end to any further conflict. Buonaparte, who had received information that a very violent cannonade had taken place on the Lower Adige, and hearing nothing from general Augereau, who commanded in that quarter, concluded that the communication between the right of the main army, and the centre at Verona, was cut off. Having left orders with general Joubert in what manner he should attack the Austrians on the following day, he directed the march of part of the troops, which he judged could be spared, towards Verona and Castelnovo.

During this dreadful and bloody contest on the Upper Adige, a column of ten thousand men, under general Provera, had forced their passage across this river (13th of January) at Angiara, under the protection of a formidable train of artillery, and had compelled general Guieux, who guarded the passage, to retire to Ronco. General Augereau had united all his forces, to fall on this column, between Anguiari and Roverquiera; but, as the grand object of Provera was to throw succours into Mantua, his passage was so rapid, that the rear only of his column was exposed to the attack. The result of this combat was two thousand prisoners, and a few cannon; but the remainder of the column pushed forward, with little further opposition, and summoned general Mi-

ollis, who commanded the post of St. George, in the vicinity of Mantua, to surrender.

According to the orders of Buonaparte, on leaving Rivoli, general Joubert made an attack the following day (January 15) on the centre and left of the division which remained under Alvinzi, in the posts they had occupied the preceding day. The action began two hours before day-break. The centre division of the French attacked the centre of the Austrians, at the post of St. Martin, which had already been disputed with so much warmth the day before, and from which they were now dislodged; but their left wing, which had kept possession of St. Marco, and of the heights rising from the Adige, repulsed the French at every attack, and held, with great firmness, the commanding position which they had taken. In the mean while, general Joubert, who doubted, early in the day, of the success of this enterprise, had dispatched a column to turn this wing of the Austrians by Corona. The Austrian general, apprised of his movements, sent another column to prevent this operation; but the French had first reached their destination, and accomplished the intention of the expedition. The Austrians, seeing this manœuvre, fell into disorder, and were on the point of retreating, when they were surrounded. Six thousand men laid down their arms, and the rest of the division fled towards the Tyrol. General Provera, in the mean while, having penetrated to the suburbs of Mantua, finding his attack on the fort of St. George without effect, and hearing no news from general Alvinzi, who was to have formed his junction with him at this point, had now no alternative but that of joining

ing his forces to those of general Wurmser, in a sally which the latter might make from the citadel, or of laying down his arms.

This attack was made (Jan. 16) before day-break, on the lines of the blockade, by the post of St. Anthony, with the whole force of the garrison, and with great impetuosity: the object of which was, the possession of the post of the Favorita, which would have opened the way for a junction with Provera; but Buonaparte, who foresaw this movement, had rendered it useless, by reinforcing the garrison with 1500 men. General Wurmser, failing in this attempt, gained possession of the post of St. Anthony; but the French, who had been driven from thence, having been so reinforced, the garrison could make no further progress. In the mean while, Buonaparte had dispatched a division, under general Victor, to turn the Austrian column, in which it succeeded, after a warm contest. The general who commanded at the post of St. George's made a sortie at the same moment; and Provera, part of whose infantry and cavalry had already laid down their arms, who had hitherto conducted himself with distinguished military address and bravery, and whose division had seconded with no less courage the efforts of their general, finding himself completely hemmed in, was obliged to surrender himself, with his troops, prisoners of war.

This high-spirited army was composed chiefly of those volunteers of Vienna, already mentioned, on whose courage the greatest expectations had been founded. The relief of Mantua had kindled the chivalrous feelings of the crusade in these young men, and had led them, from the luxury and indo-

lence of a capital, to brave the dangers of the field, and the sword of an experienced enemy. The empress had consecrated this ardour, by working, with her own hands, the colours which were to lead them to victory. This Imperial present, although it did not prove a palladium to its possessors, was not destined to grace the triumph of the conquerors. The gallant standard-bearer, rather than suffer it to be taken, tore it with his own hands, and committed the fragments to the flames, when he found the surrender of the army who fought under its auspices was become inevitable.

The event of this well-contested battle, which lasted four days, in a space of sixty miles, was a decisive victory gained over the Austrians, by the destruction of this fifth army of the emperor, during the Italian war. The fruits of this victory were 23,000 prisoners, among whom were three generals, fourteen colonels, twenty pair of colours, and sixty pieces of cannon. The killed and wounded on both sides were very numerous, and probably equal. General Wurmser remained shut up in Mantua, the garrison of which was left to experience all the horrors of famine, since the convoy which attended the march of Provera had also fallen into the hands of the French.

While the armies of France were thus victorious, the interior, as usual, continued to be harassed by contending parties. The directory, at the close of the year, had made known, by a message to the councils, the pressing distresses of the country, and painted the state of misery to which every class employed in its service was reduced; the despair of the creditors

of

of the state, and the frightful ravages made in the hospitals and charitable asylums, from the want of medicines, and also by famine, and the diseases that accumulated in its train. The directory pointed out the remedy for these disorders in about ninety millions of livres, which remained of national domains that were ordered to be sold by a decree made in the month of March preceding, and which, being hitherto unappropriated, they imagined might be forced from the council by the energy of their representations. This melancholy statement was not altogether unfounded, but the colouring, it is said, was highly overcharged. The legislature, who held the public purse, were not ignorant how unwisely, and unworthily, in most cases, the funds had been administered which had hitherto been granted. The *compte rendu* of the administration had been the subject of severe animadversion; and it was found to be so far the inverse of the observation of our poet, that "the trappings of the republic might have set up a decent monarchy."

The ascendancy which France had gained over the rest of Europe must certainly be attributed rather to the force of her arms than the wisdom of her councils: yet the great flexibility with which the government of the day could turn the finances of the country to the purposes of their own administration, when the wealth of the state, to use the words of M. Calonne, was found in the shops of their printers, had greatly facilitated the establishment of its power. In revolutionary government, when every thing was forced to bend to the cry of the safety of the state, the legislature, who had confided the lives

and fortunes of the people of France to the faction who seized on the reins of government during the time of Robespierre, were not too scrupulous in demanding an account of the expenditure of the public money; so, during the laxity of the government that succeeded, the constant depreciation of the paper was such, that any specific grant would not only have been fallacious, but would have betrayed at once the ruin into which the finances were hastening, and given a sort of legal sanction to their immediate decay. During these years of paper-currency and revolutionary government, no taxes had been demanded from the people; and therefore, as the fortune of the state lay in property in which they were not directly concerned, little notice was taken whether the public funds were honestly or corruptly administered; but, when the constitution of 1795 took place of the revolutionary system, and paper-money, in all its varying forms of assignats, rescriptions, bons, and mandats, was no longer the currency of the state, the people, who had returned to the ancient habitude of gold and silver, affixed other ideas to the value of money than it appeared to the legislature were formed by the executive government.

The apprehensions of the councils, of the near dissolution of the state, were not in union with those of the directory: it was not an unpleasing spectacle also to the majority of its members, to find those, whose power they had feared, as much as they had despised their means of acquiring and confirming it, bounded, at length, in their operations, and recurring to the people for aid.

Had this jealousy been wisely tem-

tempered, great advantages would have resulted to both powers of the state; and the expenditure of what should have been granted liberally would have been in future more carefully administered: but the mixture of little passions prevented this accommodation, and the directory continued to charge the councils with impeding the operations of government by an ill-timed parsimony, which the councils retorted, by justly remarking on the profusion and rapacity of the administration.

Notwithstanding these altercations, which discovered themselves less in the councils than without the walls, where the disquisitions were carried on more freely, a sense of common interest and danger engaged both parties to coalesce in preserving the machine of government. Already two jacobin confederacies, in the last year, which threatened to overwhelm the state, and bury, in one common ruin, both directory and councils, had been averted, and the authors of them consigned to punishment: the beginning of the present was marked by a conspiracy of another nature, known under the name of the royalist plot.

The conspiracies of the jacobins were of all plots the least likely to succeed. The sentiment of horror, which the jacobins had inspired, was so widely and minutely disseminated, that, had they succeeded, their attempts would have been crowned with only momentary success. Whatever general vigour revolutionary government might, at certain periods, have communicated to the country, every individual had to lament partial evil in the loss of kindred or friends; and the feeling of vengeance was smothered, rather than subdued, from

a regard to public order. But a royalist plot wore no such terrific aspect; various classes of the Parisians were prepared to hail its auspices; and numbers, whose love of liberty had not withstood the shock of revolutionary tyranny, beheld the discovery of this conspiracy with unconcern.

It was in the favourable reception with which these conspirators were regarded by one party, and the unconcern with which their machinations were treated by others, rather than in any effective force they could have raised against the actual government, that the possibility of any danger existed.

The directory, it is said, had long known, that commissaries from Louis XVIII. resided in Paris. These agents held a continued and active correspondence, throughout the whole republic, with the numerous partisans of the old regimen, with whom they concerted plans, and combined operations, for the destruction of the new system, and the re-establishment of the ancient despotism. The address with which these regal commissaries concealed their operations, prevented, for a long time, the government from discovering their persons. Various insulated proofs were laid before the directory, both from the departments and in Paris; but the clue, which guided them to the inferior agents, always broke in their hands before it reached the chiefs.

It was not, however, possible, that this mystery could long continue unravelled; for the obscure and partial means, of which they made use, such as secret engagements and enlistments, could never serve any effective purposes towards the success of the cause for which these commissaries were deputed. The conjecture was not ill-founded:

the seeming laxity of pursuit in the government encouraged these agents to push on their operations with more boldness; and having, they imagined, ripened their plan for execution, they addressed themselves to Malo, who commanded a regiment of dragoons quartered in Paris; and who had distinguished himself at the time when the jacobins made their attack on the camp of Grenelle; and also to general Ramel, who commanded the guard of the two councils. The propositions made by these commissaries, at different interviews, were communicated regularly to the directory by these officers. The project was, to place Louis on the throne; and, in order to put it into execution, it was necessary to be assured of the military in Paris; to which end an immediate advance of pay was proposed, and accepted by the officers who commanded them; and who had eventually inspired such confidence, that the commissaries laid before them, it is asserted, the full powers for negotiation, with which they were entrusted, and also a long plan of their projected operations.

The plan appeared, in several instances, to have been a literal copy of the jacobin plot formed in the beginning of the last year, under the direction of Babeuf; such as seizing on the barriers of the city, the invalids, the military school, the magazines, the telegraph, the Thuilleries, the Luxembourg, and the minister's hotels; securing the course of the river above and below Paris; taking possession of the powder-mills around the city; intercepting the bridges; and establishing batteries on Mount-martre to command the town. The court, or residence of the king's representative, was to be established at the temple. The

plan of Babeuf was a general extermination of the members of government, with very few exceptions. The royalist commissaries proposed the proscription of the directory, in case only that they did not avail themselves of the amnesty that should be offered them; the members of the two councils were only to be confined in their respective houses; the municipalities and the chiefs of the jacobin party to be secured; the old government of Paris, by prévôts, to be re-established; the jacobin journals to be burnt (by which name were distinguished the *Sentinelle*, the *Redacteur*), and the authors arrested; all were to be set at liberty who were imprisoned, except for crimes; an amnesty to be proclaimed in the king's name; peace to be announced as near at hand; the judges to continue their functions; a proclamation to be made to the armies; a guard placed over the foreign ambassadors till the return of the couriers, which should be dispatched to their respective courts; the conductors to be ordered to continue their supplies; the streets to be filled with patrols, furnished with hand-grenades, as the best instruments for dispersing mobs; proclamations to be sent into the provinces; various persons, such as Vanvillers, Simeon, de Fleurien, Barbi-Marbois, and Tallien, to be named to offices; others to continue in place, such as Benezech and Cochon; and du Bar to be charged with the general military superintendence of Paris.

The commissaries were arrested at the military school at the issue of a conference with Malo, who had stationed guards for that purpose. Their plans and papers were likewise seized, and themselves sent prisoners to the temple. The immediate

mediate agents were Duverne de Presles, an officer in the old service, but who now assumed the name of Dunan, a grocer, and the abbé Brothier; these men were furnished with special powers, and had chosen Lavilleurnoy and Poly as assistants. Many persons, who were mentioned in their papers, were also arrested.

What is most singular in this conspiracy, was the inadequacy of the means to the end. It was scarcely possible to suppose at first view that any one would have hazarded such an enterprise without greater probability of success; nevertheless, from the open declarations which these persons made in their examination, of their being the agents of Lewis the XVIII., and that their design was to subvert the government, or take advantage in favour of royalty of any commotion that should take place, no doubt was entertained of their intentions. It appears from their confidential communications with Malo, previous to their arrest, that they had in pay a number of the officers who had been dismissed the service, and deserters from the armies; that they had also placed confidence in that class of jacobins who went by the name of exclusive patriots, and that they fixed their greatest hopes on the divisions in the councils. These were, however, very disproportionate means, since the persons whom they named to distinguished places under their new government, such as Simeon, Cochon, Tallien, and others, heard first of such nomination when the papers were read at the councils, and very easily excused themselves from any knowledge of the honours which had been reserved for them, and which, it appears, they were only to wear till the establishment of the new go-

vernment, when they, also, were to be set aside, and sacrificed for their republican crimes.

The principal agents in this conspiracy, and those to whom it appeared, by the papers in their possession, that subordinate parts had been allotted, were sent by an *arrêté* of the directory, before a military commission. Repeated and numerous reclamations were made by the counsel, and friends of the prisoners, against this proceeding, which they declared to be an act of tyranny, incompatible not only with the principles of a free constitution, but in *direct opposition to the laws*. The minister of justice defended the decree of the directory by citing a law, which maintained the competency of a military tribunal to judge those who had been guilty of the crime of *embauchage*, or enlisting soldiers for the enemy, which he said was certainly part of the crime of the prisoners and their agents. The counsel for the prisoners appealed to the *tribunal de cassation*, or tribunal of reversion, who ordered all the papers relative to this affair to be laid before them, which order the directory opposed, by decreeing that this tribunal was incompetent to judge of the affair. The appeal to the legislative body, to whom petitions were addressed by the prisoners' counsel, for their interposition between the tribunal and the directory, was rejected, and the prisoners were left to the decision of the court-martial, to which they had been sent by the executive power.

After a very long trial, the court (8th April) unanimously declared Dunan (or Duverne de Presles), Brothier, Devilleurnoy, and Poly, guilty of the crime of enlisting men for the enemy, and, consequently, liable to the sentence of death; but

in consideration of the extenuating circumstances which attended their crime, the court, affected by the frankness with which they had made their several confessions, by virtue of a law which permitted court-martials to commute punishments, condemned Duverne de Presles and Brothier to ten years imprisonment; Poly and Lavilleurnoy, their accomplices, the first to five, the last to one year; and acquitted all the rest. This unexpected exercise of lenity excited considerable surprise among all parties. The royalists, who had joined themselves with the extreme observers of the constitution to exclaim against the tyranny of withdrawing persons accused from their legal judges, and subjecting them to the decision of a court-martial supposed to be necessarily under the influence of government, drew favourable omens from this sentence of impunity to the speedy establishment of their system; while those who saw in the subversion of liberty a crime which no punishment could expiate, murmured at the court-martial for having betrayed its trust. The different parties soon found new subject of speculation, since the same day on which the court-martial pronounced sentence, an *arrêté* was made by the directory, ordering that the prisoners should be again indicted before the common tribunals, on the ground that the court-martial not having been able to take cognisance of any other crime than that of enlisting soldiers for the enemy; and the prisoners having been notoriously guilty of conspiracy in other ways against the republic, they should undergo that examination for these facts before the civil tribunals, to which the other was not competent. If the public indignation had been excited

when first these prisoners (contrary, as it was rightly asserted, to the constitution) were sent before a court-martial, the conduct of the directory in pursuing to death those whose lives the severest of all tribunals had spared, was regarded as an act of consummate tyranny, and a violation of every principle of law and justice. The directory, however, it afterwards appeared, had no such intentions. On the contrary (if the plot itself was not wholly a fiction), they determined, at least, to turn it to the disadvantage of their adversaries in the councils.

“It was evident,” say the advocates for the directory, “that these men would not have so inconsiderately risked their lives, if they had not been influenced by some greater assurance of success than what appeared from the first examinations; it was clear that something yet remained undiscovered; that the foundation, on which for fifteen months past they had built their hopes, was more solid than the capricious anger of jacobins, the precarious attachment of dismissed officers, and deserters, or the inefficacious, and scattered support of the provincial royalists. It was of less importance that these men should undergo the punishment allotted for their treason, than that the means by which they hoped to effect a counter-revolution should be discovered. Their lives were forfeited beyond the possibility of pardon, except they would redeem them by the ingenueness and freedom of their confessions. It appears that all of them had not the courage, or constancy of martyrs; for the chief of the conspiracy saved his own life, and consequently those of his associates, by the confession which

which is consigned in the secret registers of the directory."

By this confession (if any credit is to be given to it), it was in the legislative body that these royal commissaries boasted of having found the greatest facility for their operations. "In the month of June, last year," says Duverne des Presles, "propositions were made to us in the name of a party which stated itself to be very powerful; and which propositions we transmitted to the king. This party offered to serve us, on condition that there should be no other change in the present constitution than the concentration of the executive power in the royal person. The king accepted the service, but deliberated with respect to the conditions. He requested that some authorised agent should be sent to him: this request he has constantly repeated; but the party, being much more weak than it declared itself at first to be, relaxed in its pretensions, without entirely giving them up. On our side, hoping to restore the throne by the means of the two councils, we thought it right to leave them at liberty to make their conditions with the king; and therefore did not insist on their sending an agent. About two months since, some one was sent, who, I believe, carried a list to the king of the members who were for monarchy, to the number of one hundred and eighty-four. I am not certain as to the fact. The evening before our arrest, or the preceding evening, a person came to propose giving the king a list of sixty other members."

In this confession, it was further declared, that they had been in a certain degree successful in bringing over part of the soldiery employed in the several military ser-

vices at Paris; that they had many of their agents in various offices; and that the greater number of the municipal authorities of Paris were on their side. That the writers of the newspapers were in their pay; that they judged of the success of the royalist papers from the information which they themselves procured from corrupted agents of the police; and that with the money which they should have received, in addition to the sums they had already procured, they should have given a great latitude to their measures. It was admitted by this confession, that they were themselves unacquainted with the members in the legislative body who composed their party; of whom only two, Lemerer and Merfan were the visible agents; but they reckoned the greater part of the members of the club at Clichy to be their firm adherents.

It appears, it is further said, that Louis himself alluded to a communication similar to this confession, in a letter dated Blankenbourg, 24th of November, 1796, wherein he observes, that he learnt, with great satisfaction, the progress which his agents at Paris had made in rallying to his standard the two councils and the existing administrations. In the letter, he pointed out the means of increasing the influence of this party, so favourable to his interests, which were to remove the regicides from their places, to secure the returns at the new elections, and bring over the party in the council, called the *Ventre*, or independent members who vote according to their views of the question before them. Louis refers them for additional instruction to the duke of Harcourt in London; and prays them to give him some further in-

formation of their connexions with one of the two armies; and the association (by which was understood the club of Clichy) pressing also the sending the deputy who was to represent the royalist party in the two councils near his person.

By this confession, made on the 1st of March, it appears that Duverne des Presles saved his own life and that of his confederates. From the circumstances under which it was made great doubts must be entertained of its truth. Supposing it genuine, still, so far as the facts stated in it remain uncorroborated by other testimony, it is but the evidence of an individual, deeply interested to make or feign discoveries which he knew would be grateful to those who held his life in their hands. It must be remembered that the names only of two members of the council are mentioned; that the letter of Louis is no further evidence of the truth of this confession, than that such communication had been made by his agents, which, though given in a season of calmness and reflection, might have been an exaggerated boast of their own services, and the power of their party, which, in cases where no accurate examination can take place, there is often great temptation to make. Considerable doubts have arisen with respect to the real character of these agents, who (although they were in possession of numerous brevets, and commissions signed by Louis XVIII., and also letters bearing his signature), were, it is asserted, neither known nor employed by him. It is indeed said by the royalist party, who, at best, must have regarded Duverne des Presles as a traitor to the cause, that the brevets employed by these conspirators were found in the

house of Charette after his execution, and fell into their hands; and that the assumption of the name of the king's agents was only an imposition which they hoped success would justify. As the premature publication of this declaration would have been, in the opinion of the directory, hostile to their interests, and as no plausible reason could be given for a pardon, it was decided that the trial before the military commission should take place, the event of which was predetermined; so that this celebrated cause, which had provoked so much discussion, awakened so much indignation, which had been intercepted in its progress by the interposition of other courts, carried before the legislature, and afterwards debated, for so long a time, with all the eloquence of the most celebrated counsel of Paris, was probably little more than a farce, which state policy caused to be acted, in order to conceal and accomplish in due time its real designs. The directory acted no less politically, after guiding the machinery of this comedy to its *dénouement* before the court-martial, in ordering the conspirators to be carried before another tribunal. This was a compliment paid to those who, not being in the secret, were justly dissatisfied with the judgment of the court-martial, and also the display of a severity necessary to restrain other conspirators who would have been tempted, in hopes of similar lenity, to have undertaken a similar enterprise. The re-commitment of the prisoners, or rather their continuance under the sentence of the court-martial, was all the inconvenience the directory intended they should experience.

After

After the defeat of the Austrians before Mantua and Rivoli, the French army pursued the fugitives. General Augereau, who had commanded the right wing of the line at the last attack, directed his course through Padua, across the Brenta, and marched unopposed till he came to Citadella, from whence he forced, after some smart skirmishes, the Austrians to retire, and continued his route to Treviso.

The centre, under general Massena, passed on from Vicenza to Bassano, which the Austrians evacuated at his approach, and retreated to Carpenedolo, where a serious engagement took place, in which the French were again victorious, and took nine hundred prisoners; the remainder fled to Feltré; and, on the approach of the French, retreated across the Prato. General Joubert, who commanded the left of the French line, continued to pursue the division of Austrians whom he had defeated under Alvinzi; and overtaking them at Avio, carried their entrenchments, and took also 400 prisoners. The Austrians retreated to Mori and Torbole, being defended on their right by the lake of Guarda, and on their left by the Adige; but a detachment of the French having embarked lower down the lake, and landed at Torbole, and another having taken a circuitous and difficult route amidst the mountains, in order to take the Austrians on each flank, a body of 450 men, with their officers, were compelled to lay down their arms. This division of the French army continued their march through Roveredo towards Trent, of which they took possession, finding in the hospitals two thousand sick, which the Austrians, in re-

treating, recommended to their care.

The garrison of Mantua, having lost every hope of succour, was compelled at last to surrender (Feb. 1.). This almost impregnable fortress, before which five Austrian armies, in attempting its relief, had been defeated and dispersed, and upon which the force of the armies of France had made but a feeble impression, was subdued at length by the enemy within the walls, disease and famine. The French troops took possession of the citadel the following day. By the capitulation, the garrison were made prisoners of war; except general Wurmser, and his suite, 200 cavalry, 500 men of the general's choice, his staff, and whomsoever he should choose to comprise in that number. This unusual grant is said to have been an act of honour in the one party, and of humanity in the other; the 500 who were to pass unexamined being emigrants, and by the laws of war, when taken, to be punished with death. The rest of the capitulation was made in the same liberal spirit, and every alleviation was offered by Buonaparte to soften the misfortunes of his respectable guest, to whom, as the French general observed in his official communication, fortune had been in this campaign singularly cruel; but who, from his courage and constancy, which history would not fail to notice, merited a better fate.

The reduction of Mantua left the divisions, by which it was besieged, at liberty for the expedition which had for a long time amused the imaginations of the French, the erecting the national flag on the capital of Rome. The hostile preparations of the papal see against

the French had long been known, notwithstanding the armistice which had been concluded. The conditions of that armistice had not been fulfilled on the side of his holiness, in expectation that the successive armies of Austrians, which had marched against the French, could not have failed to have delivered both him and Italy. An intercepted letter written by cardinal Busca, the pope's minister, to count Albani, the ambassador at Vienna, threw further light on his holiness's intentions. By this letter, dated Rome, 7th January, it appeared that both the emperor and empress had promised the papal ambassador assistance; that M. Thugut, the Imperial minister, no longer able to hang back, had changed his opinion (probably of the inefficiency of such an ally), and had sent general Colli to command the papal forces, on whose aid he relied. The cardinal informed the count, that, in consideration of this alliance he should continue to temporise with the French with respect to the conditions of peace which they had made, and of their desire and sincerity to obtain peace he was fully convinced; but although every engine had been put in motion to force him to conclude, he was resolved to hold out, since he had opened a negotiation with Vienna.

The evidences which the cardinal furnished of the pacific intentions of the French were contained in the extract of a letter from the nuncio at the court of Florence to himself. The nuncio informs him, that, in the various conferences which he had with count Manfredino, this minister assured him that Buonaparte, far from co-operating in the destruction of the papal see, was so desirous of preserving

it, that he allowed that some of the articles proposed by the French commission, those for instance respecting religion, were inadmissible on the part of his holiness; and he was not even averse to leave the question relative to the invaded legations to be decided at the general peace; and that Buonaparte had expressed himself desirous of making peace with Rome on the conditions expressed in the armistice, and would even make them more favourable to the holy see. The answer of the cardinal to the nuncio, contained in the intercepted packet, breathed nothing but war and defiance. The conditions even of the armistice would have purchased, in his opinion, a peace too dear; but if Buonaparte would first modify those conditions, and agree expressly to restore Bologna and Ferrara, his holiness might then have some reason to believe a treaty of peace possible; but that at present there was nothing that led him to flatter himself that peace was so near a conclusion.

The peace was, however, nearer than either the pope or the cardinal had flattered themselves. They had been deceived in all their calculations. The march of Alvinzi's army, to which they probably added that of their own, had raised fallacious hopes, and inspired a momentary courage, built on the projected alliance of the holy see with the emperor, and the expected victories of the Imperial arm. Buonaparte, before entering the papal territory, published a manifesto (1st February), declaring that the pope had formally refused the execution of the eighth and ninth articles of the armistice, had by his briefs incited the people to a crusade, and had marched his troops within ten miles of Bologna; that he

he had begun hostile negotiations with the court of Vienna; had confided the command of his troops to Austrian officers sent from the court of Vienna; and had refused to listen to the overtures of peace made by the minister of the French republic; that the treaty of armistice had been violated by the court of Rome; in consequence of which, he declared that the armistice concluded the 20th of June, between the court of Rome and the French republic, was broken.

This manifesto was accompanied by a proclamation, stating, "that as the French army was about to enter on the territories of the pope, they would be faithful to the maxims which they always professed, and would protect both religion and its adherents; that the French soldier, carrying his bayonet in one hand, would offer peace, protection, and safety with the other; warning those whose perfidious or hypocritical sentiments should lead them to acts of hostility, that they had to brave the vengeance of an army which in six months had made 100,000 prisoners of the emperor's best troops, taken 400 pieces of cannon, 110 stand of colours, and destroyed five armies."

The proclamation stated in three articles, "that every town or village, which, at the approach of the French army, should ring the alarm-bell, should be burnt, and the magistrates shot; that the commune, in which a Frenchman should be assassinated, should be declared in a state of hostility, and should pay an extraordinary contribution; and that ecclesiastics of every description, who should conduct themselves according to the principles of the gospel, should be protected and preserved in their functions,

but that those who first transgressed them should be punished in a military manner, and more severely than other citizens."

Even supposing that the perfidy of the papal court had justified Buonaparte's manifesto, and the march of his troops into the pope's territories, it will naturally excite surprise, that a general who had always professed liberal sentiments should have issued a proclamation which breathed nearly the same spirit that Europe had beheld with so much indignation in the celebrated manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, on his entrance, in 1792, into Champagne. If any duty be imposed on the citizens of a country, it is that of its defence against invaders; the burning of the towns of those who resist, and putting its magistrates to death, may be found in the military code of Gengis-Khan, but ought to have no place in that of any civilised conqueror; nor does it appear, that Buonaparte's victories had qualified him to enter the field of polemical disputation, or erect himself into an infallible teacher of the principles of the gospel.

The army of the pope had strongly entrenched itself on the river Senio, the banks of which were lined with cannon. The Lombard legion, in close columns, carried the entrenchments, and took the cannon with their bayonets. The French made 1000 prisoners, after killing about 500 men, and continued their march through Imola, towards Faenza. The gates of this city were shut against them, the alarm-bell was rung, and the populace prepared to make resistance. A few shot broke down the gates, and the French entered sword in hand. As the town was taken by assault, the laws of war allowed indiscriminate

nate pillage; but Buonaparte contented himself with deputing fifty officers, whom he had just made prisoners, to inform them what might justly have been the consequences of their folly; and having himself assembled all the monks and priests, he endeavoured to impress on their minds what he styles "the principles of the gospel." He sent, as heralds to Ravenna, the general of the religious order of the Camuldules in order to instruct the inhabitants how to avoid the dangers to which their present state of blindness and ignorance might subject them; and for the same purpose he sent to Cazenna, the birth-place of the pope, Dom Ignatio, prior of the order of the Benedictines. In a few days the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the province of Ancona, submitted without further resistance. In Ancona, the French made 1,200 prisoners, and took possession of a considerable quantity of very fine arms, which had just been sent to the pope from the emperor, together with an immense number of cannon. From Ancona, a division of the French troops proceeded to Loretto, from whence count Colli withdrew the papal army on their approach, carrying with him the greater part of the treasure of the sacred house, but leaving the inhabitant at the disposal of the French. The army journeyed on without paying any other attention to the virgin than taking possession of the remainder of the treasure which the papal general had left behind. Unlike the conquerors of antiquity, who fancied they had enchained victory when the objects of the adoration of their enemies fell into their hands, the French general left this new ally, the miraculous image, to the frigid and profane examina-

tion of the commissaries of government, who had been sent to make collections of what was most rare and curious in Italy. In violation of the principles of toleration, on which they professed to act, this object of religious worship, our lady of Loretto, was put into a case with the relics of her original wardrobe and kitchen furniture, stated by the commissaries to consist of rags of black woollen cloth, and earthenware spoons, and sent as trophies to the directory; but the miraculous house, which had been transported from Palestine to Loretto by angels, was shut up till further orders, with the prohibition of working any more miracles.

The army had proceeded through Macerata to Tolentino, within a few hours' march of Rome, and were on the point of being joined by the divisions which were marching by Sienna and Cortona, when his holiness, finding himself at the mercy of an enemy, against whom no further resistance could be made, dispatched a messenger to Buonaparte's headquarters with offers of peace.

A letter, dated Rome, 12th of February, 1797, and written by the pope, was addressed to Buonaparte, and conceived in the following terms:

"Dear son, health, and apostolical benediction,
 "Desirous of terminating in an amicable manner our actual differences with the French republic, by the withdrawing the troops which you command, we send and depute towards you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the cardinal Mattei, who is perfectly known to you, and his lordship of Caleppi, together with two seculars, the duke don Lewis Braschi, our nephew, and the marquis Camilli Massini, who
 "are

“ are clothed with our full powers to
 “ concert with you, to promise and
 “ subscribe such conditions as we
 “ hope shall be just and reasonable;
 “ obliging ourselves, on our faith
 “ and word, to approve and ratify
 “ them in special form, in order
 “ that they may at all times be
 “ valid and inviolable: secure in
 “ the sentiments of good will,
 “ which you have manifested to-
 “ wards us, we have abstained from
 “ all removal from Rome, by
 “ which you will be persuaded of
 “ our great confidence in you.
 “ We conclude with assuring you
 “ of our highest esteem, and in
 “ giving you our paternal aposto-
 “ lic benediction. Given at St.
 “ Peter’s of Rome, the 22d year of
 “ our pontificate.

“ (Signed) Pius, P. P. VI.”

The treaty of peace was signed (the 19th of February) by the commissaries of the pope and Buonaparte at Tolentino, and ratified a few days after by the pope and the sacred college. In this treaty the religious feelings of the holy father were treated with more respect than in the conditions of the armistice; and Buonaparte very wisely exchanged the unnecessary humiliation of retracting opinions formerly emitted in bulls, and manifestoes, which were contained in those conditions, for more solid advantages. The treaty, after the usual preliminary of peace and good understanding between the contracting powers, enjoins the pope to recall every adhesion, consent or accession, whether public or private, given by him to the coalition, and to every other treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, with any other power or state whatever. The pope obliges himself to furnish neither during the present, nor in any future war, to any of the powers armed against

France, assistance in troops, vessels, arms, provisions, or money; under any pretext, or by any denomination whatever. In five days after the conclusion of the treaty, he engaged to put his army on the same footing as before the conclusion of the armistice; and to suffer no ships of war, or privateers, belonging to the enemy during the present war, to enter his roads or ports. The pope formally renounced all right and title to the towns and territory of Avignon, and the county Venaisin, situated in France; and also, every right and title to the territories known under the name of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, to the French republic; binding himself not to bestow the title of seignories annexed to the territory thus ceded. The French republic were to enjoy all the immunities and privileges which the nation possessed at Rome previous to the war; the French post to be re-established at Rome; the administration of the French academy of arts to be continued as heretofore; and, till a treaty of commerce was made, the republic to be placed on equal terms with the most favoured nations.

The arrears of the sum demanded at the armistice to the amount of 15,000,000 of livres was consented to be paid, to which were added 800 horses equipped for cavalry, and as many horses, oxen, and buffaloes for draft. As a condition of peace the pope bound himself to pay in addition 15,000,000 of livres, within two months, all of which was to be paid by instalments; the French army was engaged to recede from the different provinces in the pope’s territories, of which they had then possession, in proportion to the celerity of the payments. All the manuscripts, pictures,

pictures, statues, and other objects stipulated for at the armistice, were to be immediately delivered. His holiness likewise engaged to set at liberty all who were confined in Rome on account of their political opinions, and also to apologise at Paris, through his minister, for the murder of the French envoy Bassville, allowing the sum of 300,000 livres to his family. The pope lastly ceded to the French republic all the allodial lands belonging to the holy see, in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, particularly Mesola, and its dependencies; for all which concessions on the part of the court of Rome, the French republic made a formal cession to the pope of all its rights over the different religious foundations belonging to France in the cities of Rome and Loretto, and agreed to deliver up the town and citadel of Ancona at the continental peace.

In answer to the pope's letter, respecting peace, Buonaparte, on the signing the articles, addressed to his holiness the following note :

" Buonaparte, general in chief of
" the army of Italy to his holiness
" Pope Pius VI.

" Most holy father,

" I have to thank your holiness
" for the obliging things contained
" in the letter which you have
" taken the trouble to write to me.

" The peace between the French
" republic and your holiness has
" just been signed. I congratulate
" myself on having contributed to
" your private tranquillity.

" I pray your holiness to place
" no confidence in certain persons at
" Rome, either sold to courts hostile
" to France, or led astray by those
" pernicious passions which are al-
" ways the forerunners of the ruin
" of states.

" All Europe is acquainted with
" the pacific inclinations, and the
" conciliating virtues of your holiness. The French republic will
" be, I hope, one of the truest
" friends of Rome.

" I send my aide-de-camp, commander of a brigade, to express
" to your holiness the esteem and
" perfect veneration which I have
" for your person; and I pray you
" to be assured of the pleasure
" which I shall have, on all occasions, of testifying the marks
" of respect and veneration with
" which I have the honour to be
" your very obedient servant,

" BUONAPARTE."

Buonaparte, in his projected expedition to Rome, was compelled to pass near or over part of the territory of the republic of St. Marino, the least in Europe, and whose inhabitants scarcely exceeded the vanguard of his army. The ambassador who was sent by Buonaparte to ask leave of passage, in his address to the captain regents or magistrates, recited " a few examples of the prodigies which liberty had operated among the people of free states; and after complimenting the republic of St. Marino for the asylum given to freedom within its walls, when it was banished from every other part of Europe, entered into a short history of the events of the French revolution, and the success with which its efforts had been crowned. He then informed those magistrates, that the army of Italy, in pursuit of peace, was compelled to pass very near their state, and that he came in the name of the French republic, deputed by general Buonaparte, to assure the ancient republic of St. Marino of peace and inviolable friendship. He, moreover, observed, that as the political situation

situation of the states around them was likely to undergo certain changes, if any part of their frontiers was in a state of litigation, or if even they felt any inclination to round their own territory by taking a part of their neighbours, the French republic would seize, with pleasure, the occasion of showing the republic of St. Marino every proof of its sincere friendship."

The answer of the council of the republic to this address deserves to be cited as a model of that sound policy, to which, together with their insignificance, they have probably been hitherto indebted for their safety. "We place, citizen ambassador," say they, "in the number of the most glorious epochs that have distinguished the annals of our freedom, the day of your mission to our republic. Your republic not only conquers its enemies by the force of its arms, but fills its friends with astonishment at the generosity of its proceedings. Happy are we to be classed in the number of those models which have excited your noble emulation, and still more happy to be found worthy of your friendship, of which you have now given us so evident a proof. We cannot behold, without the most lively interest, the arms of the French republic, renewing in Italy the remembrance of the most brilliant eras of Greek and Roman history.

"The love of our liberty makes us feel the worth of the magnanimous exertions of a great people aspiring to recover their own: those exertions have surpassed all expectation. Your nation, single against the rest of Europe, has afforded the world an astonishing example of what that energy can achieve which is produced by the sentiment of liberty.

"Your army, marching in the steps of Hannibal, and surpassing by its deeds whatever is most wonderful in antiquity, led on by a hero who unites to every virtue the powers of the most distinguished genius, has cast a glance on a corner of the globe, where a remnant of the sons of ancient liberty fled for refuge, and where is found rather the plainness of Spartan manners than the elegance of Athens.

"You know, citizen ambassador, that the simplicity of our customs, the deep sentiment we cherish of liberty, are the only inheritance which has been transmitted to us by our fathers: this we have been able to preserve untouched amidst the political convulsions occasioned by a revolution of many ages, and which neither ambition nor hatred have been able to destroy.

"Return then to the hero who has sent you; carry back to him the free homage, not only of that admiration which we share with the whole world, but also of our gratitude; tell him that the republic of St. Marino, satisfied with its mediocrity, fears to accept his generous offer of enlarging its territory, which might possibly in the end prove injurious to its liberty; but tell him at the same time, that we shall feel that we owe every thing to the generosity of the French republic, and to that of its invincible general, if we obtain the means of uniting by firmer bonds our commercial relations, and of concluding a treaty which may secure our political existence.

"To these points are all our views bounded; and we request you to be our mediator with the chief of the army of Italy. With respect to yourself, illustrious ambassador, we feel ourselves happy to have amongst us a person who unites to

the virtues of a citizen the talents of literature. The object of your mission, the manner in which you have fulfilled it, and the name of him who has sent you, will be an everlasting monument of the magnanimity of the conquerors of Italy, and will for ever keep alive the

sentiments of gratitude with which our hearts are at present affected. Saint Marino, the 12th February, 1797.

(Signed)

The Deputies of the Republic of St. Marino."

CHAP. IX.

Political State of the Northern Powers with respect to France. Of Russia, Prussia. Of the neutral Powers in Italy, Naples, Tuscany, Genoa, Venice. The Inefficacy of the Allies of the French Republic. Of Spain. Of Holland. Domestic Troubles. Refractory Clergy. Disaffected Magistracy. Severity of the Laws, and the Cause of their Inexecution. Amendments proposed by the Directory. Supineness of the Legislature. Hostile Spirit of the Journalists to the Republic. New Laws to punish Libels. Their Inefficacy. New Election of Part of the Legislative Body. Proclamation of the Directory. Proposal by the Directory of an Oath of Fidelity to be taken by the Electors—rejected by the Councils. Anti-directorial Party in the Council strengthened by the Election of the new Third. Motion of Inquiry into the Conduct of the Directory respecting the Transport of the Galley-Slaves to the English Coast. Cause of this Expedition. Preparations by the Austrians and French for the Continuance of the War. Hopes of the Court of Vienna in the Exertions of Prince Charles. Positions of the two Armies. March of Prince Charles to the Piava. Advance of the French from the Brenta. Retreat of Prince Charles behind the strong Entrenchments of the Tagliamento. Difficulties of the Passage. Passage effected by the French. Defeat and Flight of the Army under Prince Charles. The whole of the Venetian Territory in Possession of the French. Attack and Defeat of the Austrians in the Tyrol under Laudohn by General Foubert. Retreat of Laudohn to Inspruck. Capture of the Austrian Artillery and Magazines, by Foubert, at Brixen. Attack and Defeat of the Centre of the Austrian Army by Massena, and their Retreat to the Mountains. Siege and Surrender of the Fortress of Gradisca. Possession of the Province of Gorizia by the French. Proclamation of Buonaparte. Retreat of Prince Charles to Clagenfurt. Defeat of the centre Army of the Austrians on the Snows of Tarwis by Massena. Defeat of the Austrians by Guieux, at Chinze. Capture of their Artillery, and Baggage by Massena. The Province of Carniola in Possession of the French. March of Foubert across the Tyrolian Alps. Junction of the Republican Armies at Clagenfurt. Further Retreat of Prince Charles. French in Possession of the Province of Carinthia, and of the whole of the Austrian Possessions to the Adriatic. Proclamation of Buonaparte to the Inhabitants of Carinthia. Letter of Buonaparte to Prince Charles, offering Terms of Peace. Prince Charles' Refusal. Alarm, Precautions, and warlike Preparations at Vienna. Propositions of Prince Charles—rejected. Advance of Buonaparte towards Vienna.

Vienna. Defeat of the Austrians, and further Retreat of Prince Charles across the Mur. Serious Propositions for an Armistice from the Court of Vienna. Accepted by Buonaparte. Conditions of the Armistice. Reflections on the relative Situation of the Austrian and French Armies.

WHILE France was thus humbling the courts of Vienna and Rome, she had little to fear from the enmity or jealousy of the other powers of Europe.

The king of Prussia was so far from being disposed to show any marks of benevolence to the emperor of Germany, that at the moment when the emperor of Russia was about to consult him on the interest of his ally, the king was employed in taking advantage of existing circumstances to unite to his former possessions several scattered towns in Germany that lay convenient to his dominions; having, among others, seized on Esslingen, on the same pretext as he had the preceding year taken possession of Nuremberg, or some other motives equally convenient and frivolous. The division, which had taken place in Germany, between the princes who had withdrawn themselves from the coalition, and placed themselves under the protection of the king of Prussia, and those who still remained faithful to their engagements, were circumstances highly favourable to the interests of France.

The neutral powers in Italy were more formidable from their intrigues than from their force. The success of the French arms, and the rapacity of their chiefs, had awakened their fears not only for their national independence from without, but for the security of their internal government, from the spirit of discontent that began to discover itself within. The continuance of the neutrality of Naples, which was obtained by the

fear of the French arms on the one side, and the menaces of Spain on the other, hung on the caprices of an effeminate and capricious court, which nothing but the romantic success of the French arms kept in awe. The duke of Tuscany, who had the wisdom to withdraw himself the first from the coalition, had too great an intercourse, from his position in Italy, with the French, to be suspected of any hostile intentions. The republic of Genoa was divided into two distinct classes of the governors and the governed, and almost on the eve of a revolution. The government of Venice, devoted (as the French asserted) entirely to the interests of the coalition, although neutral, had incurred the frequent reproaches of the French generals for its supposed partiality to the arms of the emperor. The king of Sardinia was too busily engaged in quelling the dangerous insurrections which had broken out at Turin, and which menaced both his person and government, to entertain any other sentiments, with respect to France, than those to which he was bound by his interest and his engagements. France drew little succour from her allies, Holland and Spain, whose alliance, offensive and defensive, with each other during the present war, which had been so much the subject of discussion the last year, was now on the point of being concluded. The former had lately augmented the English marine with several ships of the line, at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spaniards had given up the invasion of Portugal, for which long boasted prepa-

preparations had been made. The fleets of those two powers were only passively serviceable to France, by keeping the English fleets unemployed in other enterprises, but that of blocking up their ports; and England reigned sole mistress of the seas; but from her own domestic situation was unable to effect any purpose that could at this time be eminently hostile to the French republic.

Such was the brilliant situation of France, at this epoch, with respect to the various powers of Europe; but its internal state did not present so favourable an aspect. The liberty which the French enjoyed under their new constitution, fondly cherished by its friends as the harbinger of prosperity and peace, had been turned by others into a spirit of licentiousness and inobservance of the laws, which threatened the dissolution of the state. The government was assailed on every side by reclamations from the departments against the troubles excited by the refractory priests, who, it was asserted, had either secreted themselves during the reign of terror, or who had returned into France from their sentence of banishment. The disorder which they had occasioned in the eastern departments of the republic was the subject of discussion in the legislature, who sent the papers containing the denunciations, for further examination, to the directory. The directory, who for more than twelve months past had made repeated representations to the legislature on this subject, by formal messages, as well as by indirect information, returned for answer, that not only were the departments on the Lower Rhine and the Moselle under the influence of the refractory clergy, but that they had

made as rapid a progress in every other department of the republic. They represented to the councils, that, grown bolder by impunity, they had excited the people in various places to pillage and murder; preventing every where the due execution of the laws, and spreading over many departments the hatred of the republican regimen, desolation, and death. This impunity, they observed, was owing to the extreme severity, and also the uncertainty of the laws against those who came under the denomination of refractory clergy. Although the laws were precise and formal, with respect to those who broke their ban, and returned from exile; yet the punishment of death to which they were liable, was, from its excessive rigour, the cause of their safety. The directory, who had seen the pernicious tendency, and frequently proposed the revision of those laws, now proposed to the legislature to repeal them altogether, and enact others, which, from being less severe, would be more effective. That law, which was considered by them as most likely to produce the effect intended, would have allowed these disturbers of the public peace a certain time to withdraw themselves from the republic; on the expiration of which, if found in the country, they should be banished to some one of the colonies belonging to France.

The refractory priests not only found refuge from punishment in the severity of the laws, which the constituted authorities of the districts to which they resorted, though attached from principle to the government, yet abhorrent of blood, neglected or refused to put into execution; but as most of these priests were effective instruments in the hands of those who wished

to subvert the republic, those members of the departmental and municipal administrations, who were not partial to that mode of government, or who were in the number of the disaffected, gave them positive protection and encouragement. Against defaulters of this description, such as constituted authorities, agents of the police, soldiers of the gendarmerie, justices of the peace, and all civil and military officers whatever, for this latitude of indulgence had pervaded all descriptions, the directory solicited the penalty of dismissal from their places, if, after the time limited, offenders were found within their jurisdiction; and that against those who harboured and concealed them greater penalties should be enacted.

Such was the representation of the directory; but whether the council doubted the truth of their report, or thought the mischief less alarming than it had been represented, no further notice was taken at that period of the message than hearing a report, and a project of a decree from the committee to which it was sent; which report, though it corresponded in a great measure with the views of the directory, was adjourned without further discussion.

The directory had another enemy, more formidable than the refractory clergy. This enemy was the tribe of journalists, whose newspapers were distributed throughout France with profusion. Some of these journalists, in order to elude the eye of the police, would take no subscription for Paris, where the name of their journals were unknown, and which were sent only to the departments; others, more bold, published openly their opinions, exciting the people to rebellion, and frequently to murder.

Many of these journals were written with elegance, and those who reprobated them for their counter-revolutionary spirit were not displeased with their pleasantry and wit. Under the supposed protection of the constitution, these journalists feared no attack from the government, whose power reached no further than sending them before tribunals, where, true to the principles of the constitution, the juries acquitted alike the inviter to royalty, and the jacobinical instigator to crimes. The legislature, aware of the evil, were embarrassed how to find the remedy without violating the principle. The proposition made for the publication of an official journal, under the title of *The Tachygraphe*, which should report *verbatim* the debates of the councils, was rejected; but the legislature, after long discussion, agreed to a classification of offences both public and private; decreed the punishment of imprisonment more or less severe, in proportion to the offence; and enacted, that the tribunals of the correctional police should be competent to judge them. The remedy was too slight for the disease; the journals were rather emboldened than intimidated by these restraining laws, and the cause of jacobin sedition, and of royalist schemes, continued to be pleaded with as much energy and as publicly as ever.

The period was now approaching when the legislature and the directory were about to undergo the partial changes enjoined by the constitution. As the partisans of the different factions had looked forward to this epoch, with the hope that their respective opinions would have the ascendancy among the great mass of citizens composing the primary assemblies, no pains

had been spared by these leaders to furnish them with previous instructions how to determine their choice. The directory made an address to those assemblies, both primary and electoral, on the occasion; the tendency of which was to state the nature and the importance of the duties they had to fulfil, on the faithful discharge of which depended the safety of the republic, and to put them on their guard against the intrigues and artifices of the different factions who were labouring to subvert it. This address was followed soon after by a message to the councils, in which the directory represented, that a great number of public functionaries had refused to take the civic oath, enjoined by the law of the nineteenth of Nivose, on pretence that they had already taken the accustomed oaths on their entering into office; that this refusal was an evidence of their being the partisans of one or other of the factions which were equally pernicious and formidable; that by the machinations of these parties, and by their undisssembled declarations, the "republic was but a problem; and that the audacity of its enemies was such, that it might almost be permitted to doubt whether it had any real existence." The request made by the directory of converting the oath taken by the constituted authorities, of hatred to royalty and anarchy, into a law obligatory on the electors at the approaching nominations, was the subject of the most violent debates in the council. It was urged by the anti-directorial party, that the demand made by the message was unconstitutional, inasmuch, as no oath or obligation was imposed on the electors by the constitution; that the electors would have a right to refuse any oath; that the

directory had no other intention in proposing it than sowing divisions among the electoral bodies to influence the elections; and that this was a new instance of its tendency to the usurpation of the whole authority of the state. Although there was nothing in the message which could give a colour to these accusations, the council rejected the proposition, and converted the oath into a simple promise of fidelity and attachment, to be taken by the electors on their nomination.

The approaching day of the election of the new third was generally considered as an important crisis. Agreeably to the constitution, one-third of the members of the councils were to vacate their seats; which third consisted of those who had sat in the convention, and had been kept in their seats by the supplementary articles of the constitution, known by the names of the laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. Hitherto the party of the conventionalists had predominated; but as another third, chosen by the people, was about to replace one of the remaining two-thirds of the convention, it was hoped, or feared, by the opposite parties in the republic, that changes of considerable importance would take place.

The opposition to the directory had been so marked in the preceding newly-elected third of the councils, that little doubt was left but the new election would produce such a reinforcement as should place the power entirely in the hands of the legislative body. From hence, numbers who were well-intentioned, with respect to the republic, had hoped that various abuses, which were caused by the bad administration of the executive power, would be redressed; while

while others openly exulted, that the system of the republic would be totally changed, or, what in their opinion would be infinitely more wise, destroyed altogether.

It is nevertheless to be remarked, that although numbers were in formal opposition to the directory from personal motives, a respectable part of the councils were no less anxious to preserve the constitution from violation within, and to maintain the respectability of the republic without. This sentiment had provoked a message of the council of five hundred to the directory, to inquire into the motives which had led them to send an expedition of galley-slaves to land on the coasts of England; an act which the council, indignant at the measure, declared to be contrary to the laws both of the republic and of nations.

No answer was returned to this message, nor were the motives of this expedition made known to the public. The first wrong step of the directory, in regard to this measure, was commuting the punishment of these galley-slaves, for which they had no authority from the laws. These criminals were to have served on the Irish expedition, in some post either disagreeable or dangerous, to avoid exposing the troops, for which they were to receive their pardon; but as the soldiers refused to act with them, the plan was laid aside. Sensible, however, of the injustice of sending them back to the galleys, after they had been promised their liberties, the directory, it is said, unwilling to let them loose on the public, instead of compounding with them by a diminution of punishment, since the law had already been violated in the first commutation, committed a second error, and sent

them to England, less with the intention of hostility than that of ridding themselves of the danger of the charge. This secret explanation led the council to make no further inquiry on the subject.

The peace made with the pope had scarcely been concluded, when the attention of the French general was recalled to the northern parts of Italy, by the appearance of the renewed armies of the Austrians, who were once more advancing with new hopes, and under new auspices, to rescue this rich and interesting part of the imperial domains from the hands of the republican invaders. Neither the late losses of their numerous armies, the defeat and capture of their most experienced and bravest generals, nor the surrender of their impregnable fortresses, could persuade them to withdraw from a contest where they had hitherto reaped little honour or advantage. But although Alvinzi, Wurmser, and the gallant youths of Vienna, had been obliged to bend before the better fortunes of Buonaparte, the Imperial court had yet one resource, which it fondly hoped would remedy all past evils, and dissolve the charm which bound victory always to the car of Buonaparte. The court of Vienna was fully persuaded, that the presence of the archduke would infuse a new spirit into the languishing and disheartened troops, and that the conqueror of Italy would soon form a counterpart to the deliverer of Germany.

In order to make success more sure, the archduke led with him a part of the army with which he had driven the French out of Germany the preceding year; who, being pushed across the Rhine, which was well guarded on every quarter, were not likely to make another ex-

curfion fpeedily on that fide. The directory took fimilar precautions, and detached from the armies cantoned on that river a confiderable divifion under general Bernadotte; fo that the flower of both the Austrian and French armies were now afsembled at the foot of the Noric Alps, to decide a quarrel which had begun near the fhores of the German ocean.

Since the defeat of the Austrians along the Adige, previous to the furrender of Mantua, the French occupied the left part of the Arifo to the place where it empties itfelf into that river; and the right fide of the Piava, from its fource in the Alps, to the Adriatic. The Austrian forces were recruiting on the Tagliamento, paffing in fmall divifions through the Frioul and Carniola, and advancing, as they formed themfelves, towards the Piava. Some flight skirmifhes had taken place between the advanced pofts of the two armies before Buonaparte returned from the interlude of the papal war to open the ferious drama with prince Charles. While the French general was marching his troops on the Brenta, the archduke had advanced to the Piava. The centre of his army was placed on the fmall river of Cordevole, his right reached to the Adige, near Salurn, and his left extended on the fide of the Saletuolo. The centre of the Austrian army withdrew, on the approach of Maffena's divifion, to Feltre, and fell back on Belluno. The divifion under Serrurier, which was cantoned at Afoto, paffed the Piava, near the village of Vidor, while Guieux, who commanded the right wing of the army, paffing the fame river, advanced as far as Sacila, on the high road from Vicenza to Palma-Nuova. As the French advanced, the

Austrians continued retreating, till they had repaffed the Tagliamento, the banks of which they had fo fortified from the mountains to the Adriatic, as to render the further progrefs of the French extremely hazardous, if not impoffible.

In fix days this French army had marched from their cantonments to the border of the river, where they were compelled to halt, in order to deliberate on the meafures to be taken to pafs this new bulwark of the Austrian dominions. The centre of the Austrian army had fallen back on the fide of Cadore, where the mountains feparate the ftates of Venice from the Tyrol; this body of troops was kept in action by a divifion under Maffena, drawn off from the main army of the French, while the left wing of this army, under Joubert, was ordered to penetrate through the Tyrol into Carinthia, by afcending the Adige up to its junction with the Eisach, near Balzano, and afterwards following this river to Brixen; from which town he was to defcend along the fream of the Riantz to the fources of the Drave.

In the mean time, the archduke, with the main army, was fafely entrenched behind the deep and rapid Tagliamento, drawing his provifions from the fertile Frioul, by Gradifca and Goritz, and from the Venetian country, between the Tagliamento and the Alps, which formed a half circle behind him. In this fpace were fituated the towns of Treviso, Udine, and Palma-Nuova, to cover his retreat, if, by any unfortunate occurrence, from any extraordinary impulfes of audacity, the French fhould attempt and force the paffage of the river.

Had the waters of the Tagliamento continued to flow with their ufual

usual volume and impetuosity, the French might have found the enterprise extremely difficult; but a sudden frost having arrested the thaw, and the torrents on the Glaciers and the higher Alps, the river had sunk so as to be fordable in several places. Buonaparte, drawing a favourable augury from this fortunate interposition of the northeasterly wind, made instant dispositions for the passage of the river; ordering general Guieux to cross it to the right of the Austrian entrenchments, and Bernadotte, with his battalions from the Rhine, to perform the same operation on the left. The whole line ranged itself in order of battle. General Duphot first threw himself into the river, at the head of a brigade of light-infantry, and soon crossed to the opposite bank, supported by the grenadiers of the division under general Guieux; General Murat, who made the same movement on the left, was, in the same manner, supported by the division of grenadiers under Bernadotte. The Austrian cavalry several times charged the French infantry, but were continually repulsed. The whole of the republican army having now passed the river, had formed itself for a general attack, when the Austrians, struck with terror at the boldness of the enterprise, the superiority of the French artillery which they had felt in the severe cannonade that had preceded, and taken place during the passage, and by the promptitude and dexterity of the French, fell back on every side; but, when general Guieux had forced the village where the archduke had established his head quarters, the rout of the Austrian army became general. The prince seeing no hope but in flight, withdrew hastily,

during the night, to the only retreat which the daring manœuvres of the French had left him, and secured himself from danger among the ravines of the mountains, leaving part of his artillery, and the towns of Palma-Nuova, Udine, and all the Venetian territory, as far as the confines of Carinthia and Carniola, to the mercy of the conqueror.

The French lost no time in taking advantage of this important victory, although it was impossible for them to pursue the Austrians as fast as they retreated, and who did not halt till they reached the valley at the foot of the Alps, through which run the Drave and the Murh. In this position, the archduke once more formed his army; and a second time, aided by ramparts of ice and snowy mountains, he thought himself out of the reach of further attack, at least till he could get around him the means of making more effectual resistance than he had done at the passage of the Tagliamento. By taking this position, the archduke not only protected the retreat of his artillery, and heavy baggage, but reinforced the passes amongst the mountains of the Tyrol against general Joubert, although the provinces of Istria and the Frioul, as far as the sources of the Ydria, lay open to the French. While the right division of the republican army advanced on the borders of the Adriatic, the left wing, under Joubert, was scaling the Tyrolian Alps.

On the 21st of March, this general attacked the Austrians under general Laudohn at Lawis; and, after an obstinate conflict, in which they made four thousand prisoners, seized the bridge of Newmark, in order to cut off the retreat of the

Austrians to Bolsano. A second bloody conflict ensued near this town, on the banks of the Adige, which ended in favour of the French, who took possession of the place, while Laudohn effected his further retreat to Clausen, among the mountains, which present at this place a natural and almost impregnable series of fortifications, and which have always been considered as the most formidable bulwarks of the Austrian empire on that side of the Alps. The position which the Austrian general had taken would have succeeded fully to his expectations, but for the daring impetuosity of the French. Aided by these almost inaccessible fortresses, the Austrians met their attack, and broke down the French columns with the force of their artillery; and the day would have ended in the total defeat of the assailants, had not some divisions of light infantry, during the attack, climbed with infinite difficulty the heights that hung over the left of the Austrian army, and tearing up the rocks, rolled them down on the enemy, thus giving time for the columns to rally, who took advantage of the confusion occasioned by this strange and unexpected manœuvre. The Austrians were terrified into flight, and left all their artillery and 1,500 prisoners more behind them. Laudohn fearing, that, if he retreated in the direction of the mountains, he should meet with the centre division under Massena, turned his army towards Inspruck, while Joubert marched into Brixen, where he made an important capture of all the magazines of this division of the Austrian army.

The centre of the republican army, under Massena, in the meanwhile, continued the pursuit of

the centre division of the Austrians, who had retreated precipitately from the heights of Cadore, on hearing the event of the passage of the Tagliamento. This river Massena also passed without opposition, but nearer its source, and met with no appearance of resistance till he advanced to the bridge of Casa-Sola, which the Austrians had fortified. The resistance was short; the French, in close columns, forced the passage, and continued the pursuit to Ponteba, a little town on the Fella, and which belonged conjointly to the emperor and the states of Venice. From Ponteba, general Massena continued his way towards the banks of the Drave, over heights, and along roads, which were almost impassable, till he came to Tarwis, among the Alps, known for its iron founderies, and also for being the most elevated town in Europe.

The right wing of the French army, which had routed the left division of the Austrians under prince Charles, had taken possession of the cities of Udine and Palma-Nuova, and had entered on the Austrian Frioul, which was left to its own defence, having no other fortress than that of Gradisca. This post was, however, well fortified; and, though not capable of supporting a long siege, was fitted to retard, at least for some time, the march of the invaders; particularly as the badness of the weather co-operated with the fortresses against them. The Austrians had, however, miscalculated with respect to the mode of attack. The French, notwithstanding the showers of artillery, took the advanced works with their bayonets in open day; the commander, advised by Bernadotte that the scaling ladders were on
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the point of being applied, and that he could no longer restrain the fury of his soldiers, took advantage of the ten minutes given him by the French general, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.

The French, by the surrender of this place, were now in possession of all the Austrian dominions between the Alps and the Adriatic; and, as if the possession was to have been permanent, Buonaparte published at Goritz, the capital of the province he had conquered, a proclamation to the inhabitants, instituting a provisional form of government, after dissolving the former administrations; promising to the people not only protection to their persons, properties, civil and religious institutions, but also the restoration of their ancient rights and privileges; and named fifteen of the principal inhabitants as members of this central administration. The port of Trieste, and the country lying on the Adriatic, submitted without resistance to the arms of the republic.

General Massena had advanced across the Alps with his centre division to the town of Tarwis, when prince Charles, who had now retreated to Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, detached a considerable division to cover the retreat of a body of troops that were escaping from general Guieux, and to oppose his further progress. These divisions met on the heights above Tarwis, where the snow yet lay some feet thick; and a severe contest took place in this position, and ended in the defeat of the Austrians, who retreated back to the head-quarters at Clagenfurt. General Guieux, in the mean time, continued the pursuit of the co-

lumn along the Lisonzo, which he had previously defeated at the village of Bulfero. This column was composed of troops that were the flower of the Austrian army, and were escorting the heavy artillery, and almost all the baggage belonging to the archduke. The rear of this column, throwing every obstacle in the way of the French, retarded their march; but, being pressed by the impetuosity of the pursuers, they halted at the post of Chinze, where they entrenched themselves, in order to give time for the escort to proceed, and waited the arrival of the French. The post, though vigorously defended, was taken by assault, and the whole of the rear made prisoners. The escort which had escaped the pursuit of Guieux, having retreated a considerable way towards Clagenfurt, was met in its way by general Massena, who had descended the mountains of Tarwis, and, after a slight conflict, were made prisoners; and the whole of the convoy fell into the hands of the French. Bernadotte having drawn off his division to the right, followed the course of the Save; and, having taken possession of Laubach, made himself master of the remainder of the province of Carniola.

General Joubert, with the left wing of the French army, was still entangled among the Tyrolian Alps. He had pursued General Laudohn in his retreat towards Inspruck after the battle of Brixen; but, as the continuance of this pursuit would have interrupted the unity of the operations of the French army, he returned to the banks of the Rient, ascended this torrent to its source, and crossed the summits of those Alps that divide the streams which flow into the Adriatic from those

that take their course to augment the rivers that swell the Black Sea. Above the village of Innichin, on the opposite side of the mountain, the Drave takes its source; from hence Joubert descended in the direction of the stream along the defiles, where an inconsiderable force might have arrested his progress; being obliged, in the space of fifteen leagues from this village to the town of Lintz, to cross fifteen times the river. From Lintz he continued, without opposition, his march along the Drave, and joined the main army assembled at Clagenfurt, from whence prince Charles, on the approach of the French, had made his further retreat.

The French army was now in the capital of Carinthia, and were masters of the greater part of this province, and of the Tyrol, of Carniola, the Frioul, Istria, and, in short, of all the territory from the sea to the country over which they had marched, and almost in the heart of the Austrian dominions. At Clagenfurt, Buonaparte published another proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, as he had before done to those of Gorizia. He informed them, that his present appearance amongst them was the act of the court of Vienna; the ministers of which had betrayed the empire, by obstinately refusing to hear of any propositions of peace, or to acknowledge the existence of the French republic.

He declared to them, that the price of their neutrality in the present contest should be an exemption from all contribution; and that the taxes which they paid to the emperor should be collected only to pay for the provisions, and repair the damages necessarily attendant on the march of an army.

Previous to the publication of

this proclamation, Buonaparte, who, in a campaign of about twenty days, had defeated the Austrians in ten pitched battles, had scaled mountains that were deemed almost inaccessible, who had reduced the army of his retreating enemy to half its original number, and was now within a few days march of the seat of empire, wrote to the archduke, exhorting him, by divers considerations, to reflect on the circumstances in which they were mutually placed, and to interpose his influence to determine the cabinet of Vienna to put an end to the horrors of war, and the further effusion of blood.

The answer of the archduke was cool and unconciliating. He observed that it was not his business to examine into the causes, nor to seek to end the quarrels of belligerent nations; and that not being authorised by the emperor to enter into any treaty, that Buonaparte must not deem it unreasonable if he should decline entering with him into any negotiation, for which he must wait for superior orders; as the object was of high importance, and not within the reach of his instructions.

It was evident from this answer, that the court of Vienna entertained hope of extricating itself from the danger which seemed to menace it from the approach of the republican armies. The archduke had taken his positions between Judenburg and Newmark, waiting the arrival of fresh troops. The city of Vienna, in the mean while, was thrown into great consternation. The dread of seeing the French under the walls of Vienna had led the government to the resolution of arming the people in a mass. Some thousands of workmen were employed in raising new works around
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the city. The merchants, and the students of the university, formed themselves into companies; the peasants poured in from various quarters to enroll themselves; the princes and nobility took arms, and mingled their names with those of the common people; and the court, by condescending proclamations, exerted themselves to animate the multitude to take an active part in the common cause.

Notwithstanding the confidence which the government had in the valour or good disposition of its untrained subjects, the people had not the same assurance. The bank of Vienna was obliged to suspend its payments, not being able to answer the demands of those who thought their money insecure. Measures were taken to stop the emigration of the rich inhabitants, as well as to prevent the too great affluence of people from the invaded provinces. Foreigners of every age and sex were ordered to leave Vienna in the space of three days; and though the government endeavoured by its edicts to inspire confidence, precautions were taken to remove the treasure and precious effects of the state into Hungary, to diminish, at least, the spoils, if they could not prevent the triumph, of the conqueror.

Buonaparte finding that the cabinet would listen to no conciliating measures, ordered his army to advance. The van of the Austrian army, strongly posted at Freisach, was attacked by the division under Massena, and driven from their entrenchments by the bayonet. This corps had been reinforced by eight battalions of grenadiers who had been employed in the siege of Kehl, and great reliance was placed on their exertions. This reinforcement retarded for a while the pro-

gress of Massena's division; but the French infantry having taken them in flank, they were compelled to fall back on the main army, which retreated beyond the Murh, and left the French in possession of Newmark and Judenburg. By these means the junction with the main army of Laudohn's division, which had marched with rapidity from Inspruck across the mountains, from the Inn to the Murh, which was the great object of the precipitate march of the French, was altogether defeated.

In order to favour this junction, prince Charles had sent to Buonaparte, a few hours after having rejected his pacific overtures, to demand, for a short interval, a suspension of arms: this stratagem was too evident; no event having taken place, since their previous correspondence, likely to occasion any change in the archduke's mind towards peace; and, as his conversion was justly suspected, his demand was peremptorily refused.

The continued victorious march of the French army, and their arrival in the Murh, within as short a distance from Vienna, as the united armies of Prussia and Austria had been in the campaign of 1792 from Paris, awoke, at length, the fears of the Imperial cabinet, and led it to take into consideration the letter which Buonaparte had written to the archduke from Clagenfurt. The result of this deliberation was, the dispatching the count de Bellegarde and general Morveld to Buonaparte, to request, formally, a suspension of arms.

The note remitted by these negotiators contained, in substance, that the emperor, having nothing more at heart than to see the termination of hostilities, which had so long desolated both countries, and
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having duly considered the letter which the French general had addressed to the archduke from Clagenfurt, had sent them to confer with him on the subject; and, in order to attain the desirable end of finishing, in the speediest manner, that disastrous war, and to obviate the delays and obstacles which a continuance of hostilities might put on the negotiations, they requested, on the part of the archduke, an armistice of ten days. Buonaparte, in answer to this note, observed, that in the situation in which the two armies then were, a suspension of arms could not but be disadvantageous to the French; but, since this suspension was an opening to peace, so desirable and so necessary to both nations, he acceded to the archduke's request. He reminded those negotiators, that the French republic had often manifested these pacific dispositions towards the emperor, and expressed his hope that peace would be the immediate result of this suspension, the term of which he limited to ten days: the conditions were, the possession of the fortress of Gratz, Leoben, and other posts on the frontiers of Hungary, and from thence to the Adriatic, which would have greatly strengthened his position, with regard to the object of his march, if the negotiation, during the suspension, had not succeeded.

Although Buonaparte had hitherto pursued through Italy and Germany an army of fugitives, and although he was within a few days march of Vienna, and probably on the point of overturning the Imperial throne, which had so long ruled, or balanced the destinies of Europe, yet he could not dissemble to himself the extreme difficulties, if not imminent dangers, to which he was exposed. His rapid marches,

across ravines and precipices, and over mountains, where no traces of roads existed, had compelled him to leave behind the greater part of his heavy artillery; while his army, from the rigours of the season, and the constant state of action in which they had been kept, had very sensibly diminished; and though the remainder preserved to the last the same courage and ardour, yet they were insufficient to preserve the vast extent of country which they had conquered; and the positions which he had taken, though highly favourable for further conquest, had he been sufficiently reinforced, were no less fitted for the operations of the enemy, which he conceived he had left behind him in the states of Venice.

To reach Vienna by the speediest direction, the French army had to pass the mountains of Styria, which rise for a long extent from the Murh, almost within sight of this seat of empire. These mountains, easily defended by the retreating army, and the succours which were pouring in from all quarters, would have rendered extremely difficult the remainder of his march. These difficulties might have been obviated, by his taking a direction towards the Danube, by crossing over from the Murh to the Ems, along the banks of which his army would have found an easier mode of arriving at the end of their expedition; but the circuit was too long, and the army was too much diminished, to suffer such a dismemberment of it as would be necessary to keep up its communications with Italy. The dangers arising from the enemy before him had been well weighed by Buonaparte. By daring courage, and the boldest efforts, he had, in the space of a month, led his army to conquests,

quests, which the most ardent imagination had scarce ventured to contemplate; but he made no calculations, on the outset of his expedition, for other enemies than those with whom he was in open hostility, and therefore had not provided resources against them.

In accepting, therefore, the offers of the armistice, and in signing, within the limited time, the preliminaries of peace, Buonaparte gave, perhaps, as solid a proof of his talents as a statesman, as he had hitherto done of his valour as a soldier.

CHAP. X.

Commencement of Hostilities on the Rhine. Positions of the French and Austrian Armies. Retreat of the Austrians behind the Lahn, and Passage of the French across the Rhine. Proposals of the Austrian General for an Armistice rejected. Defeat of the Austrians on the Lahn. Further Defeats of the Austrians, and Retreat to Frankfort. Position of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle under general Moreau. Passage of the Rhine in Face of the Austrians at Kehl. Dangerous Positions of the French. Defeat of the Austrians, and Capture of the Fort of Kehl, the most brilliant Action of the German War. Preparations for the Invasion of Germany. Arrival of the News of the Preliminaries of Peace to the Armies on the Rhine. Sentiments of the different Parties at Paris respecting the Peace. Causes of the Signature of the Preliminaries by Buonaparte. Government of Venice. Sketch of the different Situations of Venice with respect to Austria, and the French Republic. Accusations of the French against the Venetian Government. Insurrection against the French. Massacre of the French at Verona. Letter of Buonaparte to the Senate. Answer and Proclamation of the Senate. Retaking of Verona by Augereau. Laudohn's March from the Tyrol. Danger of the French in the Venetian States. News of Peace. March of the French to Venice. Declaration of War. Annihilation of the Government of Venice, and Escape of the Patricians. Provisionary Government. The Arsenal, the Fleet, and Stores. Venetian Islands in the Adriatic and Archipelago made French Departments. Reflections on the Fate of the Venetian Government. Formation of the Cisalpine Republic. Government of Genoa. Enmity between the popular and patrician Parties. Causes of its apparent Neutrality with respect to the Coalition and France. Secret Assistance said to be given to the Emperor by the Genoese Government. Increasing Discontents of the popular Party. General Insurrection of the Genoese against the Government. Desertion of the Military Forces to the People. Dissolution of the Patrician Government of Genoa. Provisional Government formed. State of Genoa changed into that of the Ligurian Republic.

WHILST these preliminaries were the subjects of discussion between the archduke and Buonaparte, the Imperial and French armies had begun hostilities on the Rhine. Each of these armies had

been considerably weakened by the divisions which had been drawn off to recruit the armies of Italy, which had been in continued action during the winter; whilst, according to convention, though but ill observed,

served, the northern armies had been in cantonments during the rigour of that season. The return of Laudohn into the Tyrol, the march of Alvinzi by Fiuma and Trieste, and the hostile preparations making by the Venetians, each of which movements menaced with danger the army of Buonaparte, then entangled in the mountains of Styria, and which had influenced him to sign the preliminaries of peace, led the directory also to order the French generals Hoche and Moreau to make the most rapid movements, and pass, with their respective armies, into the circles of Franconia and Suabia, to cause a diversion of the Austrian armies, or form a junction with Buonaparte.

The right and centre of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under General Hoche, extended from Kreutznuch in the Palatinate, along the Rhine, to Dusseldorf. The left wing was cantoned in the duchy of Berg, on the right of that river. The Austrian army had taken their positions between the Sieg and the Lahn; but, finding themselves too weak to hazard the event of a battle on those plains, they withdrew from thence, and took their former position behind the formidable entrenchments of the Lahn, sending back their baggage and heavy artillery towards Frankfort, together with every thing that might retard their march, if circumstances should again compel them to make a retreat similar to that of the last campaign.

The retreat of the Austrians beyond the Lahn enabled the various divisions of the French army to pass the Rhine without obstacle. Here they found the Austrians strongly entrenched and fortified on both banks of the Lahn; but

as general Wernecht, the commander in chief of the Austrian forces, felt that his army was not equal to a long or vigorous resistance, he demanded a further prolongation of the armistice, under pretence that preliminaries of peace had been signed; but, as he refused to comply with the conditions which general Hoche exacted, which were, the delivery of the fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein, and the redoubts of the Lahn, the negotiation dropped, and the two armies prepared for action. The attack began with a brisk cannonade. The whole of the French line was soon in motion; the infantry, supported by the fire of the light artillery, and by the hussars and light dragoons, poured down, with their usual velocity, on the Austrian entrenchments. The centre of the line of redoubts was carried by the commander in chief. Lefevre, who led on the right wing of the French, broke through the left of the Imperialists, whilst the right fled before general Championet, who commanded the left wing of the French army.

The Austrian general, during the night, retreated beyond the Lahn, leaving behind him the artillery of his redoubts, and 4000 prisoners. The French continued the pursuit, and came up with the Austrians at Ukerath and Altenkirchen, where they had taken strong positions. The Austrians were again routed, with considerable loss, by the division under general Lefevre; whilst general Ney marched rapidly to Diedorff, where he found the reserve of the Austrian army, consisting of 6,000 men, whose attack he sustained with a division of 500 hussars till the infantry came up, when he drove them from their positions with considerable loss.

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The left of the French army crossed the Upper Lahn, and took possession of Wetzlaar; and, forcing the Austrians to cross the Nidda, pursued them to the gates of Frankfurt.

In the mean while, general Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine and Moselle, which was cantoned along the Rhine, from the lines of Weissemburg to Huningue, made preparations to cross this river at Strasbourg. The want of machinery to put this project in execution was in some measure compensated by the decrease of the waters, which permitted the French to make two bridges from the main land to a part of the islands in the Rhine; and other parts of the river were fordable, from Brisach to the mouth of the Murg. The centre of the army, stationed at Strasburgh under general Duhem, were ordered to make the first real efforts, whilst false attacks were made, in various places, to divert the attention of the Austrians. At the mouth of the river Ill, in sight of the opposing army, were moored the little fleet, made up of the boats which had previously been put in requisition. Part of this division, notwithstanding the heavy fire from the opposite side, made good their landing; and, having taken possession of an island from which they had driven the Austrians, sent back their boats to bring over the remainder. During this manœuvre, the French, exposed to the Austrian artillery, lost considerable numbers; but General Vandamme succeeded in keeping his position, on the banks, till a greater number of troops had landed, who were immediately formed into columns, and led on by general Duhem to the attack of the village of Dier-

sheim, where the Austrians had assembled their forces. In this attack they succeeded, after a long and bloody conflict; but which gave time for the landing of the remainder of the infantry, which was not completed till near noon. To protect the cavalry and light artillery, which had not yet crossed the river, the French army took such positions as prevented the Austrians from offering any considerable resistance to their passage.

In the mean while the body of troops, with which the French had been engaged, were reinforced by divisions which had marched from their cantonments at Offenburg and Stollhoffen, and which gave the Austrians a considerable superiority. Thus augmented, they attacked with so much impetuosity the village of Diersheim, from which they had been dislodged, and which was occupied by the centre of the French division, that the village was in great part destroyed. The entrenchments, which general Defaix had hastily thrown up, were for some time in the power of the assailants, who were not repulsed till after a desperate and most bloody conflict.

Night separated the combatants; during which time, the bridge being finished, the greater part of the French cavalry and artillery effected their passage, and the Austrians also received further reinforcements. The attack began again on the part of the Austrians, who directed their forces, as on the preceding day, against Diersheim. Their artillery had silenced that of the French; when the Austrian general, taking advantage of this success, attacked the village with the main body of his infantry, and made considerable havoc amongst the French, notwithstanding

ing the manœuvre of general d'Avouft, who had braved the fire of the Austrian artillery, and thrown himself, with his division, confifting of two half brigades, on their left flank. The French, though compelled to give way in the preceding part of the day, having received a reinforcement by the paffage of the remainder of their cavalry and artillery, formed themselves in line of battle between the villages of Diersheim and Honnau, and began to act offensively in their turn. The centre, commanded by Vandamme, were ordered to take poffeffion of the villages of Lientz and Hobine, and diflodge the Austrians; the right, under general Dufour, to feize on fort Kehl, and throw themselves on the banks of the Kintfing; and the left to attack the oppofing wing of the Imperial army. The combat was not of long duration. The Austrians, weakened by the conflicts of that and the preceding day, and difheartened at the enterprife of the French, fled before the charge of the bayonet, and left the republicans mafters of their whole park of artillery of Kehl, and the furrrounding pofts and villages. Between 4 and 5,000 prifoners fell into their hands, among whom were feveral officers of rank, and great numbers were killed on both fides. The French army continued the purfuit of the Imperialifts who were retreating towards the Danube, and were again beginning their march into Germany, when news arrived of the figning of the preliminaries of peace by the archduke and Buonaparte.

The paffage of the Rhine, in the face of the Imperial army, was the laft exploit of the French during this deftructive campaign, and

added another diftinguifhed laurel to thofe which Moreau had gathered from his retreat through Germany the preceding fummer. The news of peace reached alfo the army of the Sambre and Meufe, whilft they were engaged before the gates of Frankfort, which general Wernecht was defending in vain. The grateful found was proclaimed in the midft of the fcene of carnage: the roar of the cannon was interrupted by cries of tumultuous joy; and the contending armies, both officers and men, throwing afide the blood-ftained weapons, threw themselves into each other's arms, and forgot the ferocity of the foldier in the embrace of friendship and of peace.

The fignature of the preliminaries of peace diffufed a general joy throughout France. The extent of the preliminaries was at firft little known. The directory, in their meffage to the councils, and in their fpeeches to the officers who prefented them with the various trophies of victory which the armies had gathered in the courfe of this fhort campaign, gave no further information on the fubject than, that the basis of the preliminaries was the renunciation of the Belgic provinces, and the formation of a republic in Lombardy. Uncertainty refpecting the extent of the compensation to be granted to the emperor, and the limits of the new Italian republic, had caufed fome inquietudes refpecting the definitive fettlement. Some were loud in their expreffions of regret that Buonaparte had not delayed figning them till he reached Vienna; the greater number were thankful that peace was reftored in any fhape; but when the circumftances attending the preliminary pacification were known, and the imminent danger

danger into which a further delay on the part of Buonaparte would have led his army, the murmurs were turned into approbation.

The French commander had no sooner terminated the contest with the emperor, than he bent his views to the opulent but defenceless state of Venice — a design, to which (from the nature of the treaty afterwards signed between the two powers) it is probable the court of Vienna did not object. To give a colour to this proceeding, the French allege, that, during the whole of the contest, the Venetian government evinced a manifest partiality to the cause of the coalition.

“ The only power in Europe (say they) of which Venice had any real dread was the house of Austria. The wary policy of the senate, which had balanced the pretensions of every other state, could not keep them secure from the encroaching ambition of the late emperor Joseph the second, who was engaged with their government in a negotiation for certain exchanges of territory, which, from the imperiousness of the demand, and the peremptoriness of the refusal, had worn much the appearance of approaching hostilities when the event of the French revolution took place. This event, which interested the emperor of Germany more than any other power in Europe, and the effects of which were immediately felt by him in the Low Countries, which broke out into open revolt some months after, had removed all dread of further claims on Venice, either from himself whilst he lived, or from his successors; and the senate might have taken the opportunity of crushing these pretensions altogether by strengthening its alliance with France, which, at that period, might have

been effected without any sacrifice, had it not been persuaded that France would be crushed by the coalition which was then forming against it. This persuasion continued to guide the politics of the senate after Buonaparte had scaled the Alps; but this policy became more complicated in proportion as the French army drew nearer to their states. The rapid successes which attended the French on their first entrance into Italy was no security for their continuance; the senate was well instructed, that in the various eruptions of this kind those early victories had been followed by entire defeats; and, in the present case, little doubt was entertained, but that the revolutionary torrent descending from the Alps would dissipate and sink away in the plains of Lombardy.

“ An adherence to the coalition (they add), notwithstanding the invasion of Italy, was judged to be the safest policy. When marshal Beaulieu fled from the French, in the campaign of 1796, he found refuge in the Venetian states, which openly protected him, and suffered him, without remonstrance, to take possession of the important fortress of Peschiera, built on the lake of Guarda. Buonaparte, at that period, without making any remonstrances on his part, advised the senate, that since they permitted the violation of their territory without complaint or resistance on the part of the Austrians, he should pursue his enemy wherever he could find them; and informed the senate, that the ties of long friendship which had subsisted between the two countries would lead the French armies to maintain the most exact discipline, and pay every due respect to the laws and government of the country.

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“The neighbourhood of a revolutionary army, and a swarm of new republics which was hovering every where in the north of Italy, around it, had more weight with this wary senate than the assurances of the French general. The frontiers of the Venetian republic became now the principal seat of war. The Adige, like the Rhine, often flowed with the blood of the contending armies. The Venetian fortresses often changed masters. Parts of its territory, such as the town of Brescia, situated on the limits of the Milanese, declared its independence, and in no part of the country lying around Mantua and the Adige was the government of Venice respected.

“The contending armies continued therefore to keep possession of the Venetian territory, as if it belonged respectively to themselves, retiring or advancing, according to the circumstances of conquest, or defeat; whilst the government continued, in appearance, a calm spectator of the contest, making only a slight provision for its own security, by placing an army of Slavonians, of twelve or fifteen thousand men, in the Lagunes, so as to prevent the contending parties from approaching too near the seat of government. The successive defeats of the Austrian armies before Mantua had begun to awaken the senate from its dream of the eventual success of the coalition; and the fear of the emperor's power gave way to a terror of another kind, that of the revolutionary torrent, which, instead of dissipating itself as they imagined, had now swollen into a mighty river, increased as it had been in its passage through Italy by the multitude of

tributary or auxiliary streams. The senate had discovered that Buonaparte was not the dupe of their professions or their policy, and they conjectured, probably, that the day of explanation was deferred only on account of the present situation of the French and Austrian armies. The distant danger to be apprehended from the empire was so inconsiderable, compared with the imminent destruction which threatened the remaining despotic governments of Italy from the progress of the revolutionary spirit, that the senate had no other alternative than the choice of the most prudent means of subduing it, and preserving their own power, in seizing on some favourable opportunity of joining their forces with those of the emperor, for the destruction of the invaders. The retreat of the archduke, and the march of the French towards the capital of the Austrian dominions, seemed to be the favourable moment when, without risk or danger, the senate, by co-operating with the Imperial forces, might strike a decisive blow, and insure the continuance of their authority, not more by the extermination of the French, than by conciliating the favour of the emperor by the importance of the services it should render. It was nevertheless prudent to dissemble; but whilst the members of the government continued their usual marks of respect and neutrality, their emissaries were employed in every part of the republic in exciting the people to take arms against the French, whom they represented as bands of assassins*, whose object was general massacre and plunder.

“Buonaparte was nevertheless

* Surely the representation was but too true.

well informed of the perfidious intentions of the senate, but hoped that the forces he had left in Lombardy, under general Augerau, would be sufficient to overawe the Venetian government, and prevent open hostilities from taking place. An insurrection against the French had already broken out in the province of Bergamo, the districts of Bressan, and the valley of Sabbia, the progress of which was stopped by the activity and prudence of Augerau; but when the news arrived of marshal Laudohn's progress in the Tyrol, which had been attended with some slight advantages over the French, and also of general Alvinzi's march into Italy by Carniola, in the rear of Buonaparte's army, the report was universally circulated that the French were on the point of laying down their arms, and that nothing was wanting to render the victory decisive but a general movement and co-operation on the part of the loyal subjects of the Venetian government.

"The influence of the priests and nobles," continue the advocates of France, "was sufficient to blow into a flame the insurrection which they had been secretly preparing. A crusade against the French, as regicides and atheists, was publicly preached by the priests as a work of sacred duty. The religious season of Easter was pointed out as well fitted for the execution of this pious labour. Fifty thousand peasants immediately assembled, and demanded from their governors the instruments of vengeance. The senate, notwithstanding the great probability of success, appeared reluctant to consent to their demands; but its agents instructing the multitude where magazines were placed, the insurgents were soon equipped,

and formed into regiments, under the direction of regular officers employed in the service of the state. The call to arms, in the name of the people, now became general; every inhabitant, under pain of death, was ordered to range himself under the colours of his canton; and, as soon as the disposition to insurrection assumed this consistent appearance, the body-guard of the government, the army of the Sclavonians already mentioned, joined themselves also to the army of the insurgents; and, after attacking the French at Vicenza, Padua, and other parts of the Venetian territory, and (putting to death all those whom they found in Verona, together with the sick in the hospitals) besieged, during eight days, the remainder who had taken refuge in the three castles of the city.

"The news of this insurrection reached Buonaparte, whilst he was pursuing the Austrians beyond Judenburg. He instantly wrote to the members of the Venetian government, that he was well informed of the full measure of their perfidy, which they had now put into execution. He represented to them, that, notwithstanding their dissimulation, or any disavowal they might make, the revolt had been prepared by them; and the cry of the multitude, "Death to the French!" was the effect of their suggestions. He warned them, that their atrocious perfidy should meet with its due punishment; and, that unless they took measures to disperse the insurgents, and put into his hands the instigators of the murders which had been committed on the French, he should instantly declare war against them, and would not cease his vengeance till he had annihilated their government. He informed

them that his aide-de-camp was the bearer of his proposition, peace or war; for which he gave them twenty-four hours to determine.

“The doge, in reply to this letter, observed, that the members of government were overwhelmed with affliction at the receipt of Buonaparte’s letter. He represented that the senate had ever entertained the firmest resolutions of preserving peace with the French republic; and that this disposition, on their part, was not lessened even under the present circumstances. He observed, that the present insurrection ought not to be considered as any infringement of that neutrality, for that the people, who were sincerely attached to their government, had flown to arms only to suppress an unexpected revolt which had broken out in certain towns; and that, although some disorders might have been occasioned inseparable from insurrections of this nature, the government had taken the necessary measures to appease them. He assured the general, that his demand of delivering up those who had instigated those murders, of which he complained, should be complied with as soon as they were discovered; and to terminate this disagreeable event to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, he sent two deputies to concert with him the mode of his interposition to bring back to their allegiance those towns in their dominions beyond the Mincio, which had declared themselves independent.

“In the mean while the senate had issued a proclamation, in which they represented, that, reposing on the loyalty and impartiality of their conduct to the belligerent powers, they had judged the malevolent insinuations which had been raised, respecting the sincerity of their

peace intentions, unworthy of their notice. In this public act they disavowed a proclamation hostile to the French, which had been ascribed to one of the officers of government; and advised their faithful subjects to be persuaded, that the harmony and friendship between themselves and the French nation were in no manner changed. The evasive answer given by the senate to Buonaparte, in which they were careful not to commit themselves, either by avowing the insurrection, or ordering the insurgents to disarm; and the increase of the insurrection on the Adige, down which marshal Laudohn was descending from the Tyrol, to join the insurgents at Verona, who, having possession of the city, had put it in a state of respectable defence, and were capable of making considerable resistance, were decisive proofs (the French alleged), if any were yet wanting, of the determined hostility of the senate of Venice. General Laudohn arrived with his division near Verona, at the moment when Augereau, having made up a little army of French and Lombards, had attacked the insurgents, and regained the city. The army of Augereau was, however, too inconsiderable to make a long resistance to the combined forces of this new coalition: but the news of the signature of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben reaching the contending parties at this critical juncture, the government of Venice was left at the mercy of the French.”

Such is the partial statement, given by the conquerors, of the provocations, which they allege induced them to break the sacred line of neutrality, and ravage an independent, and, at least, not professedly hostile state. From a strict regard to impartiality, and a desire
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Of eliciting the truth from discordant statements, we have laid it before our readers. But nothing can, in our opinion, justify the conduct of the French in this act of aggression; nor would the statement, if true in every part, warrant the annihilation of an ancient and respectable republic.

On the 20th of April, a division of 25,000 men encamped on the sea-shore within sight of Venice, whilst the division which had taken Verona pursued and disarmed the fugitive insurgents in the various towns in the states. Whilst the government remained trembling at Venice, Buonaparte published a manifesto at Palma-Nuova; in which, after detailing the various charges above enumerated, he enjoined the French ambassador to quit Venice, and made a formal declaration of war against the government; at the same time offering peace on condition that the three inquisitors of state, and ten of the principal senators, who, he supposed, were the chief instruments in the murder of the French soldiers, should be delivered into his hands. The conditions of the French general were no longer the subject of deliberation to the senate, whose authority was so totally annihilated, that they had only to receive the commands of the conqueror. Sufficient time was, however, given, possibly with the connivance of the French general, for such as were marked out as objects of resentment to escape, since such as fell into his hands were suffered to remain unpunished. The governors had abdicated their seats previously to the entry of the French army (12th May), and had entrusted the provisional authority to thirty senators, who had decreed that the demo-

cratical form of government should be restored, such as it existed before the revolution, at the close of the thirteenth century. Soon after the French had taken possession, a new municipality was installed, who formally proclaimed the dissolution of the old government, leaving the formation of a new system to circumstances which should hereafter arise from the will or conveniency of the conquering party.

The capture of Venice, into which a hostile army had never before entered, put the French in possession of a treasure highly important to the republic, which was the naval forces, and the vast stores of every kind which their magazines and arsenals contained. The French also made an addition to their territory of the Venetian islands in the Adriatic and Archipelago, most of which are valuable, not only for the command which they give of those seas, but for the productions which they yield to commerce.

As nothing was immediately determined respecting the future fate of Venice, the municipalities held the provisional authorities, and the people, for the most part, prepared their minds for the adoption of a form of government resembling those republics which had hitherto taken their name from their situation on the right and left sides of the Po. The inconveniences of small governments having been sufficiently manifested in the republican divisions and subdivisions of the conquered Italian states, such as those of Modena, the papal legations, and the emperor's territory, Buonaparte re-united these Cispadane and Transpadane governments into one, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic, and pre-

sented them with the French constitution for the regulation of their government.

The fall of Venice was immediately followed by that of Genoa. For a long period preceeding the French revolution, it is said an inveterate hatred had reigned between the patrician and popular parties of this state.

The invasion of the Austrians, and the events of Corsica, had, by the ruin of the famous bank of St. George, elevated the patrician in proportion as it had humbled the burgher; and every attempt made by the latter to raise themselves to the station which they before held in the state was immediately opposed by the jealous nobles. Things, however, would probably have remained in this state, had not the expedition of the French into Italy awakened the hopes and fears of the parties, according to their respective interests. The situation of the Genoese republic on the French frontier, and the disunion that reigned between this government and the court of Turin, hindered it from taking an active part in the coalition against France; but justly fearful, that if the French republic triumphed, the disaffected party of their own subjects would find a formidable ally in the principles of the revolution, the Genoese government (the French assert, and possibly with some truth) looked with a more favourable eye to the allied governments than to the revolutionary system.

The insolence of the disaffected party in Genoa continued to increase in proportion to the progress of the French victories; and on occasion of a festival given by the French minister at Genoa, such symptoms of opposition were displayed by them as gave serious alarms to the nobles

for the existence of their government; and the fermentation continued to increase till the dissolution of the government of Venice took place, when it broke forth into a popular insurrection, which threatened the existence of legal authority at Genoa.

This insurrection began early in May, with some of the most abandoned of the lower classes of the people, who, having put a person of the illustrious name of Doria at their head, seized on the principal posts of the city, released all prisoners except those who were confined for capital crimes, and demanded peremptorily the abolition of the patrician government, and the establishment of a more democratical form. The neutral parties, on this occasion, were the richer classes of citizens, who kept themselves in their houses waiting the event, and the principal part of the nobility, who left the city. The government, in order to counterbalance the force of the insurgents, armed others of a similar class in their favour, and joined to them such of the troops in whom they thought they could place their confidence. This counterpoise had at first some success; but when the parties came to parley, finding their interests to be the same, and that more plunder was to be gained by destroying than supporting the government, they united together, and then the connexion with the French became immediately apparent. The government was now reduced to the greatest distress. In vain were proclamations issued promising the people every sort of indulgence. The tumult continued to increase, without any further resistance on the part of the government; depredations were committed in the name of the people
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on the property of the nobles, most of whom abandoned the city; and great numbers of those, who were suspected of attachment to their party, were arrested. The banditti, bearing in their hands the treaty between Charles V. and Andrew Doria, which they complained had been violated, threatened to force the gates of the palace. The grand council, or such members of that body as remained in the city, at length assembled (May 31), and, after a long deliberation, decreed that the government was dissolved; and, having named a provisionary committee, to preserve order till the establishment of a new constitution could take place, abdicated every kind of authority with which, by the laws or customs of the state, they were invested.

The committee named by the great council finding the post to which they had been chosen too dangerous, refused to accept it; on which the authority was placed in the hands of a temporary administration named by the leaders of

the mob. This new authority issued its mandates to recall the fugitives into Genoa, on pain of confiscation of their property; and enjoined the inhabitants of the state to send their deputies to Genoa with sufficient powers to lay the foundation of a new social organisation. The state, under the direction of Buonaparte, resumed its ancient name, and was now called the Ligurian Republic—a constitution which, like that of their Cisalpine neighbours, was provisionally adopted from the form of the French government, with whom the Genoese populace, to complete the farce, pretended to renew their treaty, whilst, in reality, they were only to be considered as conquered subjects of France.

It is impossible, indeed, not to see that the whole of this transaction was effected by French agency, French money, and by the dread of French power stationed on their frontiers, without which the mob of Genoa would easily have been subdued.

C H A P. XI.

Partial Renewal of the French Legislature. Increase of the Anti-Directorial Party. Nomination of Barthelemy to succeed Letourneur in the Directory. Pichegru President of the New Assembly. Repeal of different restraining Laws. Discussion on the Colonies. Denunciation against the Commissaries. Inculpations of the Directory and Ministers by the Anti-Directorial Party in the Councils. Decrees against the Public Dilapidators. Reflections on the Situation of the Directory, and the Conduct of its Opponents. Report of the Commission of Finance to diminish the Expenses of Government. Report of the Commission on the internal State of the Republic. Proposal for the Recall of the refractory Clergy, and the Abolition of the restraining Laws. Of the Emigrants from the Departments of the Rhine and Toulon. Formation of the Constitutional Circle in Support of the Directory. Suppressed by Vote of the Councils. Licentiousness of the Journalists. New Denunciations against the Ministers of Finance and Marine. Charges on the Ministry. Renewed Denunciations against the Directory. March of Troops towards Paris within the Distance permitted by the Law. Explanation of the Directory. Application of the Directory for Supplies—rejected. De-

cree of the Councils for restraining the Power of the Directory, and for the Increase of their Body-Guard. Suspended State of the Negotiations for Peace between the Republic and the Emperor. Increase of Disaffection between the Legislative and Executive Authorities. Addresses from the Army, promising Support to the Directory. Denunciation of the Army-Addresses in the Councils. Report on the Subject of the Dissensions. Speech of the President of the Directory. Addresses of Departmental Administrations to the Councils. Preparations for Hostilities between the Executive Government and the Councils. Decrees of the Councils for arming the Citizens of Paris. Emigrants and Royalists at Paris prepared to take Advantage of the Dissensions. State of the Public Mind at Paris. Secret Plan of the proposed Attack on the Government known to the Directory. Events of the Revolution of the 18th of Fructidor. Assembly of the Councils near the Directorial Palace. Proclamations of the Directory to make known the Conspiracy. Pretended Correspondence of Pichegru with the Prince of Condé. Report of the Committee on the Conspiracy. Resolutions of the Councils. Reflections on the indiscriminate Sentence of Exile, passed against divers Members of the Government and others.

TO return to the affairs of France.—In the first days of the month of Praireal, the new members chosen to the legislature took their seats agreeably to the constitutional act. By the election of this new third, which replaced an equal number of the members of the former convention, the balance in favour of the opposition was considerably increased. The opposition known by the appellation of the Clichy party, from meeting in the street of that name, had, however, conducted themselves with a degree of moderation which had hitherto proved a salutary restraint on the directorial power; but this party being reinforced by a considerable number of the members of the new third, whose sentiments corresponded with their own, were perhaps led into measures impolitic in some respects, and such as hastened their own downfall, and gave an ascendancy to their opponents.

The election of Barthelemy, the ambassador of the republic to the Helvetic confederacy, in the place of Letourneur, who was excluded by lot, strengthened the

anti-directorial party, who, presuming on the support of two of the members of the executive government, the new director and Carnot, had little doubt that, with the majority which they possessed in the councils, the measures of government would be directed according to their own plans, which, as we before observed, were well meant, though too much of faction has always intermixed itself in the patriotism of the French. On the first day of the meeting of this renewed legislature, of which general Pichegru was elected president, that disposition of the famous law of the 3d of Brumaire, which excluded five of the formerly elected representatives, was repealed, as well as a law which enjoined non-residence in Paris to the ex-members of the late conventional body.

Further repeals were made of articles of the exclusive law of the third Brumaire already mentioned; the relations of emigrants, and those who had received the benefit of the amnesty were alike rendered eligible to public offices; but although most of the dispositions of that law were contrary to the spirit of civil liberty,

liberty, and the letter of the constitution, the repeal at that crisis of the statutes, which excluded those persons till the general peace from offices of trust, was, even by moderate persons, considered as neither wise nor expedient. The discussions respecting the state of the colonies were still more animated; the commissaries of the executive power were formally denounced by members of the council as the causes of the disorder and destruction in the colonies: and the directory, although anxious to prove by official documents that the state of the colonies and the services of the commissaries had been misrepresented, recalled them from their mission, now indeed on the point of expiring, having been limited to eighteen months.

These reforms were only preparatory to others of higher importance, which the majority of the councils had at that time in contemplation. The constitution had wisely entrusted the public purse in the hands of the representatives of the people; the prodigality of the government was universally complained of, as well as the means employed to replenish the public treasury. The ministers and the usurious contractors became objects of scrutiny, the latter of whom were sent as public depredators before the criminal tribunals. These excesses, for which the necessities of the state were pleaded as indulgences, were brought before the council in all their deformity; and it was justly observed, that those who had been guilty, or who had connived at such malversations, were no longer worthy of the confidence of the public. The demands of the directory for further supplies, which had been referred to a commission of finance, were the

subject of a report, which the orator made the vehicle of severe animadversion on the persons and conduct of the executive power, with respect to their prodigality, as they had undergone the censure of another member for their unconstitutional conduct with respect to the countenance which they had given to the revolutionary system in the Italian states.

The main object of this celebrated report was to curtail the expenditure of the government, placing the ordinary expenses a fifth below those of the peace-establishment, and providing a resource for the extraordinaries incurred by the war. This report, which the majority of the council regarded as a manual for the re-establishment of œconomy, was considered by the directorial party as an open declaration of hostility against the proceedings of government. The public was very sensibly affected by this discordance; the confidence which the prospect of speedy peace had inspired, and which had given, amongst other marks of national prosperity, a most rapid and extraordinary rise to the public funds, immediately subsided, and distrust and apprehension filled every mind.

The report of Gilbert Desmoulières on the finances was not the only subject of alarm to the directory. A report made by Camille Jordan, on priests and public worship, was equally disapproved by them, or at least they made it an instrument to work on the prejudices of the populace. This report was liberal and tolerant, and was profusely spread throughout the departments: the chief points were, the repeal of the various laws made against the refractory priests; the use of the external signs of worship which had been formally prohibi-

ed; the re-establishment of days of festivals which had been suppressed; the annulling the obligations laid on ministers of worship to make the declaration of their allegiance to the republic; and the repeal of every judgment against priests which had not yet received their due execution. This report was therefore considered as a complete answer to the various messages of the directory complaining of the insubordination and contempt of the laws, which they alleged was publicly preached by the refractory priests in every department. Though the report had not yet been carried into effect, yet as the disposition to toleration in the councils had been strongly marked, we cannot wonder that numbers of the unfortunate clergy were induced, on this prospect, to return to their country, some with passports, and many with no authority at all.

The indulgence which was proposed to be given to the priests was also intended to be conferred on other classes who had equal claims on the humanity of government. Amidst the crowds of emigrants from France, a certain description occupied the attention of the legislature, those who fled from Toulon when the English were forced to retreat, and those who had sought refuge on the German side of the Rhine, to escape the fury of the agents of terror after the repulse of the Austrians. Of this favourable disposition of the council of five hundred towards those who were said to be the victims of terror, others, who had given a more decided proof of hostility, by bearing arms against the republic, it is said, took advantage, though it is probable the numbers of these were greatly magnified in the representations of the directory. These cir-

cumstances, however, were sufficient to enable the executive government to work on the passions of the multitude to the undoing of their opponents.

Under the affectation of alarm, at the measures of the councils, the friends of the directory formed themselves into a club, under the name of the Constitutional Circle, and endeavoured to inspire that confidence in the operation of government which it was represented to be the object of the club of Clichy to thwart or control. Before they had time, however, to take any consistency, or give any effectual support to the measures of government, a law formed on the spur of the occasion, forbidding the assembly of persons for the discussion of political question, adopted in the council of five hundred, and sanctioned by the ancients, broke up their meetings, and dissolved their association.

In the mean while the royalists were probably not inactive; but the newspapers, of this description, it is said, were multiplied with inconceivable rapidity, and the liberty of the press was claimed and enjoyed to its full extent by those who did not conceal their aversion against the constitution, and the spirit of liberty that permitted it. The government had, at various times, sent before the tribunals the authors of those rhapsodies, both of the royalist and terrorist persuasion: but as the views of both were equally hostile to government, the acquitted royalist became even the defender of the imprisoned jacobin, and the tribunals seldom found any thing worthy of punishment in the *intention* of either.

During these contests between the councils and the directory, an event took place which furnished new food for recrimination. Some of the ministers had already been
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subjected to the severe animadversion of the legislative body for malversation in their departments, and there is no doubt but the charges against them were well founded. The minister of finance was accused of having favoured the dilapidations of the commissaries of the treasury, and the minister of the marine of jacobinical incapacity in every part of the administration.

Whether the directory felt the force of those charges, or whether they were willing to wear the appearance of concession to the wishes of the legislative body, they made almost a total renewal of the ministerial corps. Benezech, the minister for home affairs, was replaced by François de Neufchateau, commissary of the executive directory in one of the departments; Charles Lacroix, minister of foreign affairs, by Talleyrand Perigord; Truguet, the minister of marine, by Pleville Pelay; Cochon and Petiet, the ministers of police and war, were dismissed, but their places were not immediately filled like those of the other ex-ministers.

In dismissing the ministers of foreign affairs, and the marine, the directory acted in conformity to the frequently pronounced opinion of the public; but the dismissal of Benezech and Cochon was considered by the anti-directorial party as a wanton stretch of power, and became the subject of the most virulent declamation, and the most bitter denunciation, both within and without the walls of the council.

If a regard to the public had hitherto restrained the feelings of the anti-directorial party within certain prudent bounds, this event filled up the measure of their resentment, which now discovered itself without disguise. The tribune of the council of five hundred became

little else than an arena for the display of the angry passions of the anti-directorial party. A member of the new-third, who had been employed as general in the south of France, particularly distinguished himself by two motions relative to the constitutional ages of general Hoche and Barras; the latter of whom was reported to have accepted the office which he held without the qualification of the forty years prescribed by the law; and the other, who was said to have been named by the directory to the war department, had not yet attained the age of thirty, which is required to be invested with the office of minister. The denunciator, however, was said to have been founded in neither of his inquiries; but the hostile intention was too clear to be misunderstood. The existence of a division in the directory was publicly proclaimed from the tribune; and it was asserted, that Barthelemy and Carnot had entered their protests on the secret registers against the measures which the directory were pursuing.

The animosity between the council and the directory had arisen to a considerable height, when another event took place which carried it to the utmost bound. This was the march of troops towards Paris within the limits which the constitution had pointed out, which was a circle of twelve leagues. The council sent a message to the directory, to inquire by what authority this infraction of the constitution had taken place? The directory, in reply, informed the council, that the troops, which had so much alarmed them, were detachments from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, who were marching for a secret and distant destination, but of whose approach to Paris within the limits

limits appointed by the constitution they were ignorant, and which, if true, could only arise from the ignorance of the subaltern officers. During these altercations, the directory applied again to the council for supplies, by a message in which they represented the great penury of the public treasury, and the extreme distress in every part of the public service, which, without the speediest assistance, would be reduced to the utmost state of disorganisation. This message met with nearly the same reception as the former, the council being too busily employed in endeavouring to correct the gross abuses too evidently committed by the executive power. To this end a law was passed, marking out the precise limits of the constitutional radius around Paris, and ordering pillars to be erected, beyond which no troops were to pass without the permission of the legislative body. As a further security against the meditated attacks of the directory, decrees were likewise passed for the organisation and arming of the national guard of Paris; and the council of the five hundred, for their more immediate security, ordered a considerable augmentation to be made in their own body-guard. In order to curtail the power of the directory in the departments, it was decreed, that the action of the civil power should be suspended in no town without the approbation of the legislative, and that no officer should be dismissed but in consequence of a legal judgment.

This contest between the chief powers of the state had lasted nearly three months, without any appearance or hopes of accommodation. In the mean time, the negotiations that were begun in Italy for a definitive peace seemed to have been

suspended; but those which were opened again at Lisle, between the French republic and the cabinet of St. James, seemed to approach towards a happy accommodation. It was, however, the interest of the Imperial court to wait the event of this conflict in France, and the directory were too deeply engaged in their domestic struggle to take any decisive measures: the negotiators in Italy, therefore, passed their time in mutual compliments and civilities, whilst the emperor was garrisoning his newly-conceded states with fresh troops.

The political horizon of Paris was growing every day more dark and portentous. The news of this contest had reached the armies, and had been echoed back in addresses to the directory, promising them support in their conflict with their enemies. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, Buonaparte made a proclamation to his army, in which he informed them, that the country was menaced with new dangers from the enemies of government within; "Let us swear," adds he, "by the manes of those who have fallen by your side in the cause of liberty; let us swear on the colours we have newly gained, implacable war to the enemies of the republic and of the constitution." These addresses from the armies were subjects of fresh alarm; and messages were sent to the directory to inquire into this infraction of the constitution, in permitting the deliberations of an armed body, and in receiving addresses from them. The explanation given by the directory to this message was referred to a commission, as well as the affair of the march of troops towards Paris, which was a subject of unfailing discussion. On this latter point the reporter, Thibaudeau, exculpated the directory from

from any culpable or unconstitutional intention; but at the same time blamed them for permitting or receiving addresses from an armed force. He represented, also, the intentions of the council as being more hostile in appearance than in reality, and offered the means of coming to a speedy and sincere reconciliation.

This reconciliation, however prompted or desired by the moderate party, was become impossible; the contest was drawing near its crisis, and could end only in the overthrow either of the three members of the executive power, Barras, Rewbel, and la Reveillière-Lepeaux, or in the defeat of the anti-directorial party in the council. The directory had hitherto stood on the defensive, denying or excusing according to the nature of the charges; but were preparing the most audacious violation of the constitution that ever was attempted by any administration. On the introduction, therefore, of the Cisalpine ambassador, and general Bernadotte, with the remainder of the colours taken from the Austrians and Venetians, they published a manifesto against their opponents, in terms of menace and contempt. In this discourse, delivered as an answer to the addresses of the ambassador and the general, the president of the directory observed, that "the eternal enemies of French liberty were redoubling in vain their exertions to overturn it; that in order to second their efforts, cowardly deserters of the republican cause, alluding to the opponents of the directory in the council, had, by a disgraceful compact, sold their honour and their country to foreign powers, and to the Bourbon race. He represented them as labouring to introduce civil war, and re-establish the monarchy

on the bleeding wrecks of the republic; that, to effect their purpose, they endeavoured to weaken the nerve of the executive power in order to demonstrate the incompatibility of a republican government, with a system capable of maintaining peace and public order, and also to find the easier means of attaining the end which they had in view; and, that to aid these designs, they had called in bands of fanatics and royalists, at a moment when the safety of the state required that the laws should be put in severest force against them." The president assured the general, whom he was addressing, "that the attempts of their enemies would be vain; that the works of darkness of those men, who were continually invoking the constitution whilst they violated it without shame, would never be consummated; and that they would, on the contrary, fall back on the heads of their authors." He assured him "that the directory would make no compromise with those enemies of the republic; would suffer themselves to be neither seduced or affrighted; that they would acknowledge no authorities but such as the constitution traced out; that every authority was unlawful that raised itself above the constitution, which was the general and equal regulator of the state; and that neither the number nor the species of their enemies should cause in them any dismay."

This speech of the directory was understood by the councils as a public declaration of hostilities; and preparations were accordingly made for the event. As it was a dispute that was to be decided by other weapons than arguments, both sides had made the necessary preparations. The addresses of the army to the directory had been counterbalanced by addresses from various admi-

administrations of departments, conveying their disapprobation; and so far as the constitution was to be regarded under such circumstances, these addresses from the army were not in conformity to the law. The constitutional radius, lately established, prevented the arrival of more troops than were sufficient for the service of Paris, the number of which was well known, and the guard of the directory was very inferior to that of the councils. The anti-directorial party, presuming on the aid of the citizens of Paris, were they to regain possession of their arms, of which they were deprived after the events of the 13th of Vendémiaire, had decreed the re-organisation of the national guard; but the Parisians having had woeful experience of the danger of mingling in those affairs, the law was regarded with the most perfect indifference.

It was not, however, on these uncertain and precarious aids, that their hopes of success were founded. As the government, in the contest of the 13th Vendémiaire, had made use of terrorists, said to have been taken from the prisons, where they had been condemned to punishment for their revolutionary offences, in order to oppose the citizens who were in the act of resisting conventional despotism, so they conceived it was equally lawful for them to make use of similar means, in order to abolish the directorial tyranny. These means had been long preparing to their hands. The advocates of the directory allege, that "crowds of emigrants filled Paris from every quarter: officers from the prince of Condé's army appeared in the public walks, and mingled in societies, where their character was known: multitudes appeared in the streets with black collars and

cuffs, the insignia of the Vendée uniform: the idea of a republic, in fashionable circles, was a heresy not to be tolerated; and every external sign indicated something like a revolution in the public mind at Paris. These emigrants, having their different connexions in that city who were of sentiments not very dissimilar to their own, had convinced them of the facility of bringing about a counter-revolution; and not being deficient in tactics, had organised a body sufficient to overcome any military force which the directory had to oppose, and to effect, so far as Paris was concerned, the purposes they had in contemplation."

That there may be some foundation for a part of these assertions is possible; that, induced by a prospect of more humane and moderate councils, some emigrants might have returned is probable; and that some hot-headed royalists might even flatter themselves with a restoration of the old regimen may also be credited; but they certainly had no connexion with the majority of the councils. The designs of the emigrants, and their friends, the resident-royalists, were certainly, as far as they went, a total subversion of the constitution and the republic: the project of the greater number of the party in the council went certainly no further than effecting a change in the directory, without changing the form of the republic; whilst a very few of the council might possibly be in league with the royalist party, and enter into the full extent of their views.

Although this party might join with the majority in the councils in pursuit of their system, the members who composed that majority were very far from entering into their views. When one of the ma-
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majority in the five hundred published a pamphlet addressed to his constituents, declaring that they were betrayed, and in the council of the ancients a member exclaimed from the tribune, that the counter-revolution was in the council of five hundred, the councils, though pressed to notice the expressions, passed to the order of the day, as if convinced that the assertions were ill founded.

Though the views of the council, however, were probably directed only to the reform of what they deemed abuses in the constitution, they considered it as absolutely necessary to remove the corrupt majority of the members of the directory; and these designs were not coloured nor concealed. During the last days of the month of Thermidor, and the beginning of the following month, daily reports were spread of attacks that were to be made, or, in the gentle language of the Parisians, accustomed to revolutions, that *mouvements* were to take place. That these movements on the side of the anti-directorials did not take place has been attributed to the indecision and division amongst their members; and that the directory should have so long retarded its operations against the party, knowing the extent of their hostility, has been ascribed to their forbearance, and wish to try every other mode rather than that of force. But the directory in reality were in no danger from these hostile projects of the councils, since they were acquainted with the plan of their intended operations, and held, as it were, the command of the military force of the party in their hand, as well as the deliberations of their committees. Whilst, therefore, by secret springs, the directory found the means

of guiding this machine, there was no danger in delaying to crush it till their own plan of re-action was matured, and till they had arranged the system of future government, after disposing of their vanquished opponents. The friends of the directory were advised of the step which they meant to take a day or two previous to the 18th of Fructidor (4th of September); but the secret was not so well kept, but that certain members of the anti-directorial party were informed in good time; and not having full reliance on the courage or conduct of their own party, had withdrawn themselves from the contest.

On the night of the 17th of Fructidor (3d of September), the guard of the directory, and the garrison of Paris, had been reinforced by bodies of troops, which made the military force on the side of the directory amount to near 10,000 men. The ministers had assembled at the Luxembourg, during the evening, to receive their instructions. Barthelemy, who refused to join in the deliberations, was put under arrest in his own apartments. Carnot, who better understood the nature of revolutionary measures, had made his escape.

Before day-break, a division of this army had taken possession of the quays, bridges, principal streets, and every avenue, or post of consequence; another division was ordered to surround the Thuilleries, and the five hundred, where the inspectors of the hall, who were among the chiefs of the anti-directorial party, were then assembled in deliberation. The division, which was ordered on this service, advanced to execute it on the side of the Champs-Élysées. General Augereau, in the name of the directory, summoned the commander of the

the post to open the iron gates of the Thuilleries. Five minutes were granted to him whilst he sent for orders: at the expiration of this time he was informed, that the gates, if not opened, should be broken down by the artillery. The grenadiers, hearing this menace, prevented its execution, by opening the passage, and leaving the garden free for the entry of the assailants. Some little show of resistance was made; but Augereau advancing to Ramel, who commanded the body-guard of the councils, and who had blamed the cowardly conduct of his soldiers, treated him with indignity, and put him under arrest. A detachment was sent to the hall, to put the members, whom they found, under arrest; in which number were the generals Pichegru and Willot, who were sent, with eleven others, to the Temple.

The whole of this business was finished before the people of Paris had risen from their beds. They were but little surprised at seeing themselves, as it were, in the midst of a camp: but the only astonishment that it excited was the tranquillity with which this event had passed.

The decisive conduct of the directory, who were more atrocious and more accustomed to the horrors of the revolution than their opponents, had determined the contest. There was no appearance of resistance in any quarter of the town; and the apprehension of the return of the bloody struggle of Vendemiaire, which was ever before the eyes of the Parisians, gave way to other sentiments; when they were informed, by numerous placards, stuck profusely on the walls in every street, that a vast royalist conspiracy had been discovered

and defeated. The deputies, who were for the most part ignorant of the events that had taken place during the night, assembled early at the usual place of their meetings to take cognisance of what had passed; but they found the seals put on the doors of the hall of the ancients; and to those who were assembled at the five hundred, an arrêté of the directory was presented, stating that the general Augereau was empowered to put the seals on the doors of the two councils; that the representatives were invited to assemble in the hall belonging to the surgeons, and the theatre of the Odeon, which were prepared for their reception.

Of the deputies who were present, and of those that came successively to the usual places of meeting, some went to the new places indicated in the arrêté, and others, either returned home to wait the event, or to find out their colleagues, to deliberate by which mode they should regulate their conduct in the present conjuncture. By the hour of noon, the ancients had assembled to the number of forty, and the five hundred to about eighty. By this time they were fully informed of the events that had taken place, and knew also that their colleagues were, for the most part, assembled at the Odeon, and its neighbourhood. Unwilling to sanction this act of the directory, which they judged illegal, they went, with their presidents at their head, to their accustomed place of meeting, and summoned the officer at the post to withdraw his guard and open the doors of their halls. On the refusal of the officer, the deputies withdrew; some of them went to join the majority; and others, who refused to submit to the invitation of the directory, assembled at the houses

houses of two of their colleagues, to protest against the measures of government. Those of the five hundred were framing this protest, when they were informed, that the president of the ancients, with all who were assembled at his house, were arrested, and sent to the Temple; on which they withdrew any further opposition, and the Odeon, and the surgical-hall, became the seats of the different branches of the legislature.

The history of this atrocious act, detailed in the way most favourable to the victors, was communicated to the people as has been already observed, by notices stuck on the walls, accompanied by an arrêté of the directory, which inflicted the pain of death on any who should propose the restitution of royalty, or of the constitution of 1793, or the placing the family of Orleans on the throne. By the same decree, the administrations of the department of the Seine, and of the municipality of Paris, were likewise temporarily suspended.

The proclamation which announced the transaction was supported by such pretended justificatory proofs as the directory had time to forge and prepare for the occasion. The principal piece was; a paper pretended to be written by M. D'Antraigues, and found at Venice in his porte-feuille. This paper, the genuineness of which was attested by the generals Buonaparte, Clark, and Berthier, contained minutes of a conversation held at Venice by this agent of Louis XVIII. with the count De Montgaillard, another agent of the coalition, in which the fabricated history of general Pichegru's connexion with the agents of the prince of Condé is detailed. In this paper it is asserted, "that find-

ing Pichegru disposed to listen to propositions, the count, in the name of Louis XVIII. and the prince of Condé, offered him the place of marshal of France, the red ribband, the government of Alsace, lands, pensions, and privileges in great profusion. The services required in return were the delivery of the fortrefs of Huningue, and his union with the prince of Condé's army to march to Paris. Pichegru, not trusting to the promises of Montgaillard, required more authentic evidence of the prince's intentions, which were procured with some difficulty, by the count, from the prince, who confirmed what Montgaillard had written. The messenger and agent of the count to Pichegru, who was an inhabitant of Neuchâtel, named Fauche-Borel, after presenting Condé's letter, and receiving Pichegru's acknowledgment, explained the conditions required by the prince, namely, the delivery of Huningue, and the march to Paris, with which Pichegru refused to comply; stating, that unwilling to make the third volume of Lafayette and Dumouriez he would do nothing rashly or incomplete. He observed to the agent, that his means were great and sure; that they had their roots not only in his army, but at Paris, in the convention, in the departments, in the armies of the generals, his colleagues, who thought like himself, that the present system must finish; that France could not exist as a republic; that there must be a king; and that king, Louis XVIII.

"To effect with security this measure, he observed, that the prince's plan was altogether ineffective; that the prince would be driven from Huningue in five days;

days; and he, Pichegru, would be ruined in a fortnight. The plan which Pichegru proposed in return was, to cross the Rhine on some day which should be indicated, after filling the strong places with his confidential officers; to proclaim the king, and hoist the white standard; to unite his army with those of Wurmser and Condé; to repass the Rhine, and, putting the strong places kept by his troops into the hands of the Imperialists, march on to Paris with the united armies, where he should be in fourteen days."

This plan, it appears from D'Antraigue's minutes, was not relished by M. de Condé; whose stupidity, and ridiculous pride, are portrayed with great indignation by the writer; who, approving of Pichegru's propositions, as leading to success nearly infallible, represents the prince of Condé as rejecting them, because, secure of the counter-revolution by other means, he would not share with the Austrian general, to whom the plan must necessarily be communicated, the glory of effecting it.

The other papers were letters of the prince de Condé to Imbert Colomés, at Lyons, represented as a principal agent of the pretender, and who was then a deputy of the five hundred, and various pieces of Duverne des Presles, the contents of which have already been stated. The authenticity of some of those pieces, it must be observed, has been doubted upon, apparently, the best grounds. The parties concerned all declared, solemnly, that the whole was a forgery, and only a stratagem of the directory to excuse their usurpations. To confirm this opinion, D'Antraigues, and Fauche-Borel, published each a denial of

the parts which are allotted to them in this conspiracy, the one as the agent, and the other as the writer of the piece that was published. To counteract the effects of this denial, it was asserted by the directory that a secret correspondence had been seized by general Moreau, at Offenbourg, on his last passage across the Rhine. This correspondence, said to be found amongst the baggage of general Klinglen, was transmitted by Moreau to the director Barthelemy, with a letter importing their contents, which reached Paris three days after the events of the eighteenth of Fructidor. These papers, which occupy about seventy printed sheets, preceded by a letter from Moreau to the minister of police, giving a history of the capture, and accounting for the delay in transmitting it, by the time taken to decypher and arrange the correspondence which he had to offer as proofs in his accusation of Pichegru as a traitor, proclaimed in his letter to Barthelemy. This immense correspondence, in which Pichegru, Wurmser, Klinglen, the prince of Condé, Mr. Wickham the english envoy, Wittersbach, and Fauche-Borel, form the principal personages, would indeed be legal evidence against the general, could we attribute any degree of authenticity to it; but though the matter remains yet unexplained, we cannot but suspect the whole to be a fabrication.

The remnants of the councils, in this complete state of degradation, having assembled each in the places allotted for them (to keep up the farce of legislation, when the constitution was no more), sent a message to inform the directory that they were installed, and to demand an account of the situation
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of the republic, and of the events which had occasioned the extraordinary measures which had been taken. To this requisition the directory replied, by sending to the council various papers, among which were those that had already been published. They observed, "that the measures which had been taken were enjoined by strong necessity; that further delay would have delivered the republic into the hands of its enemies; and after a short detail of the means by which this subversion was to have been operated, concluded by *congratulating the councils on their escape*, and asserting, that, in matters of state, extreme measures are to be appreciated only by circumstances."

A commission having been formed, consisting of five members, to consider of the measures which ought to be taken in the present crisis, presented a report, in which they sanctioned the conduct of the directory, and pointed out the means which were necessary to ensure the continuance of the public tranquillity, and the existence of the republic. They then pretended to draw a parallel between the prosperous situation of the republic, previous to the last elections, and the dangers with which it was then surrounded.

"This state," the reporter observed, "was the consequence of the vast conspiracy, the object of which was the destruction of liberty, and the re-establishment of the ancient order of things. This conspiracy," he asserted, "had its seat in the legislative body; but that the number of these conspirators was not great, though their influence was extensive. One of the measures of this party, and which they succeeded in carrying into execution, he said, was to deprive the execu-

tive power of the moral and constitutional means of carrying on its functions; to arraign every part of its conduct; and, by degrees, deprive it of each of its prerogatives, and thus bring it to dissolution. It was this last crisis which the *wisdom* and *activity* of the directory had averted." As such was the position of things, the committee suggested that great and vigorous measures should be taken. "The members of the council ought," it was observed, "to consider themselves as on the field of battle, where the contending powers were the friends and enemies of liberty and the republic; that having struck the first stroke, no time was to be lost in securing the victory, which was to be done by disarming the enemy, and sending them away forever from a republic which was the object of their detestation, and which they were leagued to destroy." This abject commission, after declaring its abhorrence of sanguinary measures, and at the same time under the necessity of taking such steps as should not commit the safety of the state, proposed to the council the punishment of exile for such as they should deem objects of the public vengeance, as agents or accomplices in the present conspiracy; which measure should be also extended to the emigrants who had re-entered, and to the priests who refused submission to the laws of the republic.

After reading the report of the committee, a series of propositions were affected to be submitted to the *discussion* of the council founded on the report. These propositions were adopted, after a few amendments, which consisted chiefly of exceptions made to the article which contained the names of those who were condemned to banishment.

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The preamble to this series consisted of various considerations, such as "the constant pursuit of the plan laid down in the instructions of the conspirators, Brothier, Duverne des Presses, and the other agents of the pretender, disseminated throughout the republic; whereby the primary and electoral assemblies had been directed and seduced in their choice; that, excepting in a few instances, where the energy of the republicans had neutralised their attempts, the late elections had not only filled the departmental administrations, but also the late third of the legislature, with emigrants, with rebel-leaders, and confirmed royalists; that the constitution was attacked by a part of those who were expressly called to defend it, and against which no precautions had been taken; that it was impossible to defend it, without recourse to extraordinary measures; and that, to crush the existing conspiracy, and prevent the general effusion of blood, it was the duty of the council to examine the attempts brought against the constitution from the month of Prairial preceding, and to take such further measures as should secure the liberty and happiness of the people from further danger."

In consequence of these considerations, the council (if such in its present state it ought to be called) decreed, among other articles, that the operations of the primary assemblies, communal and electoral, of forty-nine departments*, were unlawful and void; that the persons named to public employments by the

primary, communal, or electoral assemblies of these departments, including the members of the legislative body, should forthwith cease their functions; that the directory should be empowered to fill up the vacancies in the tribunal; that those dispositions of the exclusive law of the third Brumaire, which had been repealed in favour of the relations of emigrants, should be revoked, and the law re-established against them till four years after the peace; and that, during this space, they should not be permitted to vote in the primary assemblies, nor be named electors.

Thus, in the first instance, the representatives of the people were outraged by an armed force, in direct violation of the constitution; and in the second, the people themselves were robbed of their rights and privileges by an act of tyranny, as gross and as illegal as any thing which was exclaimed against in the former government. Whatever be the political sentiments of any man, who reads this account, we must pronounce him no friend to liberty, who sanctions or approves so direct a violation of every thing which ought to be sacred in the eyes of those who profess themselves the votaries of freedom. From this moment posterity will date the decline and fall of the French republic; since the men, who thus insulted every sound and virtuous principle, proved themselves afterwards as incapable in the exercise of power as they were daring in assuming it.

The 13th article contains the

* These departments were l'Ain, l'Ardèche, l'Arriège, l'Aube, l'Aveyron, Bouches du Rhône, Calvados, Charente, Cher, Côtes d'Or, Côtes du Nord, Dordogne, l'Eure, Eure et Loire, Gironde, Herault, Ille et Vilaine, Indre et Loire, Loire, Haute Loire, Loire Inférieure, Loiret, Manche, Marne, Mayenne, Mont Blanc, Morbihan, Moselle, les Deux Nethes, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas de Calais, Puy de Dôme, Bas Rhin, Haut Rhin, Rhône, Haute Saône, Saône et Loire, Sarthe, Seine Inférieure, Seine et Marne, Seine et Oise, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vaucluse, Yonne.

names* of those who were to be transported, to the number of sixty-five; of whom fifty-three were members of the two councils; and the two directors, Barthelemy and Carnot: the place of their exile was to be determined by the directory, and their property to be sequestered till authentic proof was received of their arrival at the place of banishment. It was further enacted, that the emigrants who had entered the republic to solicit their erasure from the list, and who were not definitively struck off, should leave the republic in a limited time; that those who were detained in prison, and who had forfeited their lives, should be banished; that the law lately made to recall the banished priests was repealed; that the directory was invested with the power of sending away, by decrees individually no-

tified, such priests as disturbed the public peace; and that the oath to be taken in future should be that of hatred to royalty and anarchy, and of attachment to the republic and the present constitution. Punishments were likewise decreed against any of the constituted authorities which should not punctually execute the laws in this respect. Various new regulations were made in the administration of justice. The remainder of the family of Bourbon were expelled, and their estates confiscated; the directory being charged to designate the place of their banishment, and allow them a revenue out of their estates. To evince the further regard for liberty in these despicable tyrants, the *newspapers* and *other periodical publications* were placed under the *inspection* of the *police* for the term of a year. The law

* DU CONSEIL DES CINQ-CENTS.

Aubry	Duplantier	Noailles
J. J. Aimé dit Job Aimé	Duprat	André (de la Lozere)
Bayard	Gibert Desmolières	Mac-Curtain
Blain (des Bouches du Rhone)	Henry Larivière	Pavie
Boissy d'Anglas	Imbert Colomés	Pastoret
Borne	Camille Jordan	Pichegru
Bourdon (de l'Oise)	Jourdan (André Joseph, Bouches du Rhone)	Polissart
Cadroi	Gau	Praire Montaud
Couchery	Lacarrière	Quatremère Quincy
Delahaye (de la Seine Infér.)	Lemarchand Gomicourt	Saladin
Delarue	Lemerer	Simeon
Doumère	Merfan	Vanvilliers
Dumolard	Madier	Vienot Vaublanc
	Maillard	Villaret Joyeuse
		Willot.

DU CONSEIL DES ANCIENS.

Barbé Marbois	Laumont	Portalis
Dumas	Muraire	Rovere
Ferrant Vaillant	Murinais	Tronfon Ducoudray.
Laffon Ladebat	Paradis	

Carnot, directeur
Barthelemy, directeur
Brottier, ex-abbé
Lavillheurnois, ex-magistrat
Duverne Dupratle, dit Dunan
Cochon, ex-ministre de la police
Dossouville, ex-employé à la police

Miranda, general
Morgan, general
Suard, journaliste
Mailhe, ex-conventionel
Ramel, commandant des grenadiers du corps législatif.

against popular societies was repealed, as well as those respecting the organisation of the national guard, and the prohibition which had been laid on the directory of suspending the civil authority, or putting a commune in a state of siege.

These propositions being sent to the council of the ancients, a discussion ensued respecting certain clauses, and chiefly on that article which contained the list of persons designated by the five hundred to banishment. The directory perceiving this hesitation, sent a message, or more properly, in the present state of things, an order to the council of five hundred, representing the *danger of delay*, and exhorting them to imitate the conduct which they had observed; to let no metaphysical discussion respecting principles interrupt the speedy course of national *justice*; that being placed in the most singular of positions, they could not apply the ordinary rules of the constitution, unless they wished to deliver up the republic to its enemies. "If the friends of kings find friends amongst you, if slaves can meet protectors, if you delay an instant, despair of the salvation of France, shut up the book of the constitution, and tell the patriots

that the knell of the republic has tolled." This message was immediately sent by the five hundred to the ancients, and the propositions passed into a law without further opposition.

Supposing the assertions of the directory to have been (what they were not) proved, still, if they had had any regard to that *justice* which was upon their lips, but not in their conduct, surely some greater discrimination ought to have been made in the fate of those who were marked out as objects of punishment. Had the council of elders not been degraded to the lowest pitch, more proof would have been required than the mere list of names, which the council of five hundred sent up, to convince them that Tronçon-Ducoudray, Simeon, and Portalis, were implicated in the same crimes with Brothier, Duverne des Presles, and Lavilleheurnois, the avowed agents of Louis; or that Barthelemy the director, and Cochon the ex-minister of police, ought to share the punishment of Rovere and Miranda; the one the chief actor in the murders of Avignon, and the other an indefatigable but imprudent instrument in the conspiracies of every party.

CHAP. XII.

Messages of the Directory on the Mode of raising Supplies, and on the filling up the Vacancies in the Directory. Banishment of the Journalists. Nomination to the Directory. Disorders in the South. Recall of the French Negotiators at Lisle. Mission of others. Departure of Lord Malmesbury. Absurd Account of Lord Malmesbury's Mission published in the Official Papers of the French Government. Reflections on the forged Letter. Final Close of the Negotiation between the French Republic and England. Negotiation with the Emperor for definitive Treaty. Supposed Causes of the Delay in the Negotiations during the Summer. Treaty of Peace concluded at Campo-Formio. Principal Conditions of the Treaty. Pacification with the Empire—referred to a Congress. Surrender of Venice to the Emperor.

Emperor. Despair of the Venetian Patriots. Portugal. Treaty of Peace negotiated by Portugal with France during the Summer—dissolved. Imprisonment of the Portuguese Ambassador. Embiguity of the Conduct of the Spanish Court. Disaffection and Inefficacy of the Allies of the French Republic. Affairs of Holland. Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, with the King of Sardinia. Reflections on Clauses in the late Treaties. Proclamations of the Directory against the English Government. Review made by the French Government of the Conduct of the Neutral Powers during the War. Of Switzerland. Decree of the Directory demanding the Expulsion of the English Ambassador to the Helvetic Confederacy. Departure of the English Ambassador. Object of his Mission at Berne said to be discovered in Pichegru's Correspondence. Deputies from the Senate of Berne to Paris ordered to leave the Republic. Deputies from the United States of America. Reflections on the Conduct of the American Government. Contemptuous Sentiments of the French Government towards the new President of the United States. Probable Failure of the pending Negotiation. Vote of Supplies for the ensuing Year. Report on further restraining Laws respecting the former Nobles. Propositions of the Committee—rejected with Indignation. State of the Church. Meeting of a National Ecclesiastical Council. Retrospect of Ecclesiastical Affairs during the last Year. Theophilanthropism. Report on the present State of the Catholic Religion in France—In Corsica—In the French West India Islands. Religious State of the freed Negroes—Negro General, Toussaint l'Ouverture—In the French Colonies in South America—In the Mauritius—In the East Indies—In the Levant—At Constantinople. Sentiments of the Fathers of the Gallican Church, with respect to the Papal See. Support of the Papal See by Protestant Establishments. Probable Causes of this Support. The Sects in Germany. Dispositions of some Lutherans to enter the Bosom of the Catholic Church. State of Popery in other Parts of the World. Reflections of the Bishop of Blois on the approaching Regeneration of Mankind. Proceedings of the Council. Plan and Conditions of the religious Pacification. Reflections on the Articles enjoined by the Council. Civil State of the Colonies in the West Indies. Views of the French Government on the Colonisation of the Coasts of Africa. Meeting of the Congress at Radstadt. Affairs of the Cisalpine Republic. Letters of Buonaparte to the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. Departure of Buonaparte from Italy. Opening of the Cisalpine Legislature. Reflections on the State of Italy. Provisional Formation of Ancona into a Republic. Journey of Buonaparte through Switzerland and Radstadt to Paris. Sketch of his Victories. Presentation of the Ratification of the Treaty by the Emperor to the Directory.

THE directory after having, with the aid of the councils, thus disposed of its enemies, sent a message to solicit the legislature to remedy the evils which they pretended had taken place during the time of the ascendancy of the popular party in the government; but which, in reality, had resulted

from their own profligacy, prodigality, and mismanagement. The evil which required the speediest remedy was the state of finance.

The specific remedies which the directory proposed were the immediate regulation and provision for the expenses of the ensuing year; an augmentation of taxes on

collateral successions; farming the post, and suppressing franking; re-establishing the national lottery; erecting turnpikes; a further duty on stamps; a duty on paper; but chiefly the mobilisation of the national debt; reducing the real stock to one-third, payable in money, and the other two-thirds in *bons*, to be taken in payment for national lands.

Leaving these propositions to the reflection of the councils, the directory sent another message, to engage them to fill up the vacancies which existed in their department by the exclusion of Carnot and Barthelemy. During their deliberation in the choice of individuals, the councils employed themselves in scrutinising the political morality of a class of citizens, whose influence in spreading the principles of the counter-revolution had been active and extensive. These were the editors of newspapers. Sixty-seven of these journalists were presented by the commission, instituted for that purpose, as worthy of the animadversion of the legislature. Of these, two were, on the plea of intention, excused; twenty-three were referred to the committee for further examination; and the remainder were ordered to be banished from the republic to whatever place should be pointed out by the directory, under nearly the same regulations as the late members of the councils. As a further measure to secure the power of the usurpers, the exclusion of ex-nobles from places of public trust and employment was proposed; but the measure being judged more revolutionary than the circumstances of the time required, the motion was sent to a commission, to undergo mature consideration, and to discover if the project were useful.

The vacant places in the directory were filled up by Merlin, the minister of justice, and Francis de Neufchâteau, the minister for home affairs. The former occupied the place of Barthelemy, who was elected for the space of five years; the other replaced Carnot, whose office, according to the constitution, was to be determined by lot. The places of the new directors in the ministry were filled up by two citizens but little known; one of whom was Letourneur, ex-commissary of the directory at Nantes, who was named minister for home-affairs; and the other by Lambrechts, the commissary at Brussels, who was appointed minister of justice. The vacancies made in the councils by banishment, and the exclusion of the greater number of the newly elected third, were left open to the elections which, according to the constitution, were to take place in the ensuing month of Germinal.

The southern departments of the republic partook of the convulsion of Paris at the same period, but in an opposite manner. Lyons and Montauban had long been marked for their affection to royalty, or perhaps for their opposition to tyranny under the name of republicanism. The success of the anti-directorial party, in the councils, had invigorated their hopes; and it was asserted that serious preparations had been made for the restoration of the ancient order of things; preparations that were probably directed by individuals of that party, but with which there is no evidence that the majority of the proscribed members were even acquainted.

One of the first operations of the new directory was the recall of the French commissaries, Letourneur, Maret, and Pelet-Pleville, from
Lille,

Lille, where they had been treating, during three months, with the negotiator for the English court, lord Malmesbury. These men were replaced by Treilhard and Bonnier (11th September), who were instructed to demand categorically, whether the English negotiator were invested with sufficient powers to restore to the French republic, and its allies, all the possessions which, from the beginning of the war, had fallen into the hands of the English? and that, if he were not invested with such powers, he should leave the place of negotiation in twenty-four hours. The answer given by lord Malmesbury was followed by his leaving Lille, agreeably to the orders of the directory. The French plenipotentiaries, previous to his departure, informed him, that they had received orders to remain at Lille till the 25th Vendemiaire (16th October), to await his return with more ample instructions. Such was the first proof which the usurpers gave of their abilities as statesmen. They had it, at this moment, in their power to establish their republic, in the very zenith of its power, in peace with all the world; but, by this rash step, they laid the foundation of all the disasters which France has incurred, and is likely to incur till the ancient despotism shall be re-established by a foreign force.

During the last negotiation at Paris, the directory had published the correspondence at the moment it took place. In the present negotiation they had been more reserved; and, as if the whole had been considered by them as a stratagem of the English government to take advantage only of the disturbed situation of the republic, and furnish a pretext for waiting

the chance of events, a letter was published in the official papers of the directory, and understood to proceed from an high authority, which pretended to unveil the motives of the negotiator; but which, in fact, was a most lame apology for the misconduct and folly of the Gallic directory.

This letter (written by M. Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs) is entitled, "A Letter from Lord Malmesbury to Lord ———, forgotten at Lille." In the letter, lord Malmesbury gives a picture of the favourable situation of France; of the ascendancy of the counter-revolutionary party; of the influence of priests, royalists, emigrants, newspaper-writers, and the anti-directorial party in the two councils; stating, that, under such circumstances, when the republic had scarcely a month to exist, a treaty for peace would have been unpardonable, had his powers been ever so unlimited. The writer of this letter, after amusing himself by detailing the mode in which lord Malmesbury is supposed to have acted in order to gain time; such as dwelling on the preliminaries, the considerations, and the projects of the treaty; with immense hiatus for the cessions that were to be made to England by France, and its allies, which were to be the subjects of endless debates; represents lord Malmesbury as agreeing to the propositions of the *status ante bellum*, with the reserve only of keeping such and such possessions, which are found to be nearly the whole which England had obtained during the war.

This mode of giving information to the public was justly considered as insulting and contemptuous, both towards the principals and agents in the English negotiation,

tion, and was in fact an affront on the people of France. In the mean while lord Malmesbury published his history of the affair, by giving such extracts of the letters that passed during the negotiation as served to prove the moderation of the British cabinet, and showed its earnestness for peace.

The newly appointed negotiators remained the limited time at Lisle, under pretence of waiting the return of lord Malmesbury, which they might have been at first assured would not take place; and of which they were afterwards informed by a letter from his lordship from London, stating, that he had communicated their note to the British minister, and was ordered to acquaint them that his leaving Lisle was in consequence of the positive orders of the directory; that his powers were neither illusive, nor limited; that nothing had been omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation; and that its suspension was the act of the directory alone. With respect to the mode of resuming the negotiation, his lordship observed, that his answer had already been made; but that in any case no further intercourse could take place till the directory had given some assurance that the persons of future negotiators would be secure of the respect observed among *civilised* nations.

The negotiations with the emperor were apparently attended with better success. The negotiation had dragged on for several months at Udine, and numerous civilities had passed between the French and Austrian generals: the emperor's troops took quiet possession of Istria and Venetian Dalmatia. At length the emperor finding himself not in a state to renew hostilities, or satisfied with the concessions of the

French, formally acceded to the desired pacification. This event took place at the village of Campo Formio, near Udine, the 17th of October. By this treaty the emperor ceded to the French his former possessions in the Low Countries, and confirmed to them the possession of the islands in the Levant, which belonged at that time to the Venetians, such as Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and the islands adjacent. The emperor likewise ceded the whole of his dominions in Italy, and acknowledged the Cisalpine republic, confirming the possession of the additional territory lately belonging to the pope, and which now formed part of that republic. For these important cessions the French republic consented to yield to the emperor Venice, and the whole of the Venetian territory, excepting the islands above mentioned, passing in a line from the Tirol, through the lake of Guarda, along the Adige to the Po. As this treaty was concluded by the emperor, only as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the empire with the French republic was referred to a congress, to be held at Radstat, composed only of plenipotentiaries from those respective powers.

Of this treaty, the ecclesiastical princes on the left of the Rhine, and Venice, were made the sacrifices. The right of the French to dispose thus of the Venetian territory has been justly the subject of serious animadversion. Not only had the people of those states indulged the idea that they had exchanged their oligarchical regimen for the blessings of a free government, but they had named in almost every commune provisional authorities, and taken every previous step for the formation of a republic founded

founded on equal rights. This idea was confirmed by the conduct of the French government, which, though it did not formally recognise any of these democratic authorities, appeared at least to yield its tacit approbation to the dispositions which gave them birth. It was therefore with bursts of indignation and despair that the partisans of liberty heard of that article of the treaty which consigned them to a more severe despotism than that from which they had hoped to have escaped for ever; and, in the first transports of their rage at seeing these hopes blasted, resistance against the double tyranny that betrayed and enchained them was proclaimed as a sacred duty.

It is said, on good authority, that Buonaparte yielded with reluctance to this sacrifice; but the directory, to whose mean policy he had sacrificed his laurels, showed themselves as little mindful of the liberty of others as of that of their own people.

The British government was now the only efficient member that remained of the famous coalition, composed of almost the whole of the powers of Europe. The influence of the cabinet of St. James's, however, was sufficiently strong to keep Portugal within the limits of the coalition treaty. An ambassador from this government had been employed in Paris during the summer, in negotiating a separate peace; and had actually concluded a treaty on the 10th of August, which was to be ratified in two months; one of the articles of which was an obligation on Her Most Faithful Majesty not to admit more than six armed vessels at one time into her ports. This treaty not being ratified within the time prescribed, the directory, by a declaration, the preamble of which stated,

“that instead of observing the above-mentioned article, the queen of Portugal had put the forts and principal ports into the possession of the English,” declared it null and void, and ordered the ambassador M. D’Aranjo to quit the republic. The ambassador did not follow this injunction; but having become the dupe of some diplomatic intriguers, through whose pretended influence with the French government he had been flattered with the hopes of renewing the negotiation, was sent as a state prisoner to the prison of the Temple; and thus the directory gave a proof that they were as little attentive to the law of nations, as to those which their own convention had instituted.

Against this power the French government had presumed, that Spain, the ally of the republic, would have employed its unoccupied forces; and the invasion of Portugal was long publicly discussed as an event near at hand. But it cannot appear strange to those who reflect on the nature of the alliance between Spain and France, and on the event of the naval combat with the English off Cape St. Vincent, that mutual court civilities between Spain and Portugal should supersede all ideas of war and hostile invasion. Of the efficacy of such an ally of the French republic, Portugal formed, no doubt, a just estimation. At the time of the signature of the treaty at Paris, the harbour of Cadiz was blocked up by an inferior force, and the town itself bombarded. It is true that but little damage was done by this act of hostility; but as an act of suffering it was thought sufficient evidence from the Spanish court of its fidelity to the alliance; and Portugal, independent of more weighty considerations, returned to its

its duty, finding that little more was to be feared from its vicinity to a power, that, so far from showing hostile dispositions, seemed reluctant to act even on the defensive.

It was indeed hitherto the fate of the French republic, from whatever cause it proceeded, to find its allies not only ineffective in every point where their aid was required, but always unfortunate enough to afford essential aid and benefit to the common enemy. Spain, instead of invading Portugal, had swelled the naval list of the enemy. Holland, after seeing herself successively stripped of her richest possessions in the Indies, increased also, at this period (October), the triumph and force of the British at home, by the loss of the greater part of her fleet. No examination has taken place into the conduct of the officers who commanded this expedition, although the circumstances were such as demanded the most speedy and thorough investigation. That the victory should have remained on the side of the English, with even an inferiority of number, excites no surprise to those who are acquainted with the valour and dexterity of British seamen: but when the only injury which could be done to the British fleet in this quarter was the keeping them exposed to the accidents of the seas, while the Dutch navy rode safe in harbour, the order given by the committee of government for sailing, contrary to the advice of the admiral, who foresaw and warned them of the danger, appears to have been an act of unwarrantable presumption and folly, if it be attributed to no cause more culpable.

While the affairs of Holland are thus, connectedly with our observations on the allies of France,

brought under our consideration, it may not be improper to give a short view of her political situation at this period. After a considerable time spent in forming such a code as should conciliate the interests of each contending party in Holland, the constitution presented to the people, during the summer, as the result of the labours of the convention, was rejected, almost unanimously, notwithstanding the exhortations of the French minister, who, speaking the language of the directory, was anxious to see the government of Holland settled on some certain basis. By some it was disapproved, for reasons which to them would have rendered any constitution, built on the principles of liberty, obnoxious; but the vast majority, the multitude, threw it aside; some on the ground, that no other change was made than a transfer of a division of the power of the late stadtholder among patrician chiefs, who, by intrigue or corruption, would be always careful to hold the reins of power, though under the form of a popular election; while others objected to the principle of federalism, on which the constitution rested; whereby the late provinces continued to have their distinctive interests, instead of becoming amalgamated into one equally represented republic. The constitution being rejected, and the convention dissolved, a legislative assembly was chosen, composed, indeed, of less obnoxious members than the former, but still containing that leaven, which, in the end, so fermented the mass, as to produce one of those explosions not uncommon in the infancy of popular governments.

The French republic, at this period, concluded a treaty with another

ther ex-member of the coalition, the king of Sardinia, by forming an alliance, offensive and defensive; the base of which was, the furnishing 9,000 troops and ten pieces of cannon, in exchange for the protection of the republic. The price of protection was but little. There was another condition of the treaty far more singular. The king of Sardinia had just quelled a popular insurrection of a most dangerous nature in his states, an insurrection founded on the pretext of the rights of man: the insurgents had been defeated, and severely punished; but as power might not always have the same good fortune, the guarantee of the *status quo* with respect to the Piedmontese government was required from the French. It is also remarkable, that one of the articles of peace with another ex-member of the coalition, the emperor, bound the republic to guarantee the internal tranquillity of the Austrian dominions! Whether it be more extraordinary, in these august monarchs, to have enjoined the French, by treaty, to protect their own states against the progress of republican principles, or in these republicans to have had the complaisance to consent to this singular engagement, it is perhaps difficult to decide.

The peace with the emperor was followed by an arrêté of the directory, of a very different tendency, with regard to England. In a short proclamation, addressed to the armies, the directory observed, "that although so much had been done, so many kings conquered, so many people set free, and the republic itself established by the valour of its arms, yet the country expected still one more sacrifice; since the enemy who had been the

original cause of all the horrors and miseries which they had suffered, both from foreign and civil war, remained yet to be crushed; and that the safety of the republic was endangered whilst the English government remained." This strange preamble was followed by two resolutions, stating that an army should be assembled on the coasts of the channel, under the name of the *Army of England*; and that Buonaparte should be appointed commander in chief.

The manifesto issued by the English court on the rupture of the negotiations at Lisle was answered by another proclamation (20th of November), of the same tendency with the former, containing also strictures on the speech from the throne on the opening of the session of parliament. The mode of answering this manifesto of the English cabinet was the subject of long deliberation with the directory. The manifesto itself contained grave and serious matter; and as the last appeal of the English government to the nation, and to all Europe, of the justice of the cause in which it was engaged, and which was now to be decided only by the fortune of arms, was worthy of a serious reply. An answer, it was reported, had been prepared by a person high in office, in which the assertions contained in the manifesto were brought forward and examined. But the directory, either aware of the weakness of its cause, or elated by that insufferable vanity which has ruined their country, and affecting to think that all further discussion was beneath the dignity of the republic, satisfied themselves with issuing another proclamation, composed by one of their own members, in which menace was substituted

stituted for argument, and bluster for discussion. It may be observed, that in this, as in former proclamations, the directory were careful to keep up the line of distinction between the government and the people of England; and while the cabinet of St. James's was treated in terms of unmeasured contempt and contumely, the people were signified as objects of respect and attention. The "*great nation*" was held forth as the avenger of the world; and, relying on the assistance which would be found in the discontented of every party, and who were represented as either groaning under their chains, or struggling for release, the speediest, the most worthy of the various means that were presented of humbling that tyranny, was the march of the army of England to dictate at London the terms of peace!!!

Happily they could only threaten, or rather rail at England; other powers were more exposed to their tyranny and rapacity; and unhappy Switzerland was now marked as the object of their plunder. To colour their aggression, they began with asserting, "that Switzerland had, during the war, been the constant scene of counter-revolutionary intrigue, and that every protection had been openly afforded to the avowed enemies of the French republic; particularly in the catholic cantons, Soleure and Fribourg, lying on the borders of France; and above all, at Berne, the most powerful canton of the Helvetic body." The first insult openly given was demanding from the Helvetic confederacy the expulsion of Mr. Wickham, the English ambassador. For this measure, the excuse was, certain passages in the correspondence, which they pretended had fallen into the hands of general

Moreau. From this correspondence, it was endeavoured to be proved, that Mr. Wickham, under the name of Bruin, or Bruet, was the general paymaster of the various intrigues and *espionage* that had been carried on; the principal end of which was, the defection of general Pichegru; and various ludicrous details are given of the pilfering plots entered into by the subalterns, upon the presumption, as stated by the editors, that the principals in this intrigue had their due share of the general plunder. The senate of Berne had scarcely time to dispatch their messenger to Paris, to remonstrate with the directory, when Mr. Wickham saved them further embarrassment by producing his letters of recall. The deputies, who were sent from Berne to remonstrate, were ordered to quit Paris in a limited time, and their conference with the members of government led them to no flattering conclusions with respect to the permanence even of that external friendship which had hitherto existed between the cantons and the French republic.

The next neutral state to whom the directory chose to display their insolence was the United States of America. The ministers from these states, who were sent over in consequence of the refusal of the French government to treat with Mr. Pinkney, were permitted to remain quietly at Paris, but were refused all audience. We have already stated the grounds of the misunderstanding between the two republics, the chief of which was the favourable treaty concluded with England. Had the directory resented this slight, as they supposed it, in a manly way, they would have, at least, acted an honourable, though not a prudent part; but the
mode

mode in which they are said to have carried on the negotiation would have been disgraceful to any set of men, except a horde of banditti. — We allude to the proposal of levying a contribution on the United States, as the price of their forbearance.

It was our intention to have given a detail of these transactions; but the late events in France, the accusation of the minister Talleyrand, and of the directors Reubel, La Revellière, and Merlin, will throw fresh light upon this point of history, and will enable us, in the succeeding volume, to give the whole transaction with truth and correctness.

We return again to the domestic affairs of the French republic. The supplies for the ensuing year were voted to the amount of six hundred and sixteen millions of livres *tournois* (25,666,660*l.* sterling), of which two hundred and twenty-eight millions were acquitted by the land tax, and the rest made up by taxes placed on different articles, or saved from the suppression of privileges, such as that of franking, and other economical arrangements; such as farming the posts and the public carriages; and by the conversion, or rather reduction, of the national debt; by which last, however, little gain accrued to the nation, and the semblance, if not the reality, of great injustice was committed on the individual.

It has been already observed, that a motion made by a member in the heat of proscription, for an examination into the political state of the *ci-devant* nobles, had been saved from final rejection by being sent to a commission. The motion was considered at the time as the offspring of an heated imagination, and every one supposed that it would

scarcely survive the breath of the mover. It was nevertheless fostered with great care, and in a month after was issued into the world, under the sanction of several names of considerable revolutionary weight, who, as a commission, had taken it into deep consideration. The motion had been afterwards generalised, and worked up into two problems; the solution of which formed the report of the commission. Of these problems, one was an inquiry, what were the measures of ostracism, exile, and expulsion, the most suitable to the principles of justice and liberty, and the most fitted to consolidate the republic? and the other, after predicating that such an opposition had arisen between the legislative body and the directory, that the progress of the government had been impeded, and the commonwealth put into danger, what were the most politic and regular means the most capable of preventing such a crisis, and of re-establishing the constitutional march of the respective powers? The reporter likewise stated, that the commission was charged to present measures respecting the *ci-devant* nobles, which appeared, from the peroration and the conclusion of the report, to have been the only object that had occupied the attention of the commission, as holding forth something of actual proscription; whilst the problems were things of airy and metaphysical research, the solution of which would be made when there was a necessity for the application. In the present case, the objects were near at hand. The reporter, after inviting the council of five hundred to consider “that every species of privileged nobility was incompatible with the existence of a republic; that the nobles

bles were in a state of foreign and civil war to regain their titles, the end of which was the annihilation of the republic, and the extermination of republicans, asserted, that it was necessary to take such measures against them as should put an end to this war, or prevent its fatal effects; that such measures were commanded by the most imperious and pressing of all necessities, the preservation of the body, civil and politic; that they were no way derogatory to the fundamental compact which the nobles never thought binding; and that they were measures of national justice, as well as public safety;" proposed in different articles, such a general ostracismal proscription of the different classes of the former nobility as, from its enormity, excited the ridicule or indignation of every party. It was admitted, on all sides, that some repressive measures were necessary; but this sweeping ban had far outstretched the speculation even of the wildest revolutionary projectors. Of the necessity of the crisis of the 18th of Fructidor, a considerable body avowed their conviction, though some of the indiscriminate measures that followed excited murmurs, even amongst its advocates; but on this new measure, which, like the tail of the comet, swelling to a million times beyond the bulk of the body, from which it pended, "shook pestilence from its horrent hair," there were no different feelings, either of indignation or terror; the universality of the public voice was heard against it, and those who had been most loud in echoing to the skies the salvation of the republic, from the 18th of Fructidor, were most forward in consigning this measure to final reprobation, as replete even with counter-revolution-

nary matter, and such, for its atrocity, as Robespierre himself would never have attempted. During the printing of the report, and the delay granted as usual for examination, before the discussion took place, the public indignation had risen to its height; motions were made in the council to hasten the day of discussion, that justice might be done to the measure; but the commission seeing, by the signs of the times, that a discussion might probably lead to other measures than the rejection of their report and project, very prudently made an apology, and withdrew it from further public consideration.

Amidst these civil commotions, the fathers of the Gallican church had assembled in national council, to deliberate on a mode or plan of conciliation to repair and cement such genuine parts of this venerable edifice as had been shattered by the rude and savage hand of persecuting power. By this plan, they also hoped to gather into one common fold, those who, agreeing in the unity of faith, had separated from them on certain points, in which each individual became his own guide; since the church, not having foreseen the desolation which would attend it in these later times, had made no prescriptive regulations for the conduct of the faithful, whose fate it should be to fall on such "evil tongues and evil days." No one, whatever be his religious or political creed, except his mind be hardened by the fanaticism of irreligion, blinded by that ignorance which the cant of infidelity has termed "the age of reason," can behold without sensibility an assembly of pious and sincere witnesses to the truth of the doctrines they professed, creeping out of their hiding places after the storm

storm of jacobinical fury, like the Christians of the first ages, after the *philosophical* proscriptions they suffered in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and fifteenth persecutions, under the administration of Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Mark Aurelius, and Julian; and behold them looking over the wreck of the visible church, driven by the tempest on the rocks, anxious to gather up the fragments wherewith to fit out the bark with which they hoped to steer safely into port. The meeting of this council had been prepared by the labours of divers bishops, who, after the reign of terror, had assembled in Paris for the purpose of giving provisionary instruction. These exhortations were set forth in two encyclical letters, which, till the period of this national council, had been the chief rule of discipline to such of the faithful as acknowledged the spiritual authority of those ecclesiastics who had conformed to the constitutional laws respecting public worship. The object of the labours for which these divines assembled, according to the report of Gregoire, the bishop of Blois, was to obtain the liberty of public worship, and its re-organisation throughout the republic; to reconcile, if possible, the non-juring clergy, and re-establish, as far as was practicable, their communion, as well with the holy see as with the foreign churches. In the struggle with ignorance and sceptical fanaticism, it appears that Gregoire stood single in the convention; and it is not without a smile that we find that body, after a long debate, deciding or rejecting the motion for toleration of the catholic worship, on the assurance of a member, that the cardinal of Lorrain, in person, loaded the carabine of Charles IX. for the

murder of the protestants, on St. Bartholomew's day; "an historical event," observes the bishop, "which the member could only have learnt from the theatre, in a miserable tragedy written by Chenier, since the cardinal was at that time at Rome, three hundred leagues distance;" but the statement roused the indignation of the assembly, who, lifting up their hats, and crying "long live the republic!" concluded, that the church and state could not exist together, however disunited.

Whilst this persecution was exercising against the catholic church, Gregoire stood for some time single against the torrent, publishing exhortations and pastoral letters; but the cry for public worship becoming general, the legislature were compelled to grant universal toleration. This abundant toleration, the republicans assert, introduced into France a swarm of non-juring and disaffected priests; but although the conforming clergy stood in a very different point of view with respect to the republic, the undiscerning and ignorant multitude classed them under the same description, and the name of priest became an odious imputation. As it was contrary to the law to proscribe opinion, or interrupt the course of public worship, as long as the members conformed to the regulations demanded by the law, those who were most zealous for the entire abolition of the catholic religion projected another means of effecting their purpose, by the establishment of a counter-religion, called Theophilanthropism. This sect sprung up in silence, and was at first composed of a select number, who assembled in private houses for the purpose of religious worship, confining the object to one Supreme Being, in contradiction to what they deemed

deemed the polytheism of the catholic faith, without altar, offering, or priest. This sect is stated, by the bishop of Blois, to have taken its origin from an attempt of the same kind, made in London twenty years since; but it is likely that these sectaries never heard of this attempt. The project of establishing a system of worship under the name of *Die-coles*, by Voltaire, long before that period, and the dedication inscribed on the parish church which he built at Ferney, were subjects better known, and more fitted to account for the origin of the present profession of faith, than the obscure establishment of a deistical sect in England, which is stated to have fallen at its birth. A worship so simple in its form and doctrine was likely to attract notice were it from no other cause than its opposition to the pomp and mysticism of the catholic faith and ceremonies. Some from conviction of the truth of this new creed, and others from hatred to the old, became supporters of the Theophilanthropical religion.

The new government, after the revolution of the 4th of September, found this doctrine a better instrument to crush the old faith than laws or arrêtés, which had more of power than persuasion, and therefore became its zealous advocates; and a member of the directory, who is also member of the national institute, Larevellière Lepeaux, read an essay, which he afterwards published, on national festivals, in which he asserted that the catholic religion was hostile to reason and to liberty. The assertion was neither new nor uncommon, nor did the authority of a directory give it more than its due weight; but it was answered by Gregoire at the time, with his usual warmth and eloquence, who considered the asser-

tion as a libel on the national character: the controversy went no further. The sect continued to increase, as would any other absurdity under the sanction of the ruling powers; and they at length took possession of the public churches, hitherto exclusively possessed by the catholics; where, according to mutual or municipal regulations for the observance of these discordant services, with respect to the hours of public worship, the offering of the wheaten-ear and the bouquet of flowers to the divinity was followed or preceded by the mystic and sumptuous rites of the Romish church. The silly attempt has, however, we believe, already fallen into total discredit; and, whatever may be the political changes which may take place in France, we apprehend that popery will stand its ground on the old foundation of the religion of their fathers, under the name of Christianity, until the time come when the discovery of the real and genuine doctrines of the latter shall bring into one fold both those who are anxious for truth, and those, also, whom presumption or ignorance lead, at present, to deny its existence.

To return to the assembly of the Gallican church.—The past and present state of the church was laid before this venerable body. The fire of the late persecution, whilst it had vitrified the faith of some had melted away the constancy of others. Amongst the instances of apostacy laid before the council was the marriage of nine bishops. Twelve other bishops had formally abdicated their episcopal seats, or refused to fill them; eight had perished on the scaffold, and thirteen had died natural deaths. Of the new departments in the south of France, two bishops had emigrated, those

those of Porentrui and Nice; and that of Avignon had not assumed his functions. In the newly united departments of the north, four bishops had emigrated, and three had died natural deaths; the other two were only titular. Of the emigrant bishops, it appears that forty had died in foreign countries: one, the bishop of Dol, had been shot as a rebel at Quiberon; and others, it appeared, had held ecclesiastical synods in different countries, and been active promoters of counter-revolutionary projects against the republic.

When the episcopal seats were vacant in various places, presbyteries were formed, whose office it was to hasten the nomination of bishops. Of fourteen presbyteries, three only had followed the mode prescribed in the encyclical letters, published the preceding year. Some few dioceses, that had neither formed presbyteries, nor named bishops, were under the direction of some other kind of administration, and fifteen others remained without any spiritual government or administration whatever. To re-organise public worship and ecclesiastical government throughout the republic was an arduous and difficult task. For this purpose, extensive correspondences were established; periodical publications, such as the annals of religion, were circulated; and societies formed in imitation of the Teylerian society at Harlem: many works were published, and many were in the way of publication, among which was the Bishop of Landaff's Apology for the Bible.

After attempting to re-organise the administration of the church, the next solicitude of these bishops was to attempt to call back their non-conforming brethren, for which purpose they were invit-

ed, by a circular letter, to join in the council. The general answers given to this invitation were comprised in a few words; such as "wolves, forswearers, intruders, robbers, heretics, schismatics." Of these indignant sons of the church, Camille Jourdan had been the apologist, by stating, that, in the papers sent to the council of five hundred by the directory, the commission had not found that the non-jurors had formed more opposition to the laws than the conforming clergy. The reporter had probably not read the papers; for the account of the bishop of Blois is very different. "I am perhaps the only one," says Gregoire, "who has had the patience to read over the enormous collection of about three thousand packets, laid before the council. To prevent the sale of the national lands, and the payment of taxes; to give protection to deserters and emigrants; to hinder the young men from repairing to the service of their country; to order the cutting down the trees of liberty; to tread under foot the characteristic signs of liberty; to be in an habitual state of planning conspiracies; to trouble the peace of families; to preach hatred and vengeance against the conformists; is the analysis of this voluminous collection."

Such was the ecclesiastical state of France previous to the holding of this national council. From the report made of the state of the church, with respect to the colonies and foreign missions, it appears that Corsica, which before the revolution was under the spiritual jurisdiction of five bishops, had now but one. In the number of the faithful which this island contains, is a colony of Greeks, descendants of the ancient Spartans, who emigrated from that classic

country at the close of the last century, and who had shaken off their spiritual allegiance from their superior, the Greek archbishop of the college of St. Athanasius, at Rome, at the epoch of taking the civil oath, and had put themselves under the guidance of the new bishop of their diocese. The church in the West Indies, particularly in St. Domingo, had partaken of the commotions of that colony, of which twelve priests had divided the ecclesiastical labours. The apostle of that colony, as well as its civil deliverer, appears to have been the negro general, Toussaint Louverture, who, "by his Christian virtues, his attachment to liberty, and his military talents, merits universal esteem." This general, who has been called the man predicted by the abbé Raynal, as the avenger of his race, and their redeemer from slavery (and who was him-

self a slave at the time of the revolution), had published a proclamation* which breathes a spirit of piety scarcely expected to be found in a general, much less in the sable commander of negro armies.

Of the Spanish part of St. Domingo ceded to the French by the late treaty, the archbishop, who appeared inclined to favour the convocation of a national council, had been translated from thence to a richer bishoprick in Mexico. The inhabitants of the other islands in the West Indies had been too much occupied about their physical and political existence to pay due attention to spiritual concerns; but in the French settlements in South America, Cayenne, and Guiana, the progress of religion among the Indians, as related by father Jacquemin, who resided upwards of twenty years in those parts, is not less pleasing to the political œcono-

* "Brethren and friends, beware of thinking that in any circumstance, in which success has crowned my undertakings, I have had the vain presumption of attributing the glory to myself. The light of religion, that sure and faithful guide of my conduct, has always shown me to whom I was indebted—to God!—to that infinite Being, by whom we live and move, whose power extends over the whole of the human race, and whose invisible hand guides and governs the universe. If the example which I gave you had been sufficient to fix in your hearts the love of that Being who has heaped on us so many benefits, I should not now have been compelled to have awakened in you again the remembrance of them.

"After seeing yourselves lightened of those fetters beneath which you have so long time groaned, and after having recovered your rights, you may, perhaps, in the delirium of your joy, have attributed your change of condition to human means alone; but if such has been your blindness, open your eyes; and be assured, that the will and act which have accomplished the revolution that has shaken off from your necks, and those of your fellow sufferers, the shameful yoke, are of God alone: his beneficence and justice has placed you again in the rank of men: study to practise and fulfil your duties as well towards him as towards society, of which you now form a portion. It is therefore time that you should persuade yourselves of the indispensable necessity of acknowledging two objects to which you owe veneration, submission, and affection; these two objects are, God and the law.

"Officers and soldiers of the army, the first of your duties is to honour God, the next to serve your country. The first obligation consists not only in the observation of a worship which all nations of the earth are agreed to render to the Supreme Being, you must join to this external mark of respect the exercise of every virtue: let your example lead those over whom you may have influence to the remembrance of a religion which they seem to have forgotten, and inspire them with sentiments necessary to the purity of morals, without which the re-establishment of order and peace will become impossible: let your example especially, and, if it be necessary, your authority, correct that frantic passion of gaming, the fatal effects of which are not less frequently attended with the loss of honour than with that of life, &c. &c."

mist,

mist, as the means of spreading civilisation and knowledge, than it is affecting to the pious mind, solicitous for the cultivation of those sentiments which give their just value to both.

With the other colonies belonging to the French in Africa and Asia little communication had taken place. The administrators of the islands of the Mauritius had sold the estates of their clergy, and had paid them regularly their pensions. One of these islands had ten priests, but the morals of the people were not in the highest state of purity; another had twelve, and the harvest of piety was abundant. They were formerly under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Paris, but at present acknowledged no supremacy.

Such is the present state of the catholic faith in the countries dependent on France. Of the welfare and prosperity of the church in foreign parts, the destruction of the seminary of foreign missions at Paris, and the irreparable loss of the manuscripts and correspondence belonging to that society, together with the interruption necessarily occasioned by the war, leave this part of its modern history imperfect. In the eastern part of the world, according to a memorial presented to the constituent assembly, there was at that epoch six French bishops, and thirty-eight priests, who superintended six colleges, and were assisted by Indian acolytes, and catechumens. The establishment of Pondicherry maintained besides two bishops, nineteen missionaries, and a college. At Camboya, Siam, Tunguin, and Pegu, there were also missionaries, and about three hundred thousand believers. From the impossibility of communication with the east, for the reasons above mentioned, the report made to the

council with respect to the missionaries in China is a transcript from the interesting voyage written by sir George Staunton, and the reporter has not lost sight of the tribute of praise paid by that elegant writer to the humanity of these missionaries, in the double salvation which they offer to exposed infants, nor failed to put in contrast the effects of the precepts and practice of the gospel, with the ferocity of paganism, and the ignorance of those European philosophers who boast the superior mildness of its institutions, and the beneficence of its laws.

Of the different religious establishments in the east, on the shores of the Mediterranean, little has been learnt. The Christian college of Damascus is praised by the vicar of the Holy Land; but all in that quarter have not, it appears, the same claim to his approbation. At Grand Cairo, the Latin and Greek priests share the same church, and live together in mutual charity and toleration. This liberty of worship, it seems, reposes on a charter granted by Mahomet, or which made part of a treaty concluded at that period with the Christians. This treaty has been spoken of by various publicists. A copy now existing in Paris has been translated very lately, and the printing of it in the French and Arabic, with a preface establishing its authenticity, was begun at the presses of the republic. Behenam, a Chaldee priest of Mosul, near ancient Nineveh, and who is now in Paris, asserts, that the original of this treaty is in the hands of the religious order of the Jacobites. Application had been made to the late apostolical vicar of Babylon, who is now gone as consul to Mascat in Arabia, and to Gallois, a consul at Bagdad, as well as others, to make diligent

search. Information on this subject has been since gained; and it is highly probable, that this object of research, the original treaty, is now existing at Deir-Afferem, the residence of the Jacobite patriarch, near Merdin.

At Smyrna and Constantinople, there were eleven or twelve establishments, of which the Lazaristes composed the principal part. Of these missionaries, little that is favourable is related. At the epoch of the revolution, quarrels civil and religious arose between the different members of these societies, in which the Porte interposed by shutting up their houses at Constantinople, and placing them temporarily under the direction of the Turkish minister of police. When the late ambassador, Aubert Dubayet, arrived at Constantinople, the establishments were put into his possession; and as no good account could be given of the civism of the missionaries, the keys were remitted to two Ex-jesuits, who resided in that city. The religious establishments were filled up by Ex-jesuits of good reputation, who were scattered over the Levant. A French church was opened at Constantinople; and the reis-essendi, in giving the orders, testified the interest he took in this act of religious toleration.

While the expenses of these missionaries were defrayed from funds that were consecrated for that purpose, the views of their mission were in general religiously fulfilled; but, as the propagation of the catholic faith is no longer among the first objects of French government, it can scarcely be expected that zeal on the part of the faithful will entirely compensate for indifference on the part of the governors.

These establishments are, however, not very burdensome; from

the last accounts of the expenditure, the whole did not amount annually to more than 280,000 livres, 11,666 pounds sterling. Whether the government will countenance these spiritual embassies, from political motives, is uncertain. These missionaries have already rendered valuable services to science and literature; and it must be regretted that these sources of knowledge are now shut up to Europe.

In this interesting struggle of the catholic church, with the torrent that is pouring in on it from every side from infidelity, nothing is more amusing to a serious bystander than to witness the hesitations, the deference, the decisions, and the various conflicts between pious prejudice and manly resolve, which agitate the breasts of these venerable fathers, when they look towards the author and finisher of their faith, the holy see. The learned reporter, in order to excuse the schisms of the constitutional clergy from the authority of the court of Rome, which the pope has characterised in his bulls and briefs by heretical rebellion, has quoted the authorities of former schismatics, such as Melchior Canus, in his advice to the emperor Charles V.; of Bessarion to the council of Florence, and even of St. Bernard; of the opposition made by the Italian bishops to the late bull *autorem fidei*, against which, when sent to the council of Castille to obtain the *exequatur*, protests had been made by the Gallican bishops, and had counteracted, though with extreme difficulty, its effects. Emboldened by these authorities, which sanctioned their opposition to the authority of the holy see, they turn the arms of the church against the holy father himself, and quote the observation
of

of an English writer, who proves, from the famous bull *in cœna Domini*, that the pope having received into his port the vessels of the English, who were heretics, and given them aid, is himself excommunicated, without power of absolution, even at death, but by another pope; for such are the decisions of this bull.

Whether the pope has incurred this penalty or not, it appears that, latterly, the holy father had thrown a look of tenderness over the distracted state of the church, and even before the late treaty of peace had shown a disposition to put an end to the troubles that divided it. Secret correspondences had been carried on for that purpose, which it was not prudent to make public; and had the government of France shown itself liberal and tolerant, religious as well as civil harmony would probably have been restored.

As the reporter is convinced that the catholic religion, well understood, is the exclusive friend of all free governments, he congratulates the councils on its progress in Southern America, where there are many learned bishops and priests. In protestant countries in Europe, besides those already mentioned, it appears that chapels are opened in Sweden, and mass has lately been celebrated at Stockholm, for the first time these 200 years past. In Russia, a catholic archbishop has been established at Mohilow, who, it appears, is but little disposed to yield to the invasions of the court of Rome. In some part of the catholic cantons of Switzerland, the light is piercing, in others the darkness is yet visible. In the northern parts of Italy, the regeneration is making hasty strides. In Naples and Portugal the suspicious of government have prevented almost all correspondence; but in Spain a

new order of things is arising favourable both to religion and liberty, of which motives of prudence prevent at present the publication.

The learned bishop, after detailing the various difficulties which had occurred in the convocation of this national council, from the novelty and danger of the circumstances, and the situation in which they were placed, closed his interesting report with an eloquent peroration to the venerable assembly of reverend fathers:—"The political world is shaken to its centre; the inquisition and despotism, tyranny, civil and religious, are crumbling to the dust; although sufficient data be not laid down to indicate the exact term, or calculate the total result of this general shock impressed on the world, which enlightened men, even among the Jews, consider as the forerunners of changes yet more strange and eventful. The whole of prophecy is now accomplishing: it is not for us to know the time and the moment; nevertheless, from the appearance of the natural and moral phenomena which present themselves to our eyes, the Christian is compelled to concentrate his thoughts, to ask if the epoch be not near in which the catholic religion shall enlighten the whole of the new world; when the descendants of the gentiles among us (the race of modern infidels), shall be deprived of the lights of the gospel, which they have abused; when the remains of the tribe of Israel, whom the breath of God has scattered over the face of the earth, shall acknowledge him whom they have pierced, and shall become a consolation to the church."

The first acts of the council were the publication of a synodical letter to the pastors, and to the faithful,

on the means of establishing religious peace; and a letter to the bishops and priests resident in France, in the same spirit of Christian charity. As the primary object of the council was to lay down a plan of general pacification, these reverend fathers proceeded methodically to inquire what ought to be the nature of the plan of conciliation? to whom this union ought to be proposed? in what spirit, and on what points they ought to agree? what ought to be the conditions of the pacification? and whether it were necessary to address it to the pope, and likewise to the bishops of foreign churches. These various topics underwent long examination. The first article respecting the nature of the plan was vague and indistinct; the base of it was stated to be the three virtues, of charity, justice, and truth, and proportioned to the extent of the evils that had desolated the Gallican church. The next, which relates to the individuals and bodies that should be invited to compose this union, was more precise and specific. The emigrant priests were excluded from necessity, being in a state of banishment; and of those who resided in France, the majority remained under the interdict, as long as they persisted in their refusal to submit to the laws of the republic. With respect to the points on which they ought to agree, and the spirit in which they were to act, it was proposed that a general oblivion should cover all former dissensions, and that the acknowledged tenets of the church should be the prescribed articles of belief. As to the means of pacification, it was accorded as a general rule, that all pastors and priests, who should remain faithful to their vocation, should be called, without distinction, to the exercise of the

ministry, whatever might have been their opinions on the questions which have divided the church of France. The bishops of foreign churches were to be presented with the decree of reconciliation; and the article of the submission of the plan to the pope was conceived in a spirit of entire subjection. The Gallican church, after protesting its inviolable attachment to the C. A. R. Church, acknowledges that the pope is by divine right the visible chief; and that he thereby has the primacy of honour and jurisdiction; that the members of it profess all the dogmas received by the catholic church, and condemn all the errors which it has proscribed.

Amidst the great and extraordinary events which were taking place in Europe, the situation of the French possessions in more distant parts of the world have not escaped our attention. After the defeat of the rebels, mentioned in our last, it appears that the colony of St. Domingo began to assume an aspect of order and cultivation. The conduct of the commissary Santhonax had been the subject of violent debates in the legislature, previous to the 18th of Fructidor; and the influence of the anti-directorial party had weighed down every evidence that was attempted to be adduced in favour of his administration. It would be too long, and, for the purposes of general history, too tedious to enter into the detail of the conflict which took place between the various parties; but, since the re-establishment of order, and the re-organisation of the government, the negroes, it appears, by official papers, have returned to labour; the habitations that have been destroyed were rebuilt; and the plantations that had been desolated have

have again been turned to considerable profit. The official report made of the actual state of the colony was confirmed by the acknowledgement of a member of the upper council, since banished, whose information was not, therefore, to be suspected. The negroes indent themselves for terms, or take their wages in kind, or share in the produce according to previous agreements made with the proprietor; and humanity, according to these reports, is no longer wounded by the most terrible spectacle of human misery.

The pacification of the French republic with the empire had been adjourned by the treaty of Campo Formio to the congress of Radstadt. The meeting of this congress was represented as big with the fate of Europe. It was asserted that an assemblage of the representatives of such high and mighty powers, interested or connected with the empire, would form an epoch much more remarkable in history than that of the treaty of Westphalia; that the foundations of a lasting peace would be laid by the further sanction about to be given by the French republic under the protection of the house of Austria to the integrality of the empire, agreeably to the preliminaries of peace signed at Leoben; and that the pretensions of the French would be checked or awed by such an union of will and power, if any dispositions of further aggrandisement were discovered. The plenipotentiaries from various powers had already assembled, whilst Buonaparte, who had waited in Italy till the mutual ratification of the treaty with the emperor had taken place, was employed in planning or arranging the governments which he had formed. The Cisalpine republic, into which general

name had sunk the provisional Cispadane, and Transpadane republics, had taken the French constitution for their guide. The organisation of the different departments of this new state had been arranged under the direction of Buonaparte, and the places of trust and dignity had been filled agreeably to his nomination. For this exercise of power, the general apologises in a letter which he addresses to the Cisalpine people on his leaving their territory, in which he informs them, "that the inconveniences which may arise from his fallibility in having sometimes mistaken the intriguer for the man of worth are much less than would have arisen had he left the nomination to themselves before they were yet organised." He moreover observed to them, "that they were the first example in history of a people who had become free without factions, revolutions, or commotions; that as France had given them liberty, they should learn how to preserve it; that being next to France, the most populous and richest republic in Europe, they should learn how to preserve that liberty, by becoming worthy of their high destiny, in making only wise and moderate laws, and executing them with force and energy; by favouring the spread of knowledge, and respecting the rights of conscience." He advised them also to make up the military force of their country, not with vagrants or dissolute men, but with citizens imbued with the principles of the republic, and immediately attached to the prosperity of their country. He observed, "that divided and bowed down for so many years, under the yoke of slavery, they would never have acquired their liberty; but with regulations like these, in a few years, were they

left to themselves, no power on earth would take it from them; that till that period France would protect them against the attacks of their neighbours, and that her political system would be united to their own:" he finished by remarking, "that in order to consolidate their liberty, and with the view only of their prosperity and happiness, he had undertaken a task which could hitherto have been inspired only by ambition and the love of power; that he was then about to leave them to return only by the orders of his government, or if any imminent danger awaited their republic, for whose glory in every place, wherever the service of his country should call him, he should entertain the most sincere affection and the most anxious solicitude."

Buonaparte left Italy at the moment when the Cisalpine government was duly installed (20 Nov.).

The opening of the Cisalpine legislature presented nearly the same scenes as had been witnessed in France at the first sittings of the constituent assembly. Although it is said that Buonaparte had exercised his best judgment in the election of the individuals who composed these bodies, they were found, when assembled, to form but an heterogeneous mass; discordant in their views and sentiments, and jealous and suspicious of each other. Ignorant of the true landmarks of liberty, some enacted the parts of the Paris jacobins, and made absurd and inexecutable propositions; others, justly affrighted at the exaggeration of their colleagues, made counterpropositions of tendencies so different, as to incur, with no measured terms, the disapprobation of the republican party. Discordant as they were in their opinions and

sentiments respecting each other, all parties in the legislative assemblies united against the executive power. This jealousy of the executive power, which is a virtue in a despotic state, where every thing torn from that power is an addition to the liberties of the people, becomes a political vice of the most dangerous kind when it is exercised against the executive power of a free state. If in despotic governments this power cannot be too weak, so in free governments, which are regulated by precise and written laws, it can hardly be too strong, while it does not violate the strict letter of the law; and force thus tempered, especially in the beginning of new governments, is one of the most essential and important attributes of liberty.

Among the conquests in the expedition against the pope, it must be remembered that the port of Ancona, in the Adriatic, was an object of no small moment. By the treaty, this port and its dependencies were to remain in the possession of the French till the continental peace. By this treaty, as the peace had taken place, Ancona ought to have been restored to the holy see. It had, however, been too long under the tutorage of the French not to have unlearned most of its habitual feelings of reverential allegiance. The people of Ancona, probably stimulated by a French party or the French government, declared themselves sovereign, and communicated their resolve to be free, and their will to form themselves into a representative government under the protection of France, to the French general, who commanded in that quarter, and who instantly acceded to the wish, and proclaimed the free and independent republic of Ancona. The republic of St. Marino

Marino underwent also, at this period, a revolution; and the power and patronage of the state, which had hitherto been concentrated in the hands of the nobles, was now distributed in equal portions among the council of the state.

The journey of Buonaparte through Switzerland would have resembled a triumph, had his vanity corresponded with the eagerness of homage; he arrived at Rad-

stadt, where he found the plenipotentiaries assembled, and where he exchanged with count Meerfeldt the ratification of the treaty of peace with the court of Vienna. As soon as this ceremony had taken place, he departed from Radstadt for Paris, leaving behind him the commissaries Treilhard and Bonnier to represent the republic in the congress that was to open on the first of January ensuing.

CHAP. XIII.

Affairs of Rome. Treaty of Tolentino. Embarrassments of the Papal Government. Extreme Poverty of the Treasury. The Subjects of the Pope compelled to contribute the whole of their Plate. Secretary of State, Cardinal Busca, dismissed. Cardinal Doria appointed to that Office. Revolutionary Movements in different Parts of the Papal Dominions. Embassy from Spain to the Pope. Indisposition of the Pope. Various Candidates for the Tiara. Indignation of the People against the Nephews of the Pope. Clergy obliged to render in an Account of their Possessions. Joseph Buonaparte sent as Ambassador to Rome. Popular Tumult at Rome. General Duphot killed. The Pope and his Ministry innocent of the Murder. Melancholy Consequences of this Affair. French Directory make it an Excuse for overturning the Government. March of General Berthier. Insurrection of the People at Rome. The Roman Republic proclaimed. Flight of the Cardinals, &c. Extraordinary Escape of Cardinal Maury. Rapacity and indiscriminate Oppression on the Part of the French. Pope confined to his Palace. Fortunes of his Nephews confiscated. Review of the Causes which precipitated the Decline and Fall of the Papal Authority. Disaffection of certain Catholic Princes. Conduct of the Protestant Powers towards the Pope. Disputes with the French Clergy previous to the Revolution. Conduct of the Pope after that Event. His Conduct after his Abdication. Removed from Rome. Happy and respectable in Retirement. His Character. Reflexions on the Revolution and the new Government established by the French at Rome.

IN the history of the past year, the most prominent figure in the canvas, and the first in order of time, is that assemblage of temporal and spiritual power, the papal see; which, after repeated struggles against dissolution, of which slight sketches have been given in our preceding history, now sunk into, at least, a temporary annihilation. The rise and progress of this

mighty empire, which held so wide a dominion over the human race, and whose influence not only directed the affairs of earth, but pervaded the invisible world, has often swelled the page of the historian. The annals of history have indeed frequently been little else than records of the tyranny of this church; and its decline, and possibly its fall, at this portentous season

son of reformation and change, are no less worthy of attention. We have already given the details of the negotiations between the French republic and the pope; and we shall proceed to record the events which took place at Rome, from the period when Buonaparte signed the treaty at Tolentino, to that when the Roman senate and people were again proclaimed at the capitol.

Buonaparte, after having given another respite to the holy see, by the signature of that treaty, left the dominions of the pope in possession of a small portion of his army till the articles of the treaty were executed. During the negotiation the pope struck with terror, and expecting that no further freedom could be extended towards him, had made preparations for flight to Naples, with such of his treasures as could be conveniently transported. All was anarchy and confusion at Rome till the news of peace arrived; when the pontiff was turned from his purpose of escape, and the people were consoled, or insulted, with processions, prayers, and priestly imprecations against the French.

Although peace had prolonged the political existence of the holy see, it had nevertheless been left in extreme embarrassment. The pope, whose conduct had been lately marked by a series of follies, became almost an object of compassion. His counter-revolutionary hopes were now utterly overthrown; three of his provinces were irremediably lost; his coffers were empty; his subjects discontented; and every apparent resource exhausted by the exactions which had already been made to pay the tribute of the armistice granted by the French the last summer. But in order to execute the present treaty, it was necessary to make new

exertions, and mournful edicts were accordingly published the week that followed the signing of the peace, in which the holy father, after calling to the remembrance of his subjects, that having in the last season of calamity demanded the whole of their plate, he had contented himself with half; he must now, when circumstances were more critical, as every one well knew, be compelled to request, that within three days the other half might be carried to the pontifical treasury.

The issuing of this edict was one of the last labours of the secretary of state, the cardinal Busca, whose impolicy had again involved the holy see in calamities, and nearly accomplished its ruin. This sacrifice of the secretary was a necessary homage both to the French and Spanish ministers; the latter of whom, the chevalier D'Azara, a statesman of consummate skill and wisdom, had withdrawn himself to Florence at the time when he discovered the ruinous policy that directed the operations of the papal cabinet, in opposition to those wise and conciliatory measures which he had proposed as mediator between the French republic and the holy see. It was difficult among the cardinals to name a successor to this high office who should prove agreeable to the French government, since almost the whole of the sacred college were conscious how little claim they had from this consideration. The choice fell at length on cardinal Doria, who, although united by family ties to the Neapolitan minister at Rome, the marquis del Vasto, who was the soul of that party which had directed the late measures, had nevertheless always lived on terms of intimacy with the ministers, both of France and Spain. This minister, though a sensible and upright man,

man, had neither the experience nor the energy which the circumstances of the times required; but no power or skill were perhaps sufficient to repair so disordered a machine: the chief merit of his short administration was, that he did not accelerate its dissolution.

The symptoms of this dissolution had long since appeared, and the peace of Tolentino, far from averting, had only added to the public penury and discontent. A revolutionary or fanatical spirit had pervaded the ecclesiastical state in all its parts. While in the jurisdiction of Ancone, at Macenta, Yesi, and Monte St. Elpidio, frequent insurrections took place against the French, which were quelled only by shedding torrents of blood, the inhabitants of the duchy of Urbino are said to have expressed a degree of horror at the idea of returning under the papal yoke; and the provinces situated nearer to the capital, little anxious to conceal their treason, expressed their wishes of re-union to the Cispadane republic.

Although his catholic majesty had conceived great indignation against the holy see on account of the contempt shown to the mediation of D'Azara, nevertheless, from motives of attachment to the person of the pope, and of religious respect for his sacred authority, he permitted his ambassador to return again to Rome. The reigning party at Madrid took advantage also of this renewal of filial affection in the king to rid themselves of two priests, the archbishops of Seville and Seleucia, whose influence and conduct were supposed to have been an obstacle to their plans. These prelates, together with the cardinal Lorenzano, archbishop of Toledo, formed the embassy to Rome, to compliment the pope,

and aid him with their counsels. The archbishop of Toledo, a man of exemplary life and manners, undertook the journey from apostolical motives; the two others, D'Espuig and Musquiz, the last of whom was the queen's confessor, annexed imaginary ideas of great importance to their mission, which they had sought from motives of personal ambition. A residence of a few months convinced those two prelates, that their embassy, which had occasioned so much speculation both in Italy and Spain, would prove fruitless and unavailing with respect to their designs. They returned to Spain, leaving behind them the archbishop of Toledo, who, like an affectionate son, followed his father to the end of his temporal career, consoling him by his presence, amidst all his distresses and troubles.

The long series of mortification through which the pope had lately passed, affected his health so much, that at this period his life was despaired of; and though his office was become an object of dangerous ambition, various cardinals put themselves forward as candidates for the tiara. His unexpected recovery disappointed their hopes, as well as those of the Roman people, who were wearied with so long and extraordinary a reign, and who flattered themselves that a change would terminate, or, at least, allay their miseries. This disaffection was principally manifested towards his nephew, the duke of Braschi. Amongst the chief subjects of discontent against Pius VI., was his extravagant fondness for his nephews. The duke of Braschi had long been loaded with the spoils and execrations of the people, before the spirit of revolution had prevailed among them. Their curses were not only deep, but now uttered

tered in a tone so loud, that the duke was compelled to quit Rome with precipitation. Insurrectionary placards were stuck up at his palace; French airs were sung in public; revolutionary witticisms were heard in every quarter; and the political death of the holy see was mentioned as an event which would speedily take place, since, it was profanely observed, to "be at that time in the act of receiving extreme unction."

The reins of government had of late been so loosely held, that these marks of popular indignation had been left unnoticed, or at least unrestrained. Little comparative danger was to have been apprehended from those excesses, since the means of insurrection were wanting among so enervated a people; but the court, which had remained, as it were, a passive spectator of those disorders, began about the middle of the summer to change its operations, and became tyrannical through fear. The garrison of St. Angelo was at once changed and augmented; the castle furnished with ammunition and provisions, as if about to undergo a siege; and troops were distributed in different quarters of the town. The detestable French system of suspicion became at Rome the order of the day; many of the inhabitants were arrested and imprisoned as suspected; the people, whose only consolation under the miseries which they felt was the liberty of murmuring against them, were indignant at being deprived of this last comfort, and boldly declared that the last hour of the holy see was come.

This revolutionary spirit, which no papal edicts could charm, and which the chains and dungeons of St. Angelo could but little repress, was aided by the pecuniary embarrassments of the state. The *cedole*,

or paper-money, had already lost half their value, when the government was obliged to make another emission of this discredited currency. The contributions exacted by the French at the treaty of Tolentino had exhausted every private and public coffer; and the riches of the clergy now remained the only resource. But how form any attempts against that sacred and inviolable property? The profane touch of Joseph II. had so alarmed the pontiff in an early part of his reign, that he had undertaken a journey from Rome to Vienna, to reclaim the wanderer, and assert the privileges of the church. Long had the thunder of the vatican rolled against the sacrilegious horrors of the French legislature, and against that spirit of injustice which had dared to confound the treasure of the church with that of the state. Could it then be imagined that that authority which had been most strenuously exercised in opposing such daring innovations, that the head of the church itself, that he who was specially chosen to be the guardian of its sacred rights, should become himself the violator? Such were the inquiring murmurs of the astonished clergy when they beheld the edict which enjoined them, both secular and regular, to present a detailed account of their possessions, and to advance, by way of loan, a sixth part of their value to the exigencies of the state.

This sacrilegious innovation raised a host of new enemies, and these the most dangerous against the holy see. The pope, whenever he appeared in public, was received with marks of disapprobation. Several of the cardinals were also insulted; but the public rage continued to be chiefly pointed at his nephew, on whom was lavished every expression of indignation and contempt. The spirit

spirit of insubordination gained ground; political conspiracies were daily formed, amongst which that of the students at Rome appeared the most prominent. The arrests and imprisonments, which sometimes took place, only served to aggravate the evil. The government had fallen into too much contempt to be greatly the object of fear; and the pope, without having exercised any act of severity, which the circumstances of the times might have in some measure justified, was reduced to the undeserved and distressing state of suspicious tyrants.

It was in this distracted situation of affairs, that Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of the general, entered Rome, as ambassador from the French republic. The peace of Campo Formio, which had just been signed, left no further hopes of Austrian interference; and the pope yielded without hesitation to various reclamations made by the French minister; among which were, the reduction of his troops, the release of those inhabitants of Rome and foreigners who had been imprisoned for their political opinions, the clearing the ecclesiastical state from French emigrants, and the dismissal of the Austrian general, Provera, sent by the court of Vienna for the papal service.

The presence of Joseph Buonaparte, who is represented as mild and gentle in his manners, unlike those ferocious emissaries of the French government who have been commonly sent under the form of commissaries and diplomatic agents, to serve, or rather disgrace the cause of the republic in the eyes of Europe; excited new hopes of happier days and serener times to the chiefs of the Roman government.

• But although a momentary calm appeared on the French horizon, the storm was gathering in the Cis-

alpine republic. The refusal or delay of the holy see to acknowledge its political existence, was deemed a sufficient motive to threaten a declaration of war; and the promise of acknowledgement, extorted by the menace, served only to awaken new claims, which though obsolete and absurd from their antiquity, being founded on transactions between pope Stephen and king Pepin, served as a pretext for the claimants to seize on the fort St. Leon, of which they gained possession after a bloody resistance from the militia and armed peasantry of the vicinage. The orators proceeded no further on their march; a brief, in form, acknowledging the existence, and expressing a desire to live in good understanding with the new republic, recommended by the French minister, put a stop to further hostilities, against which the pontiff could have made no long or effectual resistance, even had he not already reached the end of the papal career.

There was nothing at this epoch (28 December), either in the conduct of the people or the government, which threatened its immediate subversion. Both had been of late so much accustomed to suffering and mortifications, that they seemed to feel adversity but lightly. The government had softened greatly its late severity; and the people had fallen from accents of rage and clamor into their habitual murmurs. The partisans of the French revolution were numerous; but the class the most respectable, and most dreaded by the government, the moderate and reasoning party, manifested no symptoms of extraordinary discontent; and the vigilance of the police was deemed sufficient to restrain the turbulent dispositions of the rest. But notwithstanding this

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apparent tranquillity, a few fanatics had conceived the idea that a revolution might easily be effected; and three persons addressed themselves to the French ambassador (26th December), to inform him of their intentions, and inquire if the French government would protect their revolution when once effected. The ambassador rejected their overtures, and peremptorily enjoined them never to come again into his presence with such projects, of which he displayed to them the folly and impracticability. The following day, however, a tumult took place near the quarter of the Villa de Medicis, in which two of the pope's dragoons were killed by the insurgents, assembled to the number of a hundred. These were afterwards dispersed; many were arrested; and as the French cockade, which they had assumed, wore the appearance of French support or connivance, the ambassador hastened the next morning (28th December) to the secretary of state, to give in the list of those who, employed in his service or placed under his protection, had the right of wearing it; requesting that every other person by whom it was worn might be punished. Six of the insurgents had taken refuge in the jurisdiction of the palace of France; these the ambassador consented also to give up, that no doubt might remain with respect to his conduct or intentions, and that their impunity might not encourage others.

While this interlocution was taking place between the two ministers, the popular tumult, if such name could be given to the small number who had put themselves in insurrection, became more serious; and at the close of the day the gates of the French palace were entered by twenty persons, one of whom, a French artist, vehemently demanded

the aid of the French republic, as their liberty was now assured. The minister, struck with his insolent temerity, ordered him, with his comrades, to quit the palace, assuring them, that unless they instantly obeyed he would take severe measures against them. The military officers who were with the minister remonstrated also with them on the folly and rashness of their conduct. Meanwhile the tumult increased without, and the cry of the republic and the Roman people was echoed through the courts of the palace, and along the adjoining streets.

The French officers who were with the ambassador proposed to drive the insurgents from the jurisdiction of the palace by force; but the minister, judging that his authority would be sufficient to determine their departure, put on the insignia of his office, with the intention, as he spoke the Italian language, of addressing the multitude. His pacific intentions were prevented by a discharge of musketry, which proceeded from a party of cavalry, who, in traversing the jurisdiction of the palace, had fired on the insurgents in the court. The ambassador advanced between the insurgents and the military at a moment when a company of infantry were about to continue the fire, and, demanding by what authority they violated his jurisdiction, forced them to a momentary retreat. Returning to the insurgents in the court of the palace, who were advancing as the troops fell back, he menaced them with the sabres of the military who accompanied him, if they proceeded further. A second discharge from the pope's soldiers, which passed over the heads of the French, but killed those who were in the rear, led the ambassador to divide his small force, which consisted

consisted only of a few officers; and leaving some to restrain the multitude, he advanced with the generals Duphot and Sherlock to induce the soldiery to withdraw, promising that the insurgents should be delivered up and punished. The soldiers, regardless of his representations, continued to hold themselves in a menacing posture, and were about to make another discharge, which the general Duphot rushed forward to prevent. A scene of confusion ensued. The general, from his desire of avoiding further bloodshed, was drawn on amidst the soldiery, where he was wounded by a fusileer, who discharged the contents of his musket into his body, and afterwards treated him with circumstances of savage cruelty. The ambassador, and the officers who attended him, escaping the danger, and seeing another company enter the street at the opposite side, retreated through a bye street into the gardens of the palace, which were still encumbered by the insurgents, many of whom lay strewed around the court, and through the apartments, killed or wounded. Two hours had already passed in those scenes of disorder, and the ambassador continued to be besieged in his palace, when the minister of the grand-duke of Tuscany, traversing the lines of soldiery still in hostile array, entered the palace, while the Spanish minister sent to the secretary of state to protest against the horrors which were taking place, but of which he assured him (and probably with truth) the pope was altogether ignorant: and, indeed, no accusation whatever, either by the French minister, or those of the allies of the republic then at Rome, has been brought against the government on this occasion. It was neither the policy nor interest of the

court of Rome to have provoked to new hostilities; and it appears, from every concurrent testimony, that the violation of the jurisdiction of the ambassador, the murder of general Duphot, and whatever other illegal or violent acts were committed, were the result of negligence in the commander of Rome, who had sent troops to quell a riot of which the government was ignorant, without placing at their head such officers as should have known how to direct the soldiery in the execution of their orders, to urge or restrain their ardor against the seditious whom they had to disperse.

But whatever were the causes of this tumult, the consequences were such as to lead the ambassador to quit Rome and withdraw to Florence, which he did not effect without the warmest regrets, and the most pressing endeavours of the pontifical ministry to induce him to continue his residence. The secretary of state, cardinal Doria, accompanied the passports which he sent to the ambassador with letters to the papal minister at Paris; in which he enjoined him, in the name of the holy father and his own, to humble himself before the French directory, to solicit them to ask for the largest indemnifications, and assure them that tranquillity would be restored to the holy see only when due satisfaction should have been made. The letters which passed between the secretary of state and the French ambassador, previous to his departure, and the solicitations made to M. d'Azara, the Spanish minister, for his interposition and advice, are sufficient indications that this popular tumult could not be attributed to the partisans of the papal government; although the French minister, in the respectful and affectionate leave
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which he takes of the cardinal, glances at those irreconcilable enemies of the French republic who still directed the inner cabinet of the court of Rome.

But whoever might have been the immediate and intimate directors of the pope's conscience and counsels, however absurd their projected measures, however dire and immortal their hatred against the French republic, or those who espoused its cause, no motive sufficiently plausible, to arrest for a moment the attention of the bitterest foe to papal power, has been adduced, to give the slightest colour of probability to the conjecture that the government of Rome had any other share in this catastrophe than the culpable negligence, as has been already stated, of the commander of the military force at Rome. The occasion was, nevertheless, *too favourable to be neglected* by the French directory, who were apparently waiting to take advantage of the errors of the papal administration. The Cisalpine government, which still hovered around, hitherto restrained from darting at its prey, would have been the first to hurl the avenging thunder, had not the victim and the sacrifice been thought a prey worthy of directorial rapacity itself. Of its approaching dissolution the holy see felt the infallible symptoms; but, in order to deprecate the wrath of the French government, and ward off the fatal blow, after vain solicitations for the further mediation of its hitherto-constant friend in every adverse situation during a long and chequered reign, the Spanish minister, numerous couriers were tired in fruitless expeditions to Florence, Naples, and Vienna; heaven was assailed with prayers, fastings, pro-

cessions, and jubilees; Madonnas wept over their votaries; the theatres were shut up; new and numerous arrests of suspected persons were ordered to be made; and manifestoes, recriminating and exculpating, were published.

In contempt of these acts of government, satirical and menacing placards were posted on the walls by the rebellious party; and portraits of Buonaparte, under the shocking and impious title of the new Saviour of the World, were distributed amongst the people; so that Rome, for some time, presented little else than a scene on which was displayed the passions of parties, who, according to their fears or hopes, were exploring its papal decease, or rejoicing in its approaching republican resurrection.

Meanwhile, the French and Cisalpine armies were advancing towards Rome, under the command of general Berthier. The march was nothing more than a military procession; for no resistance could be offered where no authority existed to collect force, which, if collected, would probably have joined the invaders. The entrance of general Berthier into Rome was preceded by a proclamation, in which he declared that the only object of his visit was the punishment of the murderers of Duphot and Bassville, and that the people of Rome should find in the French army protectors and friends. The proclamation was misunderstood by neither party; and whilst the pope, and those more particularly attached to him, remained either stupefied or trembling in the apartments of the Vatican, the mob (in all probability prepared by French agency) assembled in the Campo Vaccino, under the direction of such as had taken the lead amongst the

the revolutionary party, and proclaimed the Roman republic, on the 15th of February, which was followed by the usual accompaniment of Republican revolution, the planting of the tree of liberty.

The pope, however, made one further effort against annihilation, by sending to Berthier, encamped without the walls of Rome, his cardinal vicar Somaglia, the cardinal Arrigoni, prince Giustiniani, and the Neapolitan minister Belmonti Pignatelli, to negotiate for the continuance of his temporal existence, by the further sacrifice of provinces and of millions, which were liberally offered at the present crisis. The general, refusing to admit any other deputation than that of the Roman people, dissipated the last illusion of the holy father; and this latter deputation having presented itself, to make known to him the revolution which had just been accomplished, as well as the provisional consular government which had been formed, invited him to accompany them, in solemn procession to the Capitol, to sanction the revolution by his presence, as representative of the French republic. The general, preceded by military music, and attended by his officers and detachments of foot and horse from his army, traversed Rome, amidst an immense crowd of people, gazing, for the most part, with anxious curiosity; uncertain whether the sound of liberty, which had lately been proclaimed by the people, would be re-echoed by the conqueror; or whether still further exactions, in order to atone for the faults of their late government, were to be the forerunners of a still more abject subjection.

The French general did not suffer them to remain long in this un-

certitude; having ascended to the capitol, he proclaimed the object of his mission, and the fate of Rome, in the following speech, in the French manner.

“Manès of Cato, of Pompey, and of Brutus; of Cicero, and of Hortensius; accept the homage of the French, become free, in the Capitol, where you have so often defended the rights of the people, and added new glories to the Roman republic!”

“The descendents of the Gauls, with the olive in their hand, now repair to this august spot, to re-establish the altars of liberty, erected by the elder Brutus.”

“And you, people of Rome, who have regained your lawful rights, call to remembrance the monuments of glory that surround you; resume your ancient greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors.”

But although liberty was thus in words proclaimed, the provisional government, which the rebels had instituted, was laid aside by the French general, who assumed the supreme authority till the arrival of the French commissaries appointed by the directory to form a constitution, and a definitive government. A kind of provisional government had been instituted, composed of persons of different ranks and discordant opinions; such as cardinals, princes, lawyers, merchants, and peasants; but this heterogeneous body was but of short duration. Some organised system, however, was necessary, even under the *absolute* authority of a French general: the revolutionists, therefore, had recourse to their first plan; and an executive government was formed, under the denomination of a consulate, composed of six members,

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of which Rigauti, a lawyer of eminence, and a chief of the revolutionary party, was named president, and Bassal, a French priest, of equivocal character, and a terrorist-member of the national convention, was chosen secretary.

Although the arrival of the French army, and the proclamation of the French general at the Capitol, had given the mortal stroke to the papal authority, the members of the sacred college, who yet remained in Rome, whilst they beheld, from the windows of the Vatican, the people, in long and solemn procession, bearing the tree of liberty, which they were going to plant before the statue of Marcus Aurelius, attempted to avert the evil, and to form delusive plans for the continuation of the papal authority. Some of the cardinals, who had gained knowledge from the experience of others, and who had well-founded apprehensions of a revolutionary storm, had taken their prudent flight from Rome, whilst the means of flight were still in their power: such were the ex-secretary of state, cardinal Busca, and cardinal Albani, who had been the most active instruments of the courts of Rome and Vienna, against the French, previous to the peace of Tolentino; and who, till the fall of the papal power had been (it is said) the advisers of every violent and every perfidious measure. With these fled others of less note; such as the commander of the company, and the corporal who assassinated general Duphot; and, at some interval, the celebrated cardinal Maury, who, for his strenuous and persevering opposition to the confiscating spirit of the national assembly, had received the reward

due to his fidelity, in his elevation to the dignity of the purple. He had sheltered himself from the tempest in his diocese of Montefiascone, and peeped forth when he thought its fury was abated, only to take a further flight; which, with the courage and address so peculiar to himself, he effected in open day, although met on the road to Florence by the three French commissaries, then proceeding to Rome, by whom he was known, and by whom his person was respected.

The majority of the sacred college remained at Rome, stupified or afflicted, according to their various sensibilities, at the sudden ruin which had overwhelmed them. The fantastic farces of authority which they had enacted in the Vatican, under the bayonets of a triumphant invader, and the shouts of a revolted nation, were soon succeeded by profound sighs of regret, at the sudden disappearance of that enormous mass of splendor which eclipsed and dazzled all around them, and by tragic declamations at the fleeting vanities of the world and the uncertainty of all human enjoyments. But sighs and declamations were only the prologues to greater sufferings. These unhappy personages, to whom the theory of worldly evil was scarcely known, were fated to taste its reality in almost every bitter form that the harshness of revolutionary power could devise. The forbearance with which they were at first treated, after the formal abdication of their authority, was changed into a narrow system of inspection, which was speedily followed by acts of revolutionary rigour. The estates of those cardinals who had already taken their flight were confisc-

confiscated, and the splendid and classic ornaments which enriched the Villa Albani became the prey of vulgar speculation. Amongst those who fled after the entrance of the French were some whose conduct deserved a better fate. In this number may be placed the cardinal Caprara, who, during the quarrel with France, had boldly manifested a constant opposition to the hostile measures of the papal cabinet; Antici, who had early entered his protest against the papal interference; and Gerdy, who threw off the purple with the same indifference as he received it, having preserved, amidst the general corruption, the pure manners and evangelical simplicity of the primitive church. The rest, whose presence either offended the newly-constituted authorities, or whose property invited the national confiscation, were confined as prisoners in one of the convents at Rome. A few, indeed, were allowed to plead the privilege of disease, and remained prisoners in their beds of sickness. Amongst the incarcerated cardinals, were Rezzonico della Sommaglia, the cardinal vicar, and Carandini, the persecuting prefect of Buon-Governo, and Mattei, the papal negotiator at Tolentino, whose repentance, wrought by Buonaparte, was repented of at the view of the desolation which had befallen the church, and whose active zeal, for what he deemed the honour of religion, had prompted him to declaim, in no measured terms, against the civic oath administered to the Roman citizens, which he officially represented as an impious act, heretical with respect to the church, and disloyal with respect to the state. These, and some others,

might have become the objects of national resentment, and, in the first fury of a revolution, some allowance might perhaps be made for a momentary retaliation of ill offices; but no excuse can be alleged for that indiscriminate vengeance which fell on all alike; on those who had been tolerant, as well as those who had been the most adverse to the rights of the people. The indulgent party was indeed but little numerous; nor could it be expected that much regard for equal rights lay concealed beneath the purple; but some respect and consideration were due to such men as Doria, whose virtues were the theme of the French minister's eulogium at the moment he escaped from Rome; the sagacious Archetti; Roverella, modest and unassuming; and Antonelli and Borgia, distinguished for their love of science and extensive knowledge. These unoffending, and, considering the difficult circumstances in which they were placed, meritorious personages, were confounded with those whom popular or revolutionary opinion deemed guilty; and the whole of the college that remained at Rome, with very few exceptions, were joined in one common proscription, which policy did not command, and which humanity, if not justice, must for ever reprobate.

It has been asserted that the rigour with which these venerable personages were treated was neither in the intention of the French government, nor of its principal agents. It is true that neither the French government nor its agents had any private animosities to satisfy, nor any personal injuries to avenge; and, it is possible, that, in many cases, these cardinals were the victims of particular rather than pub-

lic vengeance; but this will not absolve the conquerors before the tribunal of public opinion, in as much as they must be accounted, in a great measure, guilty of whatever evils they did not prevent, since the absolute power of preventing them lay in their hands. But this persecution has been resolved into other principles still less excusable than the former, of which the chief was the temptation to cruelty held out by avarice from the personal fortunes of these imprisoned princes of the church. They were sent from their prisons in Rome to Civit -Vecchia, and menaced with exile to some inhospitable transatlantic or hyperborean shore. This menace was not misunderstood. The greater part found means to procure their liberty by the sacrifice of their wealth; though there were some who felt too indignantly the persecution to make any compromise. The scandal of this persecution undoubtedly must ultimately rest on the French directory; a scandal so much the greater, as public justice, for such was the pretence, was put aside, without shame, by the greedy speculations of avarice. Revolutionary indignation, smarting under the remembrance of former wounds, if it condescends to vengeance, does not stoop to the baseness of pecuniary retaliation: but the history of most of the *late* revolutions of Europe must be stained with many a page at which the friend of liberty will blush, not more for the unnecessary rigour exercised by its pretended friends, than that sordid spirit of avarice which has marked the character and directed the conduct of some, whom accident, ra-

ther than the choice of the people, has raised to the most elevated station.

The cardinals, thus insulted and plundered, took advantage of the moment of their liberation to fly, under the guise of private citizens, from the land where their former glories and their present humiliation formed so melancholy a contrast. The Roman nobility, in general, bore with resignation the transition from rank and title to the state of private citizens*. Where no despotism had been exercised, and where no conspiracies were formed, there was no pretence for confiscation or plunder. The greater number of this privileged class submitted, without murmur, to every change, content in the continued possession of their revenues, which were however sometimes weakened by extraordinary contributions for the exigencies of the state: a few, more active, or more artful, took part in the revolution, and were named to the principal offices of the government; such were the prince Borghese, who became a member of the senate, and prince Giustianini, who has since represented the Roman republic at Paris.

Whilst these changes were taking place in Rome, the pope remained confined to his apartments, in anxious and trembling uncertainty with respect to his fate. That of his nephews had been already decided. The cardinal Braschi, whose fortune chiefly consisted in the rich benefices conferred by the liberality of his uncle, shared the general proscription. On the elevation of the present pope to the pontifical dignity, the French ambassador at the court

* "When knaves grow great, and impious men bear sway,
"The place of honour is a private station."

of Rome, amongst other benefits resulting to the ecclesiastical state from his nomination, enumerated the extinction of that abuse of power in the popes, known by the name of nepotism. The late pope, Ganganelli, who had perhaps too large a portion of virtuous qualities for the station he filled, when his nephews were presented to him, told them, "that if they would labour for themselves he would give them his protection; and that if they were idle, he would send them back to their parents;" and Pius the sixth, at his accession, announced similar dispositions, when he refused the dignity of cardinal to his uncle, the respectable bishop of Imola, against whose nomination to that dignity no other obstacle presented itself but the delicacy of his nephew, the pontiff. This reserve, with respect to his family, was however but of short duration. His sister's children, for he had no nephews of the male line, became the objects of his particular affection. The youngest, who was raised by successive steps to the dignity of the purple, was first employed, after his academical education at Rome, in a dignified office with the cardinals Rohan and Rochefoucault, at Paris. Two years after (1780) he was created apostolical prothonotary, a place which, though without profit, conferred a title and further dignity. This was succeeded by the office of majordomo of the pope, a place which infallibly led to that to which he was at length promoted (1786).

If the cardinal has been reproached for the sordid use which he sometimes made of his uncle's favour, and the influence of his situation, this reproach has fallen with tenfold justice on his brother, the duke of Braschi. His entrance into

public life, when he came to Rome from a distant province, where he had lived in comparative obscurity with his parents, was marked by numerous features of disgusting avarice. As he was not intended for the ecclesiastical state, he married the daughter of madame Falconieri, who, it is pretended (but without any proof), had been formerly the mistress of his uncle. This marriage, which, on the side of fortune, was slightly advantageous to the nephew, was the occasion of no small accumulation of wealth from the excessive liberality of the pope, of the catholic and Roman princes, of cardinals; and from presents received from individuals of almost every rank in the state. These marks of private courtesy served only to awaken a disposition for more solid property, and the public indignation was excited at the purchase made of the Jesuits' possessions at Tivoli, which then belonged to the apostolical chamber, and which, it is said, were sold to the duke for a sum less than half of that which had been already offered, and for which payment was to be made in the middle of the succeeding century. In this sale the public were slightly interested; what belonged to the apostolical chamber served but little towards the alleviation of the burdens of state; but the monopoly which the duke of Braschi made of oil and corn throughout the ecclesiastical territory, in contempt of the laws which had been enacted against such public spoliations, made him an object of abhorrence to the people.

The process of the niece of Amanzio-Lepri against the pope, for his illegal acquisition and detention of the fortunes of her family, will ever remain a dark spot

on the character of the holy father, though he endeavoured to wash it out by many a bitter repentant tear.

In addition to the Jesuits' estates at Tivoli, the duke of Braschi had purchased other possessions in its neighbourhood, from which he took the title of Nemi.

The draining of the Pontine marshes had been a new source of territorial wealth, and the riches of the nephew increased in nearly the same proportion as the miseries of the people. The revolution, whatever redress it might give to the latter, made a sudden and unrelenting sacrifice of the former. In a few days the duke of Braschi saw his honours reduced to the vain and empty decorations of his person, and his wealth to the contents of his purse, or port-folio. His estates were confiscated without remorse to the benefit of the public, and his magnificent and sumptuous furniture, his pictures, engravings, antiques, and his museum, underwent the humiliation of a public auction.

The public indignation, which was accumulated on the duke, struck but with a gentle hand the other branches of his household. His wife, the duchess of Nemi, produced her claims to the French commissaries, and obtained the half of the sum she demanded as her dowry, and also a third of the moveables for her daughter, with which she obtained the value of an equal sum for herself. She was permitted to retain possession of all her numerous and costly jewels, and from among the duke's twenty carriages was allowed to choose two of the most elegant. With the money she purchased national lands, and was enabled to retain her beautiful seat at Tivoli, where she continued to reside in peace.

The dethroned pontiff, fallen thus from his high state, became an object of interest and commiseration even to his enemies. Fancy can scarcely forbear painting him stalking through the splendid apartments of the Vatican, lately filled with a prostrate multitude, amidst whom he marched erect with proud and portly step, robed in his insignia of divinity, conscious still of his power in the invisible worlds, though his glory had been shorn of its beams; amidst these apartments, now deserted and silent, his mind perhaps meditated with astonished reflection on the chequered tissue of a long and eventful reign; and in those first moments of adverse fortune, when vanity drops her shield, searched, perhaps without indulgence, into the recesses of his heart, which in these trying moments could not but unveil itself before him. Yet united in history, as his name will possibly be with the extinction of the papal power (for even late events do not assure us of its re-establishment), and admitted as it must be that the errors of his reign, and the inconsistencies of his conduct, hastened that period, it must nevertheless be allowed, that had he possessed the concentrated wisdom and firmness of the most enlightened of his predecessors, the papal authority could not have been of long duration. Before his accession to the pontifical dignity, the axe had been laid to its root; and if wonder be excited at its overthrow, a slight reflection will convince us that this astonishment is misplaced, and that we ought rather to be surprised at the length of its continuance than the readiness of its fall.

The primary cause is undoubtedly the progress of knowledge, the steady foe both of religious and civil

civil despotism, and which, unlike that revolutionary fanaticism which borrows its name, and deals alike its fury on truth and error, makes even its enemies the instruments of good. In the list of secondary causes, the abolition of the order of the Jesuits holds a distinguished place. This order was the nobility of the papal monarchy, the pretorian guard of its spiritual despotism; and when Ganganelli signed the sentence of death to this formidable power, solicited and provoked by the catholic sovereigns of Europe, and with it that of his own, for he soon afterwards fell the victim of their vengeance, his penetrating spirit no doubt discovered that the temporal authority of the church could not long survive the destruction of its most zealous and systematic supporters.

The elevation of the present pope was the result of circumstances rather than of any deliberate plan, as has been represented, of restoring under his administration the discipline of the church, which had been too much relaxed under that of Ganganelli. His character and influence were too inconsiderable to mark him out as the restorer of its fading dignities, and his nomination, which at the opening of the conclave (14th of February, 1775) had been thought of by none, became, after a contest of four months, a compromise between the cardinals who protected the suppressed order of the Jesuits, and those who acted under the guidance of the catholic sovereigns. The opening of the reign of Pius the Sixth was marked by various acts of public justice and private benevolence; and the dissatisfaction which his nomination had given to the capricious people of Rome, who applied to him the famous distich

composed under the pontificate of Alexander the Sixth,

Semper sub Sextis perditâ Roma fuit,
which, though accomplished more fatally in his person than in most of his predecessors, for whom it was designated, seemed from the wisdom of his early administration to contain nothing of the spirit of prophecy. He had nevertheless a part to act more difficult than was commensurate with his abilities; and alternately influenced by the parties which divided the court of Rome with respect to the Jesuits, he often incurred the displeasure of both by his vacillations in their favour, and had the mortification of being charged with dissimulation and ingratitude, when his conduct was the result only of irresolution and weakness. Attached by principle to that proscribed order, it was with reluctance that he was compelled to enforce the rigorous edicts enacted against them; and his good offices were not withheld, when its members, flying from the bosom of the church, found protection and favour with the heretical and schismatic powers of the north, Frederic the Great, and the empress of Russia. The contest in which Pius the Sixth engaged with both these powers on the representations of the courts of France and Spain, respecting the settlement given to the Jesuits, and particularly with Catharine respecting the archbishoprick of Mohilow, where a college of the order was established, was followed by a more interesting and important discussion with his imperial majesty Joseph the Second. This emperor signified his accession to the throne by various reforms in the church, and displayed a spirit of innovation so hostile to its privileges, that, if it escaped the charge of heresy, it was too alarm-

ing a symptom of radical error not to excite the most alarming apprehensions of the holy see. Hence the celebrated and fruitless journey of the pope to Vienna, and the vain and laborious efforts to correct that disposition to spiritual mutiny, which not only affected the emperor, but, at that and succeeding periods, the sovereign princes of Italy. The misunderstanding which took place with the duke of Tuscany respecting the schismatical innovations of the bishop of Pistoja was changed, by a succession of ill offices, into a violent quarrel, in which the grand-duke undertook to annihilate the spiritual power of the pope in his dominions, and counteract the supremacy in the hierarchy of the state. Still more serious were the discussions of the holy see with the court of Naples, when the restrictions put on the annual offering of the white palfrey, considered by the donor only as a devotional homage to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the holy father as a feudal tribute of a vassal for his crown to the holy see, was followed by a crowd of other innovations, such as the conversion of the revenues of suppressed monasteries into objects of public utility, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities without the papal intervention, the entire abolition of the offering of the white horse, and other objects of civil and religious reform which reason might approve, whatever were the motives of the schism, but which were regarded at Rome as acts of heretical rebellion against the visible head of the church. The antifilial and uncomplying spirit of the Venetian aristocracy had, for a series of years, excited the alternate indulgence and resentment of the holy see. The immediate predecessors of the pope,

the wise Benedict, and the tolerant Ganganelli, could neither engage its affection nor conciliate its esteem. Imbued as it were habitually with a considerable portion of that schismatical spirit which infected most of the other catholic powers of Europe, the senate in the opening of the reign of Pius the Sixth, secularised a number of abbeys, and other religious establishments, and incorporated them with those belonging to the nobility. The pope menaced them with his apostolical anger, so far even as to talk seriously of forcing them, by the use of temporal arms, into obedience.— Though the quarrel was appeased by the intervention of part of the sacred college, the Venetian senate continued to suppress and reform conventual houses in favour of hospitals and other establishments of public charity, notwithstanding the murmurs of the holy father; and the dispute which was renewed between the Bark of St. Peter and the Bucentaur might have continued indefinitely if the revolutionary tempest had not driven them to perish together on the same rock.

Amidst this almost general defection of reverence and filial duty towards the church, which it was the fate of Pius the Sixth to witness, he had yet to console himself, that though most had been perverted by heresy, yet some remained untainted, or at least but slightly infected by its contagion, and were still docile to the voice of the church. The perseverance of the court of Spain, in common with others against the Jesuits, and its obstinacy in claiming the canonisation of Palafox, to which the Jesuistical party had opposed the farce of the beatification of the French beggar Labre at Rome, and the free maxims of its ecclesiastical government,

ment, had been sources of disquietude to Pius; but the habitual and reverential respect with which he had been treated by this power had softened his displeasure at these contrarieties, and conciliated his affection and esteem. The duke of Parma, unlike his brother sovereigns of Italy, had shown a devotedness without bounds to the holy see; and whilst his neighbour, the duke of Modena, suppressed the inquisition in his state, and, in defence of certain territorial rights, was preparing to arm against the pope, the duke of Parma re-established the holy office which his predecessor had abolished, and engaged to support its decisions with the terror of the secular arm, as the most effective mode, according to the edict he published on the occasion, to preserve his subjects from the poison of heresy and infidelity. With zeal for the unity of the faith, but not with the entire devotedness of the Infant of Parma, the queen of Portugal, on the death of Joseph the First, avenged the holy see for the daring innovations of the marquis de Pombal, by restoring the patriarchate of Lisbon to all its former splendor and profits, by re-establishing the religious houses which he had suppressed, and comforting those whose adherence to the church had been the cause of ministerial persecution. Thus, amidst the storms which gathered from almost every quarter around the holy see, whilst schisms with respect to ecclesiastical authority were increasing, and innovations, if not in matters of faith, in matters at least equally important to it, such as restraining the flow of devout offerings into the apostolical coffers, were multiplying with most alarming rapidity, Pius could turn aside from this turbulent ocean towards a

halcyon shore, and contemplate the horizon of Portugal decorated with the full glow of respectful beneficence towards him: whilst the fading attachment and calculating parsimony of the other catholic powers of Europe with respect to the court of Rome were evinced not only in the incroachments made in its ecclesiastical authority, but also in the restraint which they put on the benevolence of their respective subjects, her majesty, "faithful found among the faithless," re-established the inquisition, and, with pious precipitation, replenished the sacred chest of the Roman exchequer; sovereign and subjects vying with each other in acts of religious devotedness, and happy in bartering the perishable objects of earthly presents, against treasures unfading and incorruptible. This interchange of affectionate offices met now and then a temporary interruption. The royal assent was declared necessary for permission to take vows of monastic life. The regulation of 1799, compelling the nobility and clergy to support equally with the people the burdens of the state, was consecrated by a brief, though hostile to the privileges of the church; and the interposition of the holy see was disregarded, when the queen tore from the archbishop of Braga his seignorial rights, and stript the clergy of their temporal jurisdictions. These symptoms of disaffection were the effects of other symptoms more alarming, which the prince of Brasil at that time discovered, and which the reading of foreign books and journals had led him to cherish. Under his protection, learning, for the first time, half unveiled her face in the seat of education at Coimbra, and fanaticism shrank with horror at the daring

daring themes which were made the subjects of public discussion; amongst which were the lawfulness of toleration with respect to religious opinions, that of empowering bishops to grant dispensations without the intervention of the court of Rome, and of resuming the donations made to the church, and making them subservient to the necessities of the state. The holy see was alarmed at the invasion of this hitherto tractable seminary by heretical doubts and hypotheses, such as these, but the triumph was short; the death of the innovator, or patron of the innovators, gave a further respite to the privileges of the church, and the French revolution, which took place at that period, rescued the pope from the dismembering gripe of his perverted and disaffected children. The portentous principles which this revolution had established, and which menaced the destruction, not only of all ecclesiastical, but of almost every civil establishment, had indeed chased away, at this unfit moment, all the trivial bickerings and controversies, amongst the other catholic powers, respecting the exact landmarks of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the boundaries of civil and spiritual privilege. Under the pressure of common danger and common calamity, these mutinous factions against papal authority were hushed into silence. The thunder of the church, so long the object of contempt and ridicule, and which had been laid by in the lumber of the Vatican as an useless and worn out weapon, was now invoked by these trembling princes who had been the foremost in encouraging the sneer against it. That false, destructive, and infamous philosophy, with which they had amused themselves in teasing

the holy father, had now started up, a formidable and gigantic spectre, in judgment against themselves. The successive events of the revolution have shown with what success the spiritual Jupiter wielded his burlesque artillery. Happy for him had he looked with more indifference on the civil struggle, or contented himself with darting forth his ecclesiastical fulminations. But such was not the conduct of Pius VI. His life had been a continued struggle against the philosophical rebellion of princes; and he has lived to witness their punishment and repentance. He opposed them with perseverance whilst they were apostates, and perished at length in fighting for their cause.

But although the fall of the papal power would probably have been effected without the intervention of the French revolution, from the natural progress of knowledge, it is not unworthy of observation, that whilst those powers, which hitherto had been the avowed supporters of papal pretensions against the spread of heresy and schism, had become rebellious against papal rights, consecrated by sacred prescription, and, in some cases, menaced even the personal authority of the pontiff, the schismatic princes of the North affected to treat the holy see with unequivocal marks of deference and distinction. Frederic the Great, and Catharine, regarding the pope less as a fallen and vanquished enemy than as a respectable relic of a worn-out superstition, sometimes amused themselves by the singularity of affectionate correspondence and the interchange of benevolent offices with the holy father. The king of Poland had bowed with resignation, when the code of the enlightened Zamoiski, restraining the jurisdiction

tion of the papal see, and abridging the privileges of the clergy and the monastic orders, had met the indignation of the pontiff, and, through the ecclesiastical influence, the refusal of the diet. Gustavus III. had published an edict, giving full toleration to the catholics of Sweden, and had paid his respects to the holy father in the seat of spiritual empire; and the stern independents of the other hemisphere, every way remote from the modern Babylon, had solicited and obtained, through the organ of congress, a consecrated primate for the catholic part of their community.

Nor is it less remarkable, that whilst the papal throne was besieged by the catholic, and abetted and comforted by the protestant powers, the Gallican church, the eldest daughter of the civil establishments of the Christian faith, should have been, through a long pontificate, the most affectionate in its attachment to the holy see. No affair of importance since that of the suppression of the Jesuits had occurred to awaken any cause of dispute, and though the pope might have continued to reflect with displeasure on the inflexible perseverance of the cabinet of Versailles, under the administration of Choiseul, who took the lead in the destruction of that order, the forbearance of the French court, in not forming a common cause in the reclamation of the catholic powers, was considered by the papal cabinet as a mark of friendship and attachment. The court of Versailles had, indeed, left the administration of its ecclesiastical affairs to its ambassador, the cardinal Bernis, who, uniting with the character of the accomplished courtier as much of the spirit of the priesthood as was necessary to support the interest and dignity of

his order, smoothed the little asperities that sometimes arose in the way of his negotiations by the ascendancy which he had acquired over both parties.

The spirit of inquiry, which had hitherto been directed against the arrogant usurpations of the court of Rome, and which had stripped off the veil of hypocrisy and superstition, under which it had been so long concealed, now turned its penetrating eye from the fall of religious tyranny to other prospects, where the interference of civil despotism in favour of liberty promised it new and abundant harvests. The struggle which the Americans were then making for their independence had excited the attention of the active and inquisitive part of France, the ambition of the court coincided with their views, the force of the nation was employed to realise their boldest speculations, and homilies against the court of Rome were now thrown by, as worn-out subjects. The affair of the cardinal of Rohan was the first interruption of this state of tranquillity; the pope beheld his arrest by the civil power as a sacrilegious attack on the existence even of the church; whilst the parliament of Paris, supported by the court, affected equal astonishment that a foreign power should presume to interfere in its temporal concerns. In vain did the pope issue a brief to command the appearance of the culprit before a competent tribunal, and menace him with the most dread effects of ecclesiastical censure, for having committed the dignity of the purple in appealing, as the cardinal had done, to a temporal court of justice: the parliament, as guardian of the liberties of the Gallican church, persisted in its refusal, and

and the brief was thrown by unnoticed. The acquittal of the cardinal prevented any further discussion between the courts of Versailles and Rome; but enough had been done to awaken new ideas, and give form and substance to the principles which had been already widely propagated. The scandalous adventure of the necklace, equally degrading, perhaps, to royal and ecclesiastical dignity, was studiously cherished as the subject of seditious animadversion, and produced, more than multiplied acts of despotism, that general disaffection and contempt which are the sure forerunners of the fall of powers whose force is built solely on opinion.

The attachment which the French government displayed towards the court of Rome was less the result of pious affection than of personal interest. The abuses of the church were received as undisputed axioms among all ranks, and no country in Europe contained a community more enlightened in this point than France had been for half a century past. Amidst the higher classes, even those who immediately formed the government, the same conviction had been admitted; but they had prudently considered that the abuse was a better preservation of their authority than the correction might prove, and therefore, during the reign of the predecessor of Louis XVI. had resisted every kind of innovation which might weaken the long-established coalition of the throne and the altar. The same principles prevailed under the last monarch, who, from sentiments of piety, displayed that affection towards the clergy which his predecessor had shown from more interested motives; and the clergy formed, as it were, a body-guard around his person, and gave

their support to the throne in return for the protection which it granted to their privileges. Strong in this union, many of the high clergy, amongst whom a portion of the spirit of infidelity had insinuated itself, began to look on a slight reform of abuses as an object which might contribute rather to strengthen than diminish their own power; since the reform which they meditated was not that of their own abuses, but those of the holy see. Whilst they acknowledged the centre of unity, they were anxious to acquire a greater share of independence, and deemed themselves competent to the administration of objects wholly of a spiritual nature, and for which exclusive application had hitherto been made to the head of the church. They admitted the enormous abuses of the monastic state, and desired a moderate diminution both of the numbers and riches of the various orders. These, and other matters of ecclesiastical reform, were introduced as objects of discussion in a periodical meeting of the clergy in 1787, assembled for the purpose of granting their share of contribution to the state; and a disposition for carrying this reform into execution was openly avowed.

The holy see beheld with alarm this inclination to apostacy in the French clergy, but was dissuaded from taking any authoritative steps by the conviction that it would at least be useless. The French government began by suppressing the order of the Celestines in France, and, without communication with the court of Rome, seized on the estates of those of the same order, who, living under the Roman jurisdiction at Avignon, had property in the French territory. To these attacks, the first indications of alienated

alienated friendship, the pope was extremely sensible; and the edict, which took place at the same epoch, in favour of the protestants, occasioned him still greater affliction. He was comforted indeed in perceiving that the edict contained little else than granting the protestants a civil existence, and legitimating their children; and, although he felt, with the sacred college, the danger that might result from this precedent of toleration, confined as it was in the edict which had been promulgated, he not only combated the violent measures which were suggested by the college, but his prudence led him to mourn over the impending calamities of the church in silence.

The concessions which the French clergy had made to the spirit of the times were insufficient to satisfy the encroaching requisitions of the sectaries of reformation, and too great not to encourage them to attempt new conquests. The speculative advances which had been made towards a system of revolution in France had been too long indulged to leave unembodied or in embryo the projects which had been conceived; and the abuses which had been held forth by the clergy, as objects of reform, served as beacons to more hardy adventurers to attempt a wider range of discovery. The situation of the finances of France having led the government to assemble first the notables, and afterwards the states-general, to devise means for preserving the due balance between the receipt and expenditure of the state, one of the first abuses which was corrected, and which the court had previously resolved to sacrifice, was the payment of ecclesiastical tribute to Rome. The retrenchment of the sum which entered

into the pontifical treasury from France, for bulls, dispensations, and other objects of spiritual traffic, was too inconsiderable for the purposes of œconomy, as it amounted annually, on an average, to no more than 18,000*l.* sterling; but the suppression wore sufficiently the symptom of hostilities to convince the holy see that its alliance with that country hung on too feeble a thread to secure a long duration. The unjust decree of the national assembly, at the close of the year 1789, declaring the church estates to be national property, filled the court of Rome with general consternation. Although the paternal apprehensions of the holy see for the honour and security of the church were duly awakened, yet they had not even suggested that a measure so bold and subversive of its rights could have been attempted; but no redress could be hoped from remonstrance, since those made by the cardinal ambassador, hitherto for offences of infinitely less importance, had been made in vain. The pope, therefore, restrained his indignation at this heretical contempt of his spiritual authority; nor was his sorrow at this apostacy expressed in louder terms than sighs and murmurs, till his temporal possessions of the comtat Venaissin and Avignon fell under the eye of this confiscating assembly. It was not without resistance that this invasion was beheld by the court of Rome. Briefs and bulls were put in opposition to revolutionary motions and national decrees. The partisans of the pope, and those who espoused the cause of the French revolution, maintained their respective opinions with obstinate inveteracy; and the country, which was the object of contest, became for some time the theatre of civil and bloody contention.

tion. The revolutionists of Avignon at length gained the ascendancy ; and, after dethroning the archbishop, and disbanding the clergy for refusing to take the civic oath, they deposed the pope from his sovereignty, seized his revenues, and Avignon, and the whole of the papal territory in France, was converted into republican departments.

The seizure of the papal possessions (although such events had taken place at other periods, the right of sovereignty having at all times been a subject of contention), and their formal incorporation, were regarded, and with reason, as a measure of national hostility. The court of Rome, at that period, had no other means of resisting the aggression than by the use of the spiritual warfare of anathemas and exhortations. The first victim of papal wrath was Talleyrand Perigord, the bishop of Autun, who was formally suspended by a brief, with the threat of excommunication at the end of forty days, if he did not take advantage of the proffered delay for repentance; Lomenie, the archbishop of Sens, was likewise degraded from his dignity of cardinal, for adhering to the civil constitution of the clergy, though he had attempted to ward off this disgrace by a previous and voluntary resignation. The flight of Louis XVI. to the frontiers was celebrated by festivals and rejoicings, and the illusion was sufficiently prolonged to give time for the expedition of a brief to the nuncio at Brussels, to congratulate the king on his escape, with prayers for his speedy and triumphant return to his kingdom. These, and other insulated marks of hatred against the principles of the French revolution, were followed by prosecutions against such as were

suspected of any attachment to its cause. Several officers, natives of France, but employed in the pope's service, were degraded, and sent to the galleys, for having discovered sentiments favorable to the interests of their country ; and a kind of proscription was begun against every thing that bore the name or title of Frenchman ; which was suspended at that period only by the interference of the executive council of the French republic (for the monarchy had just then been abolished), which menaced hostilities, if redress were not immediately obtained.

The decree of a premature attack had incited the court of Rome to measures of lenity and prudence ; but as the manifesto of the coalised powers had at that period sounded the trump of extermination, the pope began also to prepare for the general attack which was about to be made on the French republic. These military preparations would have been treated by the French with contempt, had not the influence which the court of Rome still held over the mind of the superstitious part of Europe, yet a numerous host, rendered it no contemptible enemy. The murder of the French ambassador Bassville, at Rome, which, from the gentleness of the reproof against the crime, the holy father called an excess that had deranged the public tranquillity, constituted the Roman government an abettor, if not the author, of the deed, completed the rupture which a series of ill offices on either side had been long preparing. The holy father no longer delayed his manifesto, in which he ordered a general armament, and traced the means of hostility, recommending the extermination of an enemy, without faith
or

or law, by all public means—barbarians who had sworn to overturn wherever they went both thrones and altars; offering at the same time amnesty and absolution to criminals who should take up arms for the church and state, excepting none from the general rising in mass, but children, old men, and priests, who, to use the language of the manifesto, were to raise up their hands on the mountain, whilst the faithful fought in the plain. The language of this manifesto, which neither breathes the purest sentiments of Christian charity, nor is in perfect accord with the commonly received law of nations, may, perhaps, admit of some extenuation from the circumstances in which it was written, since France was, at that period, the theatre of revolutionary government; and the style of his holiness has since been closely imitated, not more by the disaffected, than by the indignant friends of liberty of every class in Europe.

But whether the change of system in France, on the fall of the reign of terror, operated a change in the sentiments of his holiness, or whether that conversion was effected by the success and progress of the republican armies, the pope softened his warlike breathings into certain acts of kindness towards individuals of the French republic, who had been pursued by Neapolitan frigates, and were shipwrecked on the coast, and took occasion from that circumstance to declare that he was at war with no country. This disposition to neutrality arose, probably, not from any diminution in the hatred of the holy see towards France, nor from any unwillingness to see the whole system of its government crushed, with all its supporters; it was natural

that such should be the sentiments of every despotic prince, much more of him whose double empire was then tottering from its base in consequence of the progress of French arms and French principles. This pacific change was occasioned by internal dissensions, which required all the force and vigilance of government, and more so by the state of penury to which the treasury was reduced, from the wretched administration of the finances, which, at the close of the year 1795, when no hostile foot yet trod the soil of Italy, had fallen upon the expedient of forced loans and forced paper-money, subversive of national credit at all times, and current only when beginning or labouring through revolutions.

The pope, in declaring himself neutral, had certainly chosen the wiser and safer part; and it is highly probable, that when Buonaparte, in the spring of the following year, poured down his legions from the Alps into the plains of Lombardy, he would have attempted to have softened still further the enmity of the holy see, and made not altogether an useless ally, at least for some time, of the court of Rome, to the French republic. But this steadfast resolution of neutrality was shaken, when the pope gave permission, and directed the march of the Neapolitan cavalry, then hastening in vain to stop the torrent of republican victory. The consequence of this aggression was the loss of the provinces of Ancona, of the Bolognese, and Ferrara, the sacrifice of paintings, statues, and of contributions of money, which not only aggravated the public distresses and discontents, but hastened, by a series of still greater imprudences, the destruction of the papal throne and government.

We have now attained, by means of this epifodical narration, the period when the French and papal governments came into cloſer contact; and of which the hiſtorical ſketch, ſo far as relates to external affairs, is given in our preceding chapters. Whether the conduct of the pope, under the circumſtances in which he was placed, during the different phaſes of the French revolution, and the prejudices with which he was imbued, prejudices natural to his rank and ſtation, merited the chaſtiſement which he received on the firſt irruption of the French into Italy? or whether it would not have been more politic to have retaliated his injuries by forbearance? are queſtions which we ſhall leave to the diſcretion of the reader. Whatever diſpoſition there might have been in Buonaparte to humble the pontiff, his language and his conduct were precise with reſpect to the preſervation of the papal government, though, by his exactions, he had diminished the ſplendor of the pontifical throne and aggravated the burdens of the people. The prudence of the chevalier Azara, and his intimacy with the holy father, had led him alſo to concur in propping up this venerable edifice, which, though rotten at the foundation, and ſometimes beaten by domeſtic tempeſts, might, with care, have been preſerved till a later period from final diſſolution. The clemency or policy of the conqueror had ſpared it when the French armies were for the ſecond time (January 1797) at the gates of Rome. The alliance with the emperor whiſt an armiſtice had been granted, the conditions of which were not fulfilled, and whiſt a treaty of peace was negotiating, and the march of the papal troops, diſciplined by ſpiri-

tual exerciſes, and whoſe courage was propped up by the diſplay of fanatical labarums, againſt the French army, were cauſes for the laſt diſplay of the conqueror's reſentment, who had become, by various means, the maſter of whatever conditions he thought proper to impoſe. Whether the attempt to quell a ſedition, excited by no particular act of tyranny in the government, and of which the French embaſſador had previously declared his abhorrence and determination to puniſh the authors, if any ſuch came within his juriſdiction; a tumult of no dangerous completion, and which, but for the imprudence of thoſe who were ſent to ſuppreſs it, would have ſunk into ſilence—whether the unfortunate catastrophe which beſel the French general Duphot, and which was owing probably to his generous impetuofity, anxious to prevent bloodſhed, or to the miſtake of the papal ſoldiery, who miſtook him for an aſſailant—whether this unforeſeen and melancholy event, the immediate cauſe of the diſſolution of the ſtate, in which the government was no way concerned, and againſt which nothing but negligence has been imputed, can have juſtified meaſures of ſuch ſeverity, or not, we believe, will admit of little diſcuſſion with thoſe who are at once the friends of liberty and of juſtice. The government had indeed fallen into contempt and debility, with ſcarcely ſufficient force to keep up the internal police. Had the French, in thoſe latter days, withdrawn their protection, the papal power, no doubt, was too circumscribed to admit of long reſiſtance againſt the leaſt warlike incuſion of its neighbours; and the exiſtence of ſuch a government was no doubt in contradiction to the

the directorial system of proselyting and forming republics. The operations of the French government in Italy were at that time no longer subjected to the advice or modifications of Buonaparte; and the empty glory of erecting the Gallic standard on the Capitol bore down all other considerations.

The presence of the holy father in Rome was judged by the French commissaries incompatible with the tranquillity of the state. Hated, during the latter part of his reign, by his subjects, for multiplied errors of conduct, both public and private; despised for the puerile vanity which he betrayed on every occasion; with respect to his own person; detested for his protection towards his nephews, who, they alleged, had become the legalised plunderers of the state; and fatiguing the whole world by the commission of the involuntary crime of existing far beyond the longest period allotted to his predecessors by impatient ambition and capricious love of change, Pius, tumbled from his throne, became an object of interest and compassion even to those who had voted with most energy and perseverance for his fall. His first residence, after leaving Rome, was at Sienna, in the convent of St. Barba. An earthquake, which overthrew the edifices adjoining to that in which he resided, and damaged his own, led him to take up his abode without the walls of the city. From this place he removed to the Chartruse, situated two miles from Florence. There he held, but with greater circumspection than at Sienna, his little court; and, fearful of giving umbrage either to the French or Tuscan governments, he offered to leave the nomination and regulation of his household to the

inspection of the French minister. It was scarcely possible for papal humility to descend farther. The revolution has often presented strange and singular circumstances. Whether it was merely by chance or design, the officer, it is said, who was charged by general Cervoni to notify to the pope the decree of the French commissaries, that he should leave Rome, was a general of the name of Calvin; and M. Rheinart, the French minister at the court of Tuscany, under whose controul the pope submitted to place himself, was a protestant divine of the Lutheran persuasion. But, stripped of his temporal dignity, his holiness presented an example of Christian-like resignation. His retreat was cheered, indeed, by such solid proofs of friendship from wealthy and faithful sons of the church, as left him scarcely to regret the luxury of Roman delicacies, to which he was far from being insensible; and witty malignity has presented us with anecdotes of secret indulgences of the holy father, which, if they diminish somewhat of that habitual reverence which we affix to the sanctity of his character, present him under a point of view perhaps more amiable, and more engaging to the social affections. Disburdened of the weight of his dignities, he seemed to have become lighter of heart, and no longer embarrassed with the care of office, his health became more stable, his spirits increased; and making a compromise with his former habits and passions, diminished, or rather mellowed by age and disappointment, he seemed to enjoy rather than lament his misfortunes, and embraced adversity as the handmaid of happiness.

The nomination of Pius the
U Sixth

Sixth to the pontifical throne was the effect of no previous arrangement, but rather a *mezzo-termini*, or compromise between the contending parties, as being the personage the least obnoxious to either. It is not therefore wonderful, that, with moderation and talents far beneath those of his predecessor, he did not correct or weather the storm in which the bark of St. Peter would have sunk with a pilot much abler than himself. The harmless vanity of the pontiff, in the studious display of his personal attractions, may excite a smile; but, though vain glory often led him to the commission of acts which have been regarded by the devout with pity, and by the profane with contempt, every lover of the arts will pay him the tribute justly due to his zeal for the protection which he gave them, more particularly in ornamenting and enriching the celebrated museum of the Vatican. The industry with which he applied himself to works which might be deemed of public utility entitled him also to respect; but, unfortunately for the public purse, that industry was often ill directed; and his favourite plan of draining the Pontine marshes, the great object of persevering enthusiasm, and for which he has been so much applauded, ended in little else than wasting the public money, restoring the Appian Way, and enriching his own family, already grown a burden to the people. Possessed of many estimable qualities as a private man, he had few of those talents which are necessary to govern in times of difficulty or danger. Yeilding often to the impulse of the moment, the impetuosity of his character led him into errors which were followed by speedy repentance; presumptuous

with respect to his own opinion, he was blind to the future, where men of common sagacity had the clearest foresight; and, filled with ideas of the importance and dignity of his character, he prepared for himself numerous mortifications and insults, which he had neither the address to avoid, nor the power to avenge. As the visible head of the church, his attention to the duties of his office was uniform and exemplary; he has been reproached with making some of those duties subservient to his personal vanity, and with being sonder of public exhibitions than became the gravity and sanctity of his character: this charge may not be altogether unfounded, but it may be alleged, in his justification, that the relaxation of his predecessor, with respect to the ceremonials of worship, was a dangerous departure from the political usages of the church; and that a religious system, which had been established for ages, in defiance of reason and scripture, would soon lose its influence, especially at this season, if its theatrical pomp and ornament did not continue to dazzle the eye of vulgar inquiry.

Whatever were the failings of Pius the Sixth, or the vices of his administration, every compassionate mind will regard his misfortunes with sympathy and respect. His piety, though ostentatious, was devoid of hypoerisy, and his errors belonged to a situation which had ever been at war with truth. But he had scarcely begun to feel the blessings of retirement, which seemed a desirable haven after the rude storms through which he had passed, when the capricious tyranny of the French directory again invaded his repose. Under pretence that his presence, so near the seat
of

of ancient government, would probably endanger the tranquillity, or impede the regeneration of Italy, the French government enjoined the grand-duke to dismiss him from the Tuscan territory. The grand-duke, in obedience to the reiterated and angry injunction, complied with a feeling of reluctance; and application was made to the emperor to grant him an asylum in Germany. This plan having been deranged, it was proposed to send him to Spain; but the prudence of the court outbalanced its piety. A voyage to the island of Sardinia, where the danger of papal conspiracy would have been circumscribed, and where little other intercourse than the pious exchange of filial vows and apostolic benedictions would take place, had been decided on, when the state of the pope's health rendered his removal impossible. This malady disarmed the zealous malignity of the directory, nor did the return of health awaken it to new suspicions; and the pope continued to reside at the Chartreuse, till events, the history of which belongs to another period, occasioned his removal into France.

It would be also to anticipate the order of the narration of the year to detail the changes which took place in the Roman republic on the overthrow of the papal government, if these changes were not interwoven with the occurrences already related. Although the temporal power of the pope was destroyed, and his kingdom was no longer of this world, his spiritual authority continued to be recognised; and his functions were performed by a bishop, who, under the name of vice-gerent, dispensed to the faithful the sacred gifts according to their several de-

fires and necessities. Various were the regulations made by this representative of the pontiff, who, whilst he administered in holy things, with all the pomp and circumstance of his prototype, corrected various abuses of a spiritual nature, amongst which were the fasts and festivals in the church, the number of which were considerably diminished throughout the republic.

The temporal power intrusted by the French general to the provisional government was at length confirmed by a regular constitution, made at Paris on the model of the French; but in which the names of consuls, senate, tribunes, questors, and other titles of classic story, superseded the French denominations of directory, ministers, and councils. This constitution was judged to be an improvement on its original, and pretended to be a model for future reform in its turn; but as the restoration of liberty to Rome was no evidence that its new citizens knew either how to appreciate or preserve it, the last clause enacts, that, for the space of ten years, the French commander should have the veto in the formation of laws, with other attributes, which though unacknowledged in the code of the rights of man or of nations, were judged necessary infringements by the French government.

The palace on the Quirinal-hill, hitherto the summer residence of the pontiff, became the seat of consular dignity. The Vatican, from whose tremendous portals had burst forth those spiritual thunders which in remoter times had shook the world, opened its rich and various treasures of literature, here only the unavailing antidote to superstition; and the members of a

national institute, by whom it was now inhabited, formed a contrast with the pomp and luxury of its late possessors. The inquisition, and other monuments of spiritual despotism, which had long survived the spirit which gave them birth, perished, of course, in the revolution. One alone was preserved; not that it merited less the animadversion of the reformers, but because its abolition in the penurious state of the Roman revenue would have been impolitic; and, as far as it was connected with the fortunes of private individuals, unjust. The office is that from which briefs or bulls, for benefices, were dispensed; and which brought annually into the Roman treasury a clear benefit of from eighty to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. These expeditions were continued with respect to Spain, in the name of the pope, agreeably to an arrangement made by the Spanish minister with the Roman government; and the same steps were taken by other catholic powers for such objects as necessitated the interference of the spiritual authority of the church. The temporal establishments, particularly two banks; one for private loans or pledges, and the other for discounts, were preserved; but the credit of both, excellent in their institution, had been nearly ruined by the prodigality of the former government.

Of such disorders in the public finances, the revolution could only increase the weight. Confiscation of incorporate property, such as the domains belonging to the apostolic chamber, and estates of religious communities, which it was found expedient to suppress, and which the dispersion of the crowd of monks who had flocked to Rome from various quarters of

Europe gave the means of executing without violence or terror, yielded certain resources. But, as almost every source of public wealth was dried up from the lavish prodigality of the former government and the repeated and unjust exactions of the French, and the country had been delivered up to that kind of legalised plunder, known under the name of *requisitions*, which the necessities or rapacity of the victorious armies led them to impose; as the churches had already been spoiled of a considerable part of their valuable ornaments, and the rich had been laid under heavy contributions; as public credit, which was fast hastening to decay, from the shocks which it had endured under the former government, had received a fatal blow from the last occurrences; and the paper-currency of the state, which had hitherto kept up the circulation, had no other standard for its value than the avarice of stock-jobbers; and, as the pressing wants of the state (amongst which were wants that could not be adjourned, such as the supply of subsistence for Rome, which had always been a primary object of public attention) demanded new sacrifices, the government was compelled to have recourse to arbitrary measures, such as levying exorbitant taxes on the rich, who had been already exhausted—measures eventually ruinous to the mass of the people, and subversive of the spirit of liberty, but which, they pleaded, the exigencies of the moment forced them to adopt.

With this accumulation of difficulties, the Roman republic had to struggle in the first moments of its birth; difficulties which the French government might have considerably

ably diminished, had not other considerations, than those of establishing liberty, influenced the leading members of its executive power. The overthrow of the papal government was a measure loudly demanded, not only by the voice of reason, but by the rulers of almost every catholic country in Europe, to whom the papal yoke had become insupportable. But the passage from the ruins of that corrupted mass of superstitious des-

potism, to the erection of a free republic, founded on the basis of public virtue, is an enterprise of difficult execution. Unfortunately too the Roman government was instituted under the patronage of a directory equally unprincipled and impolitic. It was therefore formed for ruin; and, in our succeeding volume, we shall probably have to record its fall, and the partial and temporary restoration of the papal power.

C H A P. XIV.

Affairs of Switzerland. Disputes with the French Directory. Insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud. Interference of the French. March of General Menard. Revolution in the Pays-de-Vaud. Negotiations between the Government of Berne and the French Directory. Seditious Movements in the Bernese Territory. Insurgents of Arau dispersed. Fresh Negotiations. Swiss prepare for Defence. Castle of Dornach taken by the French. Soleure and Fribourg taken. Action between General d'Erlach and the French. D'Erlach completely defeated, and killed by his own People. Surrender of Berne. Submission of all Switzerland. Revolution there. Helvetic Republic founded. Pretended Preparations for the Invasion of England. Plan of founding a Colony in Egypt. Expedition of Buonaparte. Surrender of Malta to the French. Buonaparte arrives at Alexandria. That Place taken by Storm. Rosetta, &c. taken. Cairo taken. Battle of the Pyramids. Battle of the Nile, and Defeat of the French Fleet by Admiral Nelson. Reflections on the Expedition of Buonaparte. Proceedings of the French Legislature. Election of the new Third. Election of a new Director. Reflections on the present State of France.

IN a preceding chapter it will be perceived, that the next victim marked out by the ambition and rapacity of the French Directory was the Helvetic confederacy. That the aristocracies of Switzerland had been wholly blameless, either in their conduct towards their own people, or towards the French, is an assertion which an honest historian will scarcely venture to make. But if the power of the state, and its very moderate emoluments, were in some, or, perhaps, the majority of the cantons,

monopolised by a few families, it must still be remembered that authority was exercised with exemplary moderation, the people were contented and happy; and if, on certain occasions, the jealousy of French principles, or the influence of a powerful neighbour, had induced the governors of some of those republics to treat with less respect than ordinary the agents of France, this was a proper subject for negotiation, and not for war. The French Directory, however, had other views: the conduct

which they had pursued towards Venice, Genoa, and Rome, was now matured into a system. With them war, the last resort of human resentment, the worst of human calamities, was become a trade; and the unoccupied legions of France were to levy a subsistence on their defenceless neighbours. Among the obnoxious discussions which were agitated in the councils, previous to the revolution of the 4th of September, it will be remembered, that this system of aggression towards the neutral powers held a conspicuous place: such a discussion, it is believed, more than any other, heightened the apprehensions of the directory, and even of Buonaparte himself, and hastened the event of that atrocious day.

The directory, confirmed in power, and relieved from the controul of a popular legislature*, hastened, towards the close of the year 1797, to put in force their project of subjugating the Swiss republics. The first hostile movement on the part of the French was to take possession of the Helvetic part of the bishoprick of Basle, under some frivolous pretence, and contrary to an express treaty concluded with the Swiss in the year 1792. Either too weak or too prudent to resent this infraction of their rights, the Helvetic body still flattered themselves with an amicable termination of their difference with France; when an insurrection, which broke out in the *Pays-de-Vaud*, probably through French instigation, or at least through the influence of French principles, afforded a fuller pretext for the overthrow of the government. In the month of December, the French directory

thought proper to interfere in this domestic dispute, and demanded from the government of Berne what they termed the restoration of the rights of that people, and the assembling of the states of the Pays-de-Vaud in their ancient form: this demand they immediately prepared to enforce by arms; and general Menard was ordered to march, with a body of 15,000 men, to support the claims of the petitioning party in the Pays-de-Vaud. The designs of the French were for the moment frustrated by the timidity or generosity of the supreme council of Berne. On the 5th of January, 1798, they issued a proclamation, enjoining the citizens of the Pays-de-Vaud to assemble in arms, to renew the oath of allegiance, to proceed immediately to the reform of every abuse in the government, and to assert and re-establish all their ancient rights. A commission had been previously appointed at Lausanne, for determining on the claims of the petitioners, and for reinstating the country in its former tranquillity. From what causes it happened we have not as yet been correctly informed, but the proceedings of the commission seemed involved altogether in embarrassment and delay. The people became impatient, and the insurrection at once broke out into actual hostility. The castle of Chillon was seized by the insurgents; and the commotions which took place in the southern districts of the province appeared not less formidable. The government of Berne now determined to reduce the insurgents by force; and a body of 20,000 troops, under the command of colonel Weiss, was dispatched to dis-

* M. Mallet du Pan asserts, that it was through the influence of Carnot and Barthémy that the blow meditated against Switzerland had hitherto been averted.

perfe them. Whether the lenient measures purfued by this general were confiftent with found policy or not, it is impoffible, from the materials which have hitherto fallen under our infpection, to determine. Suffice it to fay, that though it is not certain that more precipitate movements would have faved the country, yet his inactivity undoubtedly ferved to increafe at once the power and the audacity of the infurgents. Thus fituated, the approach of the French, under the command of Menard, decided the conteft. On paffing the boundary, Menard difpatched an aide-de-camp, attended by two huffars, to general Weifs, at Yverdun: on their return, a fatal affray took place at the village of Thierens, in which one of the huffars was killed. Who were the aggreffors in this unfortunate bufinefs is not correctly afcertained, but it was regarded by Menard as a declaration of war. His troops immediately advanced, while thofe of Weifs retreated; and the whole of the Pays-de-Vaud was, by the beginning of February, in the poffeffion of the French.

The government of Berne ftill hoped, it appears, to avert the deftruction which now feemed to await them: the centinels who had killed the huffar at Thierens were delivered up, and fresh negotiations were entered upon. In the mean time, however, new infurrections were planned in different parts, and the revolutionary mania appeared to increafe. In the feditious afemblages on thefe occafions, the French envoy, Mengaud, was obferved to take a decided part; and, on the 2d of January, he formally reclaimed fome perfons who had been arrefted for treafonable practices by the government of Berne, as the friends and allies of the

French republic. To this reclamation the government of Berne paid little attention; and the ftandard of revolt having been erected at Arau, they determined on effective measures for its fuppreffion and their own defence. The Argovian militia marched to Arau; the town and province were immediately reduced, and the leaders of the infurrection were taken into cuftody.

War now appeared inevitable: to conciliate the minds of the people, and induce them more freely to lend their affiftance, the government of Berne decreed, that fifty-two deputies from the principal towns and communes fhould be added to the fupreme council; and, on the 2d of February, thefe new deputies took their feats. A general reform of all the abufes of the government was the firft refolution agreed upon in their deliberations; and the example of Berne was followed by the cantons of Lucerne, Fribourg, Soleure, Schaffhaufen, and Zurich.

While, in this ftate of things, fresh negotiations were commenced with the French directory, a defensive force of about 20,000 men was collected, under the command of M. d'Erlach, formerly a field-marfhal in the fervice of France, and ftationed on the frontiers. The other Swifs cantons difpatched their quotas to the defence of Berne, which amounted to about 5,500 men. A truce had been concluded with the French general in the Pays-de-Vaud, where an officer of the name of Brune had fucceeded Menard in the command. The truce was to have expired on the 1ft of March; but general d'Erlach, fearful left the fpirit of his troops fhould flacken, demanded, on the 26th of February,

positive orders to put his army in motion, and the council immediately made a decree to that effect. The plan of the campaign was now arranged by M. d'Erlach, and notice had been given to the posts that hostilities were to commence on the evening of the 1st of March; when the movements of the Swiss general were frustrated by the repeal of the decree which had been so hastily passed, and the negotiation was renewed with the French commander.

M. Mallet du Pan asserts, that the French general, Brune, had agreed to prolong the truce for thirty hours; but, on the 2d of March, the castle of Dornach, at the northern extremity of the canton of Soleure, was attacked and carried by the French; and, at the same time, 13,000 men were marched under the walls of Soleure, which capitulated to general Schawenbourg on the first summons. Fribourg was immediately after reduced by general Brune, and the Swiss army was forced to retreat.

While disaffection and mutiny pervaded the army of general D'Erlach, the inhabitants of Berne saw the rapid approach of the victorious enemy. On the 3d of March, the levy of the *Landsturm*, or, as the French would express it, the rising of the people in a mass, was proclaimed. The expedient did not succeed in favour of the magistrates.—The people were no sooner assembled in arms than they of themselves dissolved the government; a provisional regency was elected for the occasion; the event was notified to general Brune; and to facilitate a pacification, an order was issued to dismiss the army, on condition that the French would keep the posts they at present occupied.

Unsatisfied with this concession,

the French general insisted upon the town receiving a French garrison. In the mean time all was confusion, both in Berne and in the army; the left division of which had mutinied, deserted their posts, and put to death some of their officers. By desertion, the Swiss army was now reduced to 14,000, to which might be added the undisciplined rabble, which the *Landsturm* had called forth. About 8000 of the regular forces were stationed at Neweneg, and 6,400 held the position of Frauenbrun, against which general Schawenbourg advanced from Soleure, at the head of 18,000 men. On the morning of the 5th of March, both posts were attacked by the French, and a momentary success seemed to crown the valorous efforts of the division which was stationed at Neweneg; but the forces stationed at Frauenbrun were, after a vigorous resistance, obliged to retreat; M. D'Erlach rallied his men at Uteren, where a second engagement took place, but with no better success on the part of the Swiss. At Grauholtz, a league and a half from Berne, however, they again made a stand; whence they were driven to the gates of the capital, where, after another severe conflict, they were completely routed. The Swiss, in this engagement, lost 2,000 in killed and wounded; the loss of the French was about 1,800.

On the evening of the 5th, general Brune entered the city of Berne by capitulation. The divisions of the Swiss army, stationed at Neweneg and Guminen retreated; the soldiers of this last column, in despair, put their officers to death; and the unfortunate general D'Erlach, in flying from the field of battle, was murdered by his countrymen and soldiers.

The

The submission of nearly the whole of Switzerland followed the defeat of the Bernese. The democratic republics, however, still made a glorious stand; defeated general Schawenbourg, and forced him to retire, with the loss of 3,000 men, after he had consented to a treaty, by which he engaged not to enter the smaller cantons.

The Swiss confederacy, after this revolution, changed its constitution, and even its name. Provisional governments, under the direction of the French generals, were established in the different districts, and the whole assumed the name of the Helvetic republic. Exactions and contributions were levied, as usual, by the French commissioners; and some shocking enormities are reported to have been committed, chiefly by the army of the Rhine; for the divisions which belonged to the army of Italy are said to have conducted themselves with superior humanity and justice.

Such is the hasty sketch, which, from the scanty materials that lie before us, we have been able to form of these transactions. In our succeeding volume we shall present our readers with a more detailed and more authentic narrative.

The French directory had rendered themselves ridiculous by their bombastic proclamations and decrees against the government of Great Britain. Though the pompous title of the *Army of England*, however, was announced to the people of France, it soon appeared that their threats were an empty delusion to captivate the multitude, and to lull them into confidence by belief in an enterprise, which, even in the highest paroxysm of revolutionary madness, they did not dare to attempt. With that fickleness which always characterises weak

statesmen, the frantic project of an invasion of England was changed for another scarcely less absurd. We have no documents before us which authentically explain the object proposed by these contemptible politicians from the expedition of Buonaparte into Egypt. It was believed that his object was to penetrate either by the isthmus of Suez, or by the Red-Sea, to the Indian Ocean, to embark his troops, and, by a co-operation with Tippoo sultan, to endeavour the overthrow of the British empire in the East. To us it appears probable, that the directory in this wild undertaking had no definite, and certainly no rational object. After the treaty of Campo-Formio, the army became a burden, which they found it difficult to support, and which it might be dangerous to their authority to maintain. The invasion of England was found to be totally impracticable. — The fleet which should convey the troops would certainly experience nothing but defeat from the acknowledged superiority of the British navy, and they were apprehensive of the reaction such a calamity might create. To avoid these difficulties, and to find occupation for the active, and, perhaps, dangerous spirit of Buonaparte, an expedition was planned to dispatch him to a distant shore, where success or misfortune could little interest the nation, and where his defeat could excite no reaction or murmurs, which might endanger themselves. The consummate vanity of this otherwise excellent officer was a convenient instrument in the hands of cunning men; and the deliverer of the East was too pompous a title for the conqueror of Italy to resist. — Such, at least, appears to us for the present, the origin of this expedition. — More

—More correct information will probably enable us in our next volume to speak more satisfactorily on the subject.

The scheme was obscurely intimated to the council of five hundred by Eschaffereaux, on the 11th of April, in a speech, or report, which he made on the subject of colonisation. From that report, the sole object appears to have been the establishing a colony in Egypt, and “to regenerate (in the new language of France) a country which was the first theatre of civilisation in the universe.” While preparations were making secretly for the expedition, the public were amused with strange and monstrous stories of rafts, to be constructed for the invasion of England, and troops were collected on the northern coast of France, while the navy of the republic were secretly repairing to Toulon. At length, every thing being duly prepared, the general, Buonaparte, embarked on board the fleet, under the command of admiral Brueys, with about 40,000 men, chiefly the veterans of the Italian army, and sailed from Toulon in the latter end of May. Allured probably by the fame of its riches, Malta was their first destination. They arrived off that island on the 9th of June, and demanded leave to water the fleet. Apprehensive, however, of admitting so formidable an armament, the grand-master refused, and the French general prepared for an attack upon the place. The following day the French troops landed, under a heavy cannonade from the forts. The island of Gozzo was taken by one detachment, while the southern parts of the island was reduced by another. The bulk of the inhabitants took refuge in the garrison, while the French made preparations

to press the siege with effect. The resistance made by the Maltese was, however, feeble on the whole. A sortie was attempted from the garrison, which the French immediately repulsed, and the standard of the order of Malta fell into the hands of the victors. On the 11th, the grand-master proposed a capitulation, by which the whole of the island, and all its dependencies, were surrendered to the republic.

The victorious general, after leaving a garrison of about 4,000 men in Malta, proceeded on his voyage about the 21st of June, and arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July, having escaped the British squadron, which was detached in pursuit of him, under the command of admiral Nelson. His former fortune appeared to favour all his first efforts. The town of Alexandria was taken by assault on the night of the 5th, with the loss of between two and three hundred men. An almost indiscriminate plunder and massacre succeeded the assault; a circumstance which the general probably was unable to restrain, otherwise it certainly was the worst of policy in a country which he wished to conciliate, and, indeed, contrary to his general conduct in the Italian war. Rosetta, and some other places, soon after submitted; and wishing to mingle conciliation with terror, Buonaparte issued a proclamation, in the Arabic language, professing himself the friend and ally of the grand-signor; that the French were friends of toleration, and well disposed to the Mahometan religion; and that his sole object was to deliver Egypt from the tyranny of the Beys.

On the 21st, the French army appeared before Cairo, which was defended by Morad Bey with a considerable

siderable body of the Mamelukes. On the 23d, the place was attacked and carried; the Mamelukes fought with determined valour, but fell before the superior tactics of European veterans. At Cairo a proclamation was issued, appointing a provisional government for Egypt, in which the authority of the grand-signor was still acknowledged, and the general promised to secure the pacha of Egypt in all his dignity and power.

Undismayed, however, by their former defeats, the beys still attempted to rally, and a formidable force was collected in the neighbourhood of Cairo. On the 25th, the French general attacked one of their posts at Lambabe, when 300 of the enemy were killed; but this was only a prelude to the famous battle of the pyramids, which was fought on the succeeding day, and which decided the fate of Egypt. In that engagement, twenty-three beys, with all the forces they could bring into the field, were completely defeated. Two thousand of the Mamelukes were slain, and 400 camels, with their baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon, were taken; while the loss of the French is only estimated at twenty or thirty killed, and about 120 wounded.

Thus the subjugation of Egypt appeared to be complete; but a dreadful reverse of fortune now awaited the adventurers, and this hitherto fortunate commander was to experience a calamity which he has never been able to surmount. On the 1st of August, the British admiral, Nelson, who had received a reinforcement of ten sail of the line, appeared off the mouth of the Nile; and he no sooner discovered the enemy than he made dispositions for the attack. The French fleet was at anchor in the bay of

Aboukir. The admiral's ship had 120 guns, and above 1,000 men; three had eighty guns each; and nine had only seventy-four. They were drawn up near the shore in a strong and compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates and many gun-boats, and protected in the van by a battery, planted on a small island. Their situation, therefore, was extremely advantageous for defence; but the great danger of an attack did not deter the British admiral from making the attempt. He had as many ships of the line as the French commander, and he strengthened his line by the introduction of a ship of fifty guns; but, in approaching the enemy, he was deprived of the assistance of the Culloden, as it struck upon a shoal, from which it could not be extricated before the next morning. Three other vessels were hastily advancing in its rear; but the accident warned them of the peril; and they were so fortunate as to avoid the shoal.

The admiral was strongly desirous of breaking the line of the French, and surrounding a part of their fleet; and he ably executed his purpose. At sun-set the engagement commenced; and both parties fought with great spirit. While the victory was yet undecided, admiral Brueys received two wounds; and, having changed his situation, he was exposed to a fresh shot, which deprived him of life. When the action had continued for two hours, two of the French ships were captured; a third struck soon after; and the whole van was in the power of the English, who eagerly proceeded to a completion of their victory. L'Orient, the French admiral's ship was warmly engaged with several of the hostile vessels, when an explosion indicated

cated the danger of a conflagration. The flames made a rapid progress; and all endeavours to check their fury were ineffectual. Ganteaume, who had assumed the command, ordered the crew to quit the ship, and he himself seasonably retired; but only a small number escaped destruction, when, about four hours after the commencement of the conflict, the burning vessel blew up with a dreadful explosion.

The engagement was prosecuted at intervals till day-break; and only two of the French ships of the line, and two frigates, escaped capture or destruction*. Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, pursued the retiring vessels; but he was soon recalled by the admiral, as none of the ships could support him in the chase.

It was not to be supposed that such a victory could be obtained without a considerable loss of lives. In the British fleet, sixteen officers, and 202 seamen and marines, were killed; and 677 individuals were wounded. In the *Majestic* alone were fifty victims, and captain Westcott fell among the rest. The French loss has been variously stated; but it appears to have been very great. With regard to the prisoners, it is mentioned by Ganteaume, in an intercepted letter, that 3,100, of whom 800 were wounded, were restored by the British admiral, who, leaving a part of his fleet to blockade the port of Alexandria, sailed towards Sicily.

Thus, this ill-starred and indeed ill-concerted expedition served no other purpose than to swell the triumphs of the British navy, and to augment the power of an enemy at

once the dread and the abhorrence of the Gallic rulers. In the eyes of men of sense, the project could never be approved; but the defeat of the 1st of August put upon it, in the mind of every man, the seal of absurdity; and, from that moment, Buonaparte, and perhaps his government, might be considered as ruined.

The proceedings of the French legislature, during the course of the year 1798, were trifling in general, and scarcely worthy of the notice of the historian. In the month of April the election of the new third took place. The directory had employed every effort to secure the suffrages of the people in favour of their own creatures; but such were the sentiments, and probably the resentment of the nation, that all these efforts were unsuccessful. As the directory had established their power by trampling under foot the constitution, to preserve their seats, a new violation was offered to liberty and the laws of the republic. A message was sent from the directory to the council of five hundred, on the 2d of May. After enumerating the various efforts which the enemies of the republic had made, upon similar occasions, to introduce royalists and anarchists into the legislative assemblies, the message asserts, "that if ever there were a period in which the republic might appear superior to the perfidious hopes so often conceived for its destruction, and so often disappointed, it would be when, triumphant without, and seated upon the innumerable trophies which she has gained, she reckons almost as many victories as soldiers. Yet, notwithstanding this, there does

* Nine sail of the line were taken, and one (besides *L'Orient*) was burned, her own captain setting fire to her. A frigate also was burned by her commander.

exist an anarchical conspiracy to make the primary and electoral assemblies the nurseries of future plots." The directory next proceeded to state the revival of anarchy from the re-establishment of constitutional circles; they particularly point out Stratsburg, Perpignan, La Sarche, Metz, Vernnoul, and Paris, as places where the elections were influenced by the intrigues of the anarchists. The message concluded with hoping, that the council would not permit men loaded with every crime to sit in the legislature; and that they would mark with reprobation those infamous choices, equally derogatory from the dignity of the republic and their own independence.

An obsequious committee was appointed to make a report upon this message: on the 7th of May a report was accordingly made and brought up. It stated the necessity of excluding from the legislature the partisans of the two great factions which agitated the republic, the anarchists and the royalists. The reporter moved a plan containing eighty-eight articles; the first of which was to annul all the decisions that had been pronounced on individual election cases, in so far as they were inconsistent with the new disposition to be adopted.

The other part of the plan went to validate, or invalidate partially, the operations of the different electoral assemblies of the republic, by rejecting members of the same deputation, those whose election was ascribed to intrigue and the spirit of faction.

General Jourdan most justly considered the plan as hostile to the sovereignty of the people, and to the freedom of the constitution. Before the council took upon itself to act as a national jury, the exist-

ence of the conspiracy ought to be proved. Bouchin and Juifot spoke on the same side, and opposed a general proscription.

Audouin contended, that the interest of individuals must yield to that of the state, and that the measure proposed was necessary to the constitution, and the maintenance of true liberty. The plan was at length adopted, and Bailleul took occasion to declare, that the report was the production of the committee, and not of the directory, as had been insinuated.

By this unprincipled measure, the elections of six or seven departments were annulled *in toto*; besides those of a great number of individuals.

About the same period the negotiator Treilhard was chosen to succeed Francis de Neufchateau, who was the director destined to vacate his seat.

As the negotiations at Rastadt were not terminated at the conclusion of the year, we shall reserve an authentic detail of them for our succeeding volume. We shall then present our readers with a copious retrospect, compiled from the most unquestionable authorities, which will not fail to throw new light on most of the facts related in the present chapter. Towards the conclusion of the year a storm began to collect in the northern horizon, which threatens, if not to make shipwreck of the French republic, at least to dismantle it of some of the proudest of its trophies.

To the ambition, rapacity, ignorance, and folly of the late directory, the French nation will have to attribute whatever misfortunes may hereafter befall them. Their insolence and their folly was evinced in the abrupt and shameful termination of the negotiations at
Lille;

Lille; and their ignorance of the politics of foreign courts was proved by their dispatching (at a moment when they ought to have dreaded a new and formidable coalition) their ablest general, with the flower of their army, on the wildest project that ever a disordered imagination could conceive.

Attached firmly as we are to the cause of general liberty, we shall not regret to see French ambition humbled, and a seasonable check given to a career of conquest which threatened to bury in confusion and desolation the European world. More will, however, depend on the prudence of the sovereigns engaged, in the new confederacy than on the valour of their arms. Happy for them, for us, and for mankind, if they shall know when to stop! Let them beware of again goading to desperation a nation, which, with all its faults, is brave even to heroism, and skilled in the art of

war above its contemporaries. The confederated powers will, we trust, embrace the first favourable opportunity of restoring peace,—for it is peace, and not war (we again repeat it), which will effectually abridge the power and set limits to the encroachments of the French republic. If peace were restored, France would then begin to feel the wounds she has received; and we will venture to predict, that it will be long indeed before she will be able again to embark in a war. In the mean time contests will inevitably arise between the different factions in the interior of the republic. They will weaken one another more than they can be weakened by foreign efforts. The present ill-constructed fabric will inevitably fall; and a government will, we trust, be instituted in its stead more favourable to the liberties, the peace, and happiness of mankind.

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1798.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

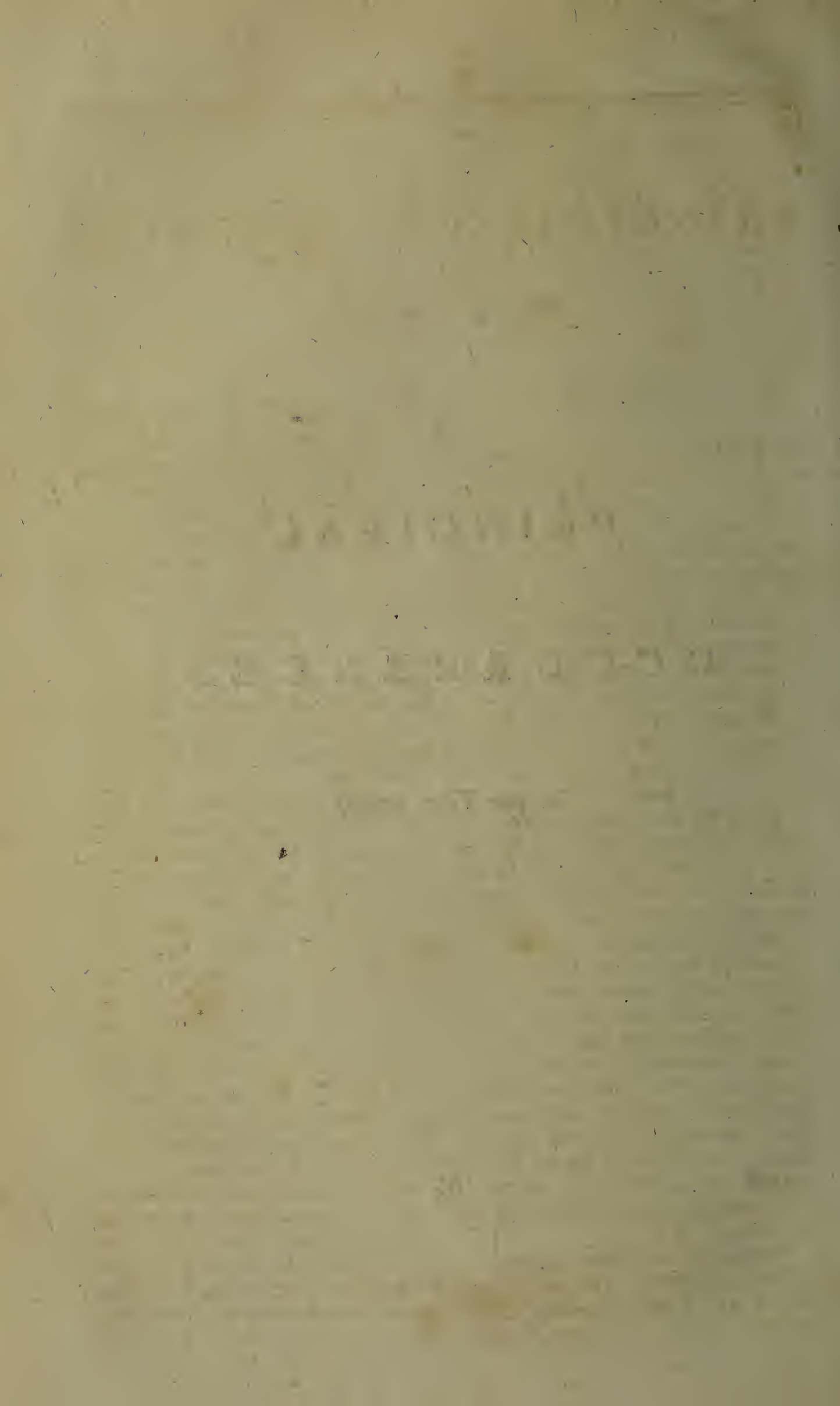
1798.	Bank Stock	3p.ct. red.	3p.ct. coul.	1p.ct. conf.	5p.ct. Navy.	5p.ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Bonds.	India Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	S. Sea Stock	Irish 5p ct.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Imp. Ann	Omn.	New Loan.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish Pr. 2d.ditto.
Jan.	{ 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ 118	48 $\frac{7}{8}$ 48	49 $\frac{5}{8}$ 47 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{3}{4}$ 59 $\frac{1}{4}$	69 $\frac{7}{8}$ 69 $\frac{3}{8}$	72 $\frac{3}{4}$ 70 $\frac{1}{8}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ 13 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	8 dif. 18	151 $\frac{3}{4}$ 145	48 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{8}$	48 47 $\frac{5}{8}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ 51 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	45 $\frac{1}{8}$ 44	9 $\frac{3}{8}$ 9 $\frac{1}{4}$			11 17 0 11 12 0	86 $\frac{3}{4}$ 86
Feb.	{ 122 $\frac{3}{4}$ 119	50 $\frac{1}{2}$ 48 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{7}{8}$ 47 $\frac{1}{4}$	61 $\frac{3}{8}$ 59 $\frac{3}{4}$	71 $\frac{7}{8}$ 69 $\frac{3}{4}$	73 70 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ 13 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{5}{8}$ 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	par. 3. dif.	149 144 $\frac{3}{4}$	48 $\frac{3}{4}$ 48		53 $\frac{1}{2}$ 52 $\frac{5}{8}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$ 59 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{3}{4}$ 44 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ 9 $\frac{1}{8}$			12 14 6 11 18 6	
Mar.	{ 125 121 $\frac{1}{4}$	50 $\frac{1}{4}$ 49 $\frac{7}{8}$	51 49 $\frac{3}{8}$	63 $\frac{1}{4}$ 61	74 $\frac{3}{4}$ 72	73 $\frac{1}{8}$	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 pr. 1 dif.	149 148 $\frac{1}{2}$		49 $\frac{3}{4}$ 49 $\frac{5}{8}$	54 $\frac{1}{4}$ 53 $\frac{1}{2}$		48 46 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 9 $\frac{1}{4}$			17 7 0 12 5 0	
Apr.	{ 122 116 $\frac{1}{4}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$ 47 $\frac{1}{4}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$ 48	60 $\frac{1}{2}$ 58 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{3}{4}$ 71 $\frac{1}{8}$	71 69 $\frac{7}{8}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ 13 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6	1 dif. 20	149 $\frac{1}{4}$ 147 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{3}{4}$ 47 $\frac{1}{8}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{3}{8}$ 52 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{3}{4}$ 57 $\frac{1}{4}$	46 $\frac{5}{8}$ 46	10 9 $\frac{7}{8}$			13 0 0 16 0 0	* 7 7 3 0
May	{ 119 $\frac{1}{4}$ 116 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{5}{8}$ 47 $\frac{1}{8}$	49 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{8}$	60 $\frac{5}{8}$ 58 $\frac{3}{8}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$ 72	73 $\frac{3}{4}$ 70 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ 13 $\frac{1}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$ 6		149 $\frac{1}{2}$ 148 $\frac{1}{2}$		48 $\frac{1}{4}$	51 $\frac{3}{4}$ 51 $\frac{1}{4}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$ 60 $\frac{1}{4}$	45 44 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{5}{8}$			13 10 0 12 19 0	7 7 0 7 6 0
June	{ 119 118 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 47 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$ 49 $\frac{1}{8}$	61 $\frac{1}{4}$ 61	76 $\frac{1}{4}$ 75 $\frac{1}{4}$	74 $\frac{1}{4}$ 73 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ 13 $\frac{5}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{8}$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		150 $\frac{1}{2}$ 148 $\frac{1}{2}$		48 $\frac{1}{4}$	51 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$ 61 $\frac{1}{4}$	44 $\frac{7}{8}$ 44 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	2pr. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		13 5 0 13 4 0	7 8 0 7 6 0
July	{ 125 $\frac{3}{4}$ 119 $\frac{1}{4}$	49 $\frac{1}{4}$ 47 $\frac{3}{8}$	50 49	63 $\frac{7}{8}$ 61 $\frac{1}{8}$	75 $\frac{1}{2}$ 74 $\frac{1}{4}$	76 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ 13 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		150 $\frac{1}{2}$ 144 $\frac{1}{2}$		48 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{8}$	53 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{8}$	69 63	46 $\frac{3}{4}$ 44 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{8}$ 9 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		13 5 0 13 4 0	8 0 0 7 12 0
Aug.	{ 132 124 $\frac{1}{4}$	51 $\frac{1}{8}$ 48 $\frac{3}{4}$	50 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{4}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$ 63 $\frac{1}{2}$	78 75 $\frac{1}{8}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$ 76 $\frac{1}{8}$	15 14 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 pr. 1	152 $\frac{1}{4}$ 146	50 $\frac{1}{4}$ 50 $\frac{1}{8}$	48 $\frac{1}{4}$ 48 $\frac{1}{4}$	55	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 68 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{5}{8}$ 46 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{7}{8}$ 10 $\frac{1}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		13 5 0 13 4 0	21 0 0 7 5 0
Sept.	{ 131 $\frac{3}{4}$ 129 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{3}{4}$ 49 $\frac{7}{8}$	65	79 $\frac{7}{8}$ 77 $\frac{1}{4}$	78 $\frac{1}{4}$ 78 $\frac{1}{8}$	14 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 dif.	150 $\frac{1}{4}$ 147 $\frac{1}{4}$				72 71 $\frac{3}{8}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$ 48 $\frac{1}{8}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ 5 $\frac{5}{8}$		13 5 0	7 8 0 7 5 0
Oct.	{ 139 130 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 52 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$ 50 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 66 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{3}{4}$ 79 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 80 $\frac{3}{4}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 $\frac{5}{8}$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		163 $\frac{1}{2}$ 150 $\frac{1}{4}$		51 $\frac{1}{4}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$ 55 $\frac{1}{4}$	74 70 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 49	11 10 $\frac{1}{8}$	19 $\frac{3}{4}$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		13 17 0 13 5 0	7 16 0 7 8 0
Nov.	{ 141 $\frac{1}{4}$ 132	56 $\frac{3}{4}$ 51 $\frac{3}{8}$	57 $\frac{5}{8}$ 52 $\frac{1}{8}$	71 $\frac{1}{8}$ 64 $\frac{1}{8}$	87 80 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 78 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ 14 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{5}{8}$ 6		171 $\frac{1}{8}$ 160		53 $\frac{3}{8}$	58 $\frac{7}{8}$	77 $\frac{3}{4}$ 74 $\frac{1}{4}$	49 $\frac{1}{8}$	10 $\frac{3}{8}$	20 18 $\frac{1}{2}$		13 15 0 13 12 0	8 5 0 7 16 0
Dec.	{ 138 $\frac{1}{2}$ 132 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{7}{8}$ 52	56 52 $\frac{5}{8}$	68 64 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{1}{4}$ 81 $\frac{1}{8}$	83 79 $\frac{7}{8}$	15 $\frac{7}{8}$ 14 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{3}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{8}$		167 $\frac{1}{2}$ 160 $\frac{1}{4}$				76 $\frac{1}{2}$ 74 $\frac{1}{4}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ 49 $\frac{1}{8}$	10 $\frac{7}{8}$ 10 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dif.		13 16 0	

PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1798.

1798.

(A)



PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1798.

JANUARY.

1. **T**HE election of an alderman for the ward of Farringdon without, in the room of John Wilkes, esq. finally terminated this day in favour of Mr. Price; who, having a majority of 207 votes over Mr. Waddington, was declared duly elected. The numbers on the three days poll were,

Mr. Price.	Mr. Waddington.
Friday 188	179
Saturday 280	167
Monday 138	53
<hr/> 606	<hr/> 399

2. The late heavy rains have been so severely injurious to the land in several parts of Gloucestershire and the adjacent countries, as to render it quite impossible to sow the wheats even till this advanced period. The Thames has overflowed its banks, and laid the fields on each side the high road quite under water for a mile in extent between Cirencester and Hampton. The sheep are driven from their pastures, and cannot even be turned into the turnip-fields, on account of the lands being too wet, as the dirt they collect there becomes too injurious to the fleece.

From the London Gazette, Jan 2.

Parliament-street, Jan. 2. A letter, of which the following is an extract, has been received from

Peter Le Mesurier, esq. governor of the island of Alderney, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Alderney, the 25th of December, 1797.

I have the honour of informing you, that yesterday afternoon, at three o'clock, a French cutter privateer had the boldness to chase the Ann cutter, of Hastings, close under one of our batteries, which she was just on the point of boarding with her boat, when the battery opened and obliged the French to sheer off.

Having observed that the English vessel outfailed the enemy while there was a breeze, and that the privateer was not of great force, I judged it probable that she might be captured by the troops of the garrison, and therefore ordered a detachment, with an officer, to embark in the same vessel that had been chased, and in another that fortunately happened to be in the road, having previously promised some gratuity to the owners, and in a few hours I learned, with much satisfaction, that the privateer was brought into our harbour.

She proves to be the Epervier, captain Pierce, with twenty-four men, mounting three guns, two swivels, and small-arms, belonging to Dunkirk, but fitted out at Cherburgh, on a fortnight's cruise from the 17th instant; had, on the 21st,

(A 2)

taken.

taken the brig Ann, Le Hirrel, master, from Gaspe to Jersey, with fish, and yesterday morning a small vessel, bound from hence to England, both which captures had been noticed from this island.

I cannot too much praise the readiness and alacrity shewn by major Gordon, the officers, and soldiers of the garrison, in the execution of my orders on this occasion; for the day was so far spent, that one quarter of an hour's delay might have frustrated all our exertions; but I am in duty bound to testify my particular obligations to town-major Hainell, who solicited to be employed, and instantaneously embarking, effected the capture without any loss.

I am further happy in reporting, that our battery was well served, as out of three shot fired within reach, one passed through the enemy's sails, and another killed a man on board.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Delphine, a French privateer cutter, pierced for 10 guns, 4 mounted, and 38 men, by his majesty's ship Niger, capt. Edward Griffith. She had captured the Active brigantine, of Jersey, and had been beat off the night before we fell in with her by an English letter of marque.—Also, the French privateer schooner Le Victoire, of 14 guns and 74 men, by his majesty's ship Termagant, capt. Lloyd, after a chase of four hours. She had captured two colliers, and was in pursuit of an English merchantman, when first discovered.

A common hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of electing a proper person to fill the office of chamberlain, vacant by the death of the late John Wilkes, esq. After the recorder had formally explained the purpose of the meeting,

Mr. Wilson proposed sir Watkin Lewes, which being seconded by Mr. Griffiths, sir Watkin came forward and addressed the livery.

Mr. Clarke, the other candidate, then shortly addressed the livery, and on a show of hands there appeared about ten to one in his favour: notwithstanding which sir Watkin demanded a poll, which commenced at half past two and closed at four, and upon casting up the numbers, they appeared as follow:

Mr. Clarke	—	393
Sir W. Lewes		48

Majority 345

At the close of the poll sir Watkin declined giving any further trouble, and Mr. Clarke was consequently duly elected.

6. This day passports were sent off, by the commissioners for French prisoners, for a French agent to come to this country, to superintend and have charge of the provisioning the French prisoners. It is now agreed upon between the two countries, that the prisoners of each shall be maintained at the cost of their respective countries, the markets of both being open to the agent residing therein.—The prisoners in both are likewise to be kept in two or three places of general rendezvous, in place of being scattered over the country as heretofore. This country will save near half a million a year by this arrangement.

7. Count Rumford has made a donation to the Royal Society of 1000l. in the 3 per cents. for the purpose of instituting a biennial prize medal, to be disposed of by the decision of the president and council of the Royal Society.

9. Charles Crawley and Joseph Robinson, two seamen belonging to

to his majesty's ship *Tromp*, were executed this morning at Spithead, for mutiny on board that vessel, during her passage home from *St. Helena*.

The *London Gazette* contains an account of the capture of *L'Aventure* letter of marque, formerly the *Onslow* Guineaman, of Liverpool, mounting 10 four and 2 eight pounders, and had on board, when captured, 190 men, by his majesty's ship *Mermaid*, capt. Newman.

10. At the Old Bailey sessions this day, Robert Reeves was put to the bar on a charge of forgery.

Mr. Fielding, on the part of the prosecution, addressed the jury. He observed that the crime imputed to the prisoner was no less than forgery, a conviction of which to their satisfaction would be attended with the forfeiture of his life; and for that reason, as well as on account of its being a crime that struck so deep at the root of the commerce and money transactions of the country, deserved their most serious attention. The prosecution was carried on, on the part of the directors of the bank, in consequence of that duty they owed the public. The prisoner, at the time of his apprehension, was a broker, in which situation he had acted for some years. Previous to his carrying on the business of a broker, he had been employed in some of the departments of the bank, and consequently was well skilled in all money transactions relating to it. It happened in the year 1796, that government had occasion for a loan of seven millions and a half, the terms of which were, that the 3 per cents were to be taken as at 67, and according to that rate the interest of the shares of such as meant to contribute to the loan was to be divided. The subscribers were also

to conform to this condition, namely, that if a person subscribed for one, two, or ten thousand pounds, he was to pay 10 per cent. on the sum he proposed to subscribe for, such advance to be made on the 26th of April, and the remaining 90 per cent. to be made good by six subsequent payments of 15 per cent. each. The second payment was to be made in May, and the third in June. In the act of parliament for regulating the terms of the loan, it was provided, that if subscribers, wishing to complete their loans, did not make good their payments within a specific time, that is to say, having paid the 10 per cent. in April, if they did not make the second payment in May, the first subscription became forfeited for the benefit of the public. This stock, of course, formed a considerable part of the business of the stock exchange. The prisoner was acquainted with a Mr. William Ashforth, who resided at Walworth, and knowing him to be possessed of money, contrived to get out of him sums to the amount of 3 or 4000*l*. The application of the prisoner to Mr. Ashforth for the loan of money was in the month of June, when the stipulated periods for the two first payments on the subscription to the loan to government, namely, the one in April and the other in May, were past. As a security for the money advanced by Mr. Ashforth, the prisoner deposited in his hands, what, in the language of the Alley was called scrip; the first installment of which had been duly paid, and the receipt signed by Mr. C. Allier, the proper clerk. This scrip, or receipts to the amount or near 300,000*l*. was deposited with Mr. Ashforth as a security for what he advanced. It happened that

this loan, after the first payment of 10 per cent. was made, bore a very considerable discount, and many preferred losing the first installment altogether, rather than running the subsequent hazard of losing their subscription; in consequence of which, this scrip became of very trifling value indeed, so much so, that there was discovered in the possession of the prisoner stock of this kind to the amount of near 60,000*l*. After the prisoner had made the deposit of this scrip, the matter rested till January 1797, when Mr. Ashforth conceiving that something more was necessary to make it a good security for his money, applied to the prisoner, who went with him to the bank for the purpose of getting the installments paid up, although he well knew the time had elapsed, and it was impossible to be done. The prisoner left Mr. Ashforth in the rotunda at the bank; staid away about two hours, and when he returned said he had paid up all the installments, and could give him the most perfect security. The prisoner then returned him six receipts, to the amount of 6000*l*. bearing on the face of them the appearance of every payment having been made at the proper time, and signed by the cashier of the bank. Thus was the forgery completed; but it was not till the October following it was discovered. Mr. Fielding said it was no matter whether the receipts were actually signed by the prisoner or not, the question was, whether he had not uttered them knowing the name to be forged. He thought from the whole of the circumstances, there could be no doubt of their not being the hand-writing of Mr. Allier, and consequently that the prisoner was guilty of the offence charged in the indictment.

The evidence of Mr. Allier was objected to by Mr. Wood, one of the counsel for the prisoner, and the court determined against admitting his testimony; however, it was proved by several clerks in the bank, who were acquainted with his hand-writing, that none of the receipts, except for the first advance of 10 per cent. were written by him.

Mr. Ashforth proved the several circumstances as stated by the learned counsel, Mr. Fielding.

A variety of legal objections were urged by Mr. Wood, Mr. Knapp, and Mr. Balmanno, but none of them were allowed.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, said, that the loan in 1796 seeming likely to yield a considerable profit, he had purchased scrip to a large amount for himself and Mr. Ashforth, on which he had made the first payment. Having accounts to settle with Mr. Ashforth, he had deposited a considerable quantity with him, which, owing to an illness he was attacked with, he lost the opportunity of paying the installments in their due time: that he therefore went to the stock exchange, and purchased other scrip with all the subscriptions paid up, but from whom he purchased the same he could not tell. He said scrip was considered as current as bank notes on the stock exchange, and it was usual with persons who had large dealings to purchase scrip without making any minute of the parties they purchased of. He further said, if he had had any idea of his having committed a forgery, he would not have attended the stock exchange till the very hour and minute of his apprehension.

Several gentlemen of the stock exchange stated, that it was not unusual in the hurry of business to purchase

purchase scrip, without knowing from whom, but on being cross-examined, they admitted they were in general as circumspect as possible, and took notes of the seller as well as the party for whom they bought.

Several witnesses gave the prisoner an excellent character, after which the learned judge summed up the evidence with the utmost precision and candour, observing, that the principal points for the consideration of the jury were, whether the prisoner had uttered the receipts knowing them to be forged, or whether he had fairly purchased them on the stock exchange from persons whom in the hurry of business he had forgot.

The jury retired for thirteen minutes, and soon after returned with a verdict — *Guilty*.

Plymouth, Jan. 13. On the morning of the 11th, the *Cerberus*, of 32 guns, captain Drew, arrived in Cawsand Bay, from Cork, having under her convoy the *Reynard*, of 20 guns, and *Epervoir*, of 16 guns, French privateers, which had been captured by her in November last. During the night of the 10th, and morning of the 11th, the wind blew from the southward with great violence, attended by a very heavy sea, and for the most part hard rain; this state of the weather continued until about half past one o'clock P. M. when the wind abated considerably, and veered a little to the westward of the south. All the morning, till that time, the *Reynard* was in great danger of driving on the rocks in Firestone bay, but she fortunately escaped, and is now safe in Hamoaze. As soon as the gale abated a little, captain Drew of the *Cerberus*, Mr. James Drew, acting lieutenant of the same ship, and nephew to captain Drew; captain

Pulling, late of the *Penguin*, of 18 guns, now on the Cork station, Mr. Poore and Mr. Daily, midshipmen, captain D.'s coxswain, and a black servant belonging to captain P. together with a boat's crew of six sailors, left Cawsand Bay in the *Cerberus's* barge, and steered for Hamoaze, captain D. having letters from admiral Kingsmill at Cork, for the port admiral here: they made their passage very safely, though the sea ran very hollow, until they came abreast of Redding Point, and at the opening of Hamoaze; but about two o'clock P. M. as they were passing the bridge, a very narrow channel, situate between Mount Edgcumbe and St. Nicholas's Island, they found, notwithstanding the wind had much abated, that the swell of the sea was there very heavy; occasioned by the then strong ebb tide from the harbour, running counter to the southerly wind at sea. The ground beneath being very rocky, and the water shoal, although we may fairly presume, that the utmost care was taken by captain Drew to guard against accidents, he could not prevent the melancholy fate which awaited him and his companions: when they got abreast nearly of St. Nicholas's Island, a heavy sea broke into the boat, which rendered her situation very dangerous: captain Drew now became alarmed, and instantly pulled off his coat to be prepared for the worst, at the same time advising all hands in the boat to consider of the best means of saving their lives, in case any still more imminent danger should arise: his fears were soon realised, for the sea which first struck the boat, was instantly followed by two others, by which she foundered, and, dreadful to relate, every person on board her, except two of the

sailors, perished. Not being able to swim, each of them secured an oar, and on these they were driven to the rocks at Mount Edgcumbe, by which means their lives were providentially preserved. Captain Drew was observed by these men for some time, combating the waves, and endeavouring to reach the shore, but his strength being exhausted, he sunk in their fight: his coat has been since picked up, and the letters for the port-admiral found in the pocket of it. Capt. Pulling had been lately promoted to the rank of post-captain, and took passage from Cork in the *Cerberus*, to join his majesty's ship *Hindustan*, of 54 guns, now fitting in this harbour for a store-ship, to the command of which he was just appointed by the lords of the admiralty. A short time since he married a daughter of admiral Kingmill, whom, among many other dear relatives, he has left to deplore this dreadful catastrophe. Captain Drew was unmarried, but has many very near relations at Saltaish, about four miles from the spot where the accident happened, to lament his unhappy fate.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 13, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the *Overysfel*, the 12th of January, 1798.

SIR,

I herewith send you inclosed a letter I have this day received from captain Lloyd, of his majesty's sloop *Racoon*, of this date, stating his having captured *Le Policrate* French privateer cutter, carrying 16 guns and 72 men, yesterday morning, off Beachy Head, which letter you will be pleased to lay before their lordships.

J. PEYTON.

Racoon, in the Downs, Jan. 12, 1798.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you that yesterday morning at seven A. M. Beachy Head bearing north-east, distant about seven leagues, I discovered a cutter in the south-east. I immediately made all sail in chase, and, after a running fire of two hours, within musquet shot, came up and captured *Le Policrate* French privateer, carrying 72 men, and mounting 16 guns, five of which were thrown over-board during the chase. She is an entire new vessel, copper-bottomed, completely fitted for three months, and bound to the West Indies; sailed from Dunkirk on Tuesday last, and had not taken any thing. It is a matter of much concern for me to add, that, in consequence of my being under the necessity of carrying a very heavy press of sail, my deck (the chase being on the lee bow) was exposed to a very heavy fire of musquetry and grape shot from his stern chase guns, by which Mr. George Kennedy, the master, was killed, in whom the service has lost a most experienced seaman and a gallant officer; four seamen were wounded; two severely.

ROB. LLOYD.

Admiral Peyton, &c. Downs.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of *La Zelig* French lugger privateer, of 4 guns and 47 men, by his majesty's hired cutter *Stag*.

13. The lord mayor being indisposed, alderman Le Mesurier, *locum tenens*, held a wardmote for the election of an alderman of Broad-street ward, in the room of Richard Clarke, esq. now chamberlain; when John Perryn, esq. of Broad-street, merchant, was chosen without opposition.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 16, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Reynolds,

nolds, Commander of his Majesty's Ship *La Pomone*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Plymouth Sound, the 14th of January, 1798.

I beg to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that in the night of the 26th ult. I lost company with the *Phœbe*, in a very heavy gale of wind at W. S. W. which came on the 8th, and continued blowing strong, without intermission, until the 24th, and, though the violence of the gale then abated, still it blew from the west; that with every possible exertion we were unable to get farther to the westward than 29 degrees of longitude before the 31st ult. the day on which my limited time for cruizing on the ground prescribed by their lordships expired.

On the 1st instant I edged away to the eastward, and on the 5th, at eleven o'clock in the night, *Ushant* bearing N. 65 deg. E. 94 leagues, crossed a large ship, standing under easy sail to the N. W. I instantly gave chase, and soon got close alongside of her; for it being thick, hazy weather, she was deceived in our strength, and shrunk not from the action, but had the temerity to exchange several broadsides with us before she called out for quarter; in which we had one man killed and four wounded, and our masts and rigging considerably damaged. Having shifted the prisoners, and our carpenter plugged up eight shot-holes she had received between wind and water, we were about to take her in tow (for her mizen-mast was shot away, and she was utterly disabled to carry any sail), when the officer on board hailed us, and said she was sinking. I sent all our boats to her assistance

immediately, and finding no efforts could save her, had but just time to draw our men and their wounded from her, when she sunk along-side of us. She proved to be the *Che-ri*, from Nantz, carrying twenty-six long twelve, eighteen and twenty-four pounders (mixed) upon her main deck, and two hundred and thirty men, commanded by *Monf. Chassin*; had been out fourteen days, and taken nothing: she had twelve men killed, and twenty-two wounded; among the latter was the gallant captain, who, with two others, died of their wounds the next day.

On Thursday evening, the *Eddystone* bearing N. E. twelve leagues, I captured a little privateer from *Ryisco*, called the *Emprunt Fosse*; had only two small carriage guns, six swivels, and 25 men on board; she had been out but one day, and had taken nothing.

Our main-mast and fore-mast being wounded, and both of them fished, and much of the standing rigging so injured that it is necessary to replace it, I thought it would be expediting the service to steer directly for this port, instead of *Falmouth*; and I hope my having done so will meet their lordships' approbation.

This gazette also contains accounts from capt. *Stopford*, of his majesty's ship *Phaeton*, of his having captured a French brig privateer, of fourteen six-pounders, called *L'Hazard*; and also a Spanish merchant vessel, from *Nantes*, bound to *St. Sebastian*, laden with sundry articles of merchandize; the latter of which, being of little value, he destroyed; and of his having recaptured an English merchant-ship, called the *Arthur Howe*, of *Dartmouth*.

17. *George Mealmaker*, of *Dundee*,

dee, was tried by the high court of justiciary at Edinburgh, for sedition, and was found guilty. He was the author of the handbill for dispersing which the rev. T. F. Palmer was sentenced to Botany Bay in Sept. 1793. See our volume for that year, p. (39.)

20. The London gazette contains an account of the capture of a French schooner privateer, called *Le Vengeur*, of 12 guns and 72 men, quite new; and also *L'Inconceivable* French privateer, of eight guns and 55 men; by his majesty's ship *Indefatigable*, captain sir Edward Pellew.

From the London Gazette, Jan. 23.
Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 20th instant.

SIR,

You will herewith receive copies of two letters from capt. Durham, of his majesty's ship *Anson*, and a copy of one from the hon. captain Stopford, of his majesty's ship *Phaeton*, which I transmit for their lordships' information.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

BRIDPORT.

Anson, Cawsand Bay, Jan. 17, 1798.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that in the passage to England, I have retaken the *Harmony* galliot, from St. Ube's, bound to London; also the *Active* of Baltimore, American ship, with a valuable cargo; and the *George Randolph*, under Danish colours: the latter being a neutral vessel, and not suspicious, after taking out the prisoners, I permitted the master to proceed on his voyage.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. C. DURHAM.

Right Hon. Adm. Ld. Bridport,
&c. &c. &c.

Phaeton at Sea, Jan. 11, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that his majesty's ships *Anson* and *Mermaid* joined me on the night of the 5th instant, the former having captured the French frigate the *Daphne*, on the night of the 29th of December, for the particulars of which I refer your lordship to capt. Durham's letter herewith inclosed.

This capture gives me much satisfaction, as the *Daphne* was the only British frigate in the possession of the enemy.

The alacrity with which she was discovered, chased and taken possession of, upon a lee-shore on the coast of Arcasson, reflects (in my opinion) much credit upon captain Durham.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. STOPFORD,

Right Hon. Lord Bridport,

K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Anson, at Sea, Jan. 4, 1798.

SIR,

In consequence of your signal, on the evening of the 29th of December, for having discovered an enemy in the S. W. steering to the E. S. E. with the *Anson's* signal to keep a look-out during the night, the moment it was dark I bore up, and steered the course I thought most adviseable to cut off the enemy, and have much pleasure in informing you that I had the good fortune to cross upon her during the night; having exchanged a few shot, she struck, and proved to be the republican ship of war *La Daphne* (late his majesty's frigate *Daphne*), mounting 30 guns, and having on board 276 men, among whom are 30 passengers of various descriptions, two civil commissioners (*Jaiquelin* and *La Carze*), charged with dispatches for *Guadaloupe*,

daloupe, which were thrown over-board. The *Daphne* had five men killed and several wounded. I feel much indebted to the exertions of my officers and ship's company.

I am, &c. P. C. DURHAM.
Hon. Rob. Stopford, Captain of
his Majesty's ship *Phaeton*.

23. Robert Franklin was executed, pursuant to his sentence, facing the debtors' door in the Old Bailey, for forgery.

27. The gazette contains a long proclamation, intimating that the plague had been communicated at Corsica by a vessel from Borberg, and requiring a strict quarantine for forty days to be observed by all vessels from thence, or from Spain, within the Mediterranean, or from Minorca, or Gibraltar. It farther contains a proclamation, permitting all his majesty's subjects, and the subjects of all states in amity with Great Britain, to trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies: except to and from the eastward of it; all the trade of or with which shall be carried on by the India company, exclusively; and except in warlike stores, which shall be conveyed only by the company. The goods or merchandize imported from India by the Cape shall not be exported thence, except by the company, farther than shall be requisite for sea stores. All the manufactures of the subjects of his majesty on this side the Cape to be imported by that settlement duty-free. A fifth proclamation extends, for six months from the 25th instant, the prohibition on the export from this country of naval stores, except to Ireland, or for the necessary supply of vessels sailing hence, or for the supply of his majesty's garrisons, &c.—It contains also a particular account of the capture of the *La Bellicieux*, a French corvette, now fitted as a

privateer, pierced for 20 guns, mounting 14 eight-pounders and 4 carronades, and 120 men, by his majesty's ships *Melampus* and *Sea Horse*;—Also, the *La Pensée* French schooner privateer, mounting two four-pounders and nine swivels, and carrying 32 men; captured by his majesty's sloop *Racoon*; and a proclamation for a general fast to be held throughout England and Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, on Wednesday the 7th of March next; and another of like purport for a fast in Scotland on Thursday the 8th of the same month.

Antigua, Jan. 28. On the 13th inst. died, at English Harbour, Charles Peterfon, esq. first lieutenant of his majesty's ship *Perdrix*. This event was occasioned by a dispute between the deceased and lord Camelford, upon the right of commanding at English Harbour. Lord C. commanded his majesty's sloop of war the *Favourite*, by virtue of an order or warrant from admiral Harvey; and Mr. P. (though an older lieutenant than lord C.) had lately served on board that ship under his command; but, having been removed to the *Perdrix*, and lord C. not having a commission as master and commander, Mr. P. being then at English Harbour, supposed himself to be the commanding officer, and under that idea issued some orders to lord C. which were answered by other orders from lord C. to Mr. P. Upon Mr. P.'s refusal to obey these orders, a lieutenant with a party of marines were sent to put him under arrest, and Mr. P. prepared for resistance, and ordered the crew of the *Perdrix* to arm in his defence. But before any conflict took place, lord C. arrived, went up to Mr. P. demanded if he would obey his orders or not; and, upon being answered in the negative,

tive, he immediately shot him dead upon the spot. An inquest was taken by the coroner the next day; but the jury, not being willing to take upon themselves the determination of the question upon whom the command at English Harbour had devolved, found only that the deceased had been shot by lord Camelford in consequence of a mutiny. A court martial has since been held on board his majesty's ship *Invincible*, in Fort Royal bay, by William Cayley, esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Invincible*, and senior captain of his majesty's ships and vessels in Fort Royal bay, Martinique, president; captains J. Mainwaring, Charles Ekins, Richard Brown, and Alexander Burrowes. — The court, being duly sworn, proceeded to try lord Camelford; and, having heard the whole of the evidence adduced on the occasion, and what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, and maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the same, and being fully sensible of the necessity of prompt measures in cases of mutiny, were unanimously of opinion, that "the very extraordinary and manifest disobedience of lieutenant Peterfon, both before and at the instant of his death, to the lawful orders of lord Camelford, the senior officer at English Harbour at that time, and the violent measures taken by lieutenant Peterfon to resist the same, by arming the *Perdrix's* ship's company, were acts of mutiny highly injurious to the discipline of his majesty's service. The court do therefore unanimously adjudge, that the right hon. lord Camelford be honourably acquitted; and he is hereby honourably acquitted accordingly."

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 29.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the

Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Lisbon, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, Jan. 10, 1798.

I inclose, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, letters I have received from the captains of his majesty's ships *L'Aigle*, *Blanche*, and *Mercury*, and *Speedy* sloop, acquainting me with the captures they had lately made: three of those taken by *L'Aigle* (the fourth being retained as a tender), *Le Bayonnois*, taken by the *Blanche*, and *Le Benjamin*, by the *Mercury*, are safe arrived in this river.

ST. VINCENT.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Tyler, of his Majesty's Ship *L'Aigle*, to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, dated off Cape Finisterre, Dec. 28, 1797.

On the 26th instant I chased into the bay of Corunna three vessels, and captured them, the *Aurora* in company. I left her in charge of the prizes, while I chased a suspicious sail to the westward. This morning I fell in with two of the prizes; the third, a brig laden with timber, unfortunately overset this morning, while I was in chase of them; however, the men were saved; the other two have hemp, coals, and nails. On the 30th of last month I captured a French privateer, of four guns, and 52 men; she had taken three English merchant ships, and sent one into Lach bay. I sent Mr. Tritton, the master, and 20 men, to cut her out. The same evening he captured a Spaniard, laden with Sardinias, and sent her for Lisbon.

I am, &c.

CHA. TYLER.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Rogers, of his Majesty's Ship *Mercury*, to Admiral Earl St. Vincent,

cent, K. B. &c. &c. &c. dated at Sea, January 6, 1798.

I beg to acquaint you, that yesterday, proceeding to cruize, in obedience to your orders, I fell in with, twenty leagues W. N. W. of the rock of Lisbon, Le Benjamin French ship privateer, belonging to Bourdeaux, pierced for 20 guns, but mounting 16 four and six-pounders (ten of which he threw overboard), and 132 men, which I captured after a chase of thirty-six hours; the Alcmene, Lively, and Thalia, under the orders of capt. Hope, joined company during the chase. The privateer sails extremely well, and is a very desirable ship for his majesty's service; she is copper-bottomed and perfectly new, this being her first cruize, during which she captured the Governor Bruce English brig, from Bristol, bound to Faro; a Portuguese schooner; and was beat off by an English letter of marque.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS ROGERS.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 30, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Moore, of his Majesty's Ship Melampus, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Cawland Bay, the 27th of January, 1798.

SIR,

You will please to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, on the 23d inst. in lat. 50. deg. north, long. 12 deg. west, after a close but short action, we captured La Volage, a French ship corvette, lent to the merchants, mounting 20 nine-pounders and 2 eighteen-pounders, and 195 men, commanded by citizen Desageneaux, captain of a frigate.

I am sorry to say, that two of the Melampus's seamen were mortally wounded, and are since dead, and three more dangerously wound-

ed. The enemy had four killed and eight wounded.

The officers and ship's company of his majesty's ship under my command behaved perfectly to my satisfaction.

La Volage was three weeks from Nantz, fitted for a three-months cruize, but had only taken an American ship, and destroyed an English brig from Belfast, bound to Lisbon with coals.

The captain and all the officers of La Volage are navy officers, with a congé for three months.

I am, &c. GRAHAM MOORE.

This gazette also contains accounts of the captures of the following French privateers; Le Bayonnois brig, of 6 guns and 40 men, by his majesty's ship Blanche, capt. Hotham; Le Dragon schooner, of 12 guns and 80 men; and Le Dix-huit de Fructidor sloop, of 10 guns and 75 men, by his majesty's ship Tamer, captain Western; and La Venturer, mounting 2 three-pounders, 6 swivels, and small arms, pierced for 8 guns, carrying 33 men, by the Penelope cutter, capt. Burdwood;—also, two Spanish privateer luggers, and a schooner, by the Speedy, captain Downman.

30. A court of proprietors was held at the East India House, to take into consideration the intended establishment of a government on the island of Ceylon in the East Indies.

The court having assembled, a long conversation took place between the gentlemen who had appointed the court to be held, and several of the directors. It was contended by sir Stephen Lushington, that it would be proper the proceedings of the directors with his majesty's ministers upon the business, should be previously read.—He conceived, that by reading those pro-

proceedings, the gentlemen who had called the court, might possibly be induced to abandon the purposes for which they had called it. At all events, whatever might be the result, he trusted the gentlemen present would refrain from those florid declamations, which, upon a question like this, might do considerable detriment, but could be productive of no good.

Mr. J. Adair, major Scott, and several other gentlemen, spoke to the point of order, whether the proceedings of the directors should be read. The chairman being unable to take the sense of the court from the show of hands, a division took place, when the majority was 91 against 58 in favour of the nine proprietors stating their purpose, previous to the directors reading their proceedings.

Mr. Huddleston then rose. He began by stating, that in bringing forward the present subject, he was not actuated by any motives of a party nature, by any considerations of general or particular disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers with regard to the affairs of India; on the contrary, he should be ever ready to give every aid to their endeavours for the public advantage. In times like these, when the country was at war with a most implacable enemy, determined to take every advantage of our situation, it would ill become any man to act in opposition to the measures of government, merely from a motive of party spirit; at the same time he saw no reason why men should approve, without distinction, whatever that government thought proper to adopt. In no instance did he disapprove of its conduct more than in the intended establishment at the newly-acquired island of

Ceylon. The attempt to establish a government there in the name of his majesty, distinct and independent of the East-India company, was a departure from the spirit of the charters granted to that company; a deviation from the system by which the affairs of India had ever been conducted; a manifest violation of the independence of the company, and an infringement of its rights and privileges. He maintained, that the right of the East India company to the government of the different places in India was secured to them, not only by their former charters, but was unequivocally acknowledged upon the last renewal of them; and that it was an unjust stretch of power to wrest from them their exclusive right to the government of the East Indies, by appointing an establishment on the island of Ceylon. He was well assured such an appointment would not only be destructive of the independence of the company, but also detrimental to the interests of this country; and he hoped the court of directors not only had resisted the innovation, but that they would continue to resist it by every possible means, and would use their utmost power to induce his majesty's ministers to relinquish their design. After making a very able speech, he concluded by moving several resolutions, the substance of which was to the effect,

“ That this court considers the appointment by his majesty's ministers of the Hon. Frederick North to the government of the island of Ceylon, as a measure injurious to the interests, and to the hitherto conceived rights of the East India company, and as a sudden and alarming innovation on a system under which the British interests in
India

India have been administered for nearly a century past; which system has proved not less beneficial to the public than to the East India company, and was expressly and repeatedly recognised and admitted, both by his majesty's ministers and the court of directors, in the course of the negotiation for the late renewal of the company's charter."

He moved another resolution, recommending the directors to apply to his majesty's ministers to induce them to abandon the measure, and in case of their refusal, to petition his majesty to that effect.

The resolutions were read, upon which Mr. Twining rose to second them. He entered into a general detail of the privileges of the East India company, as secured by charter, and particularly adverted to the language used by Mr. Dundas when their charter was renewed. He had said, that the affairs of India had succeeded so well under the management of the East India company, that no alteration in that system should at any time take place. He next read a variety of papers, to prove the exclusive right of the company to the government of the country. He afterwards observed, that the advantages to be derived from the island of Ceylon were trivial; that, in fact, the possession of it had been hitherto injurious; that the company had purchased an immense quantity of spices, which still continued on their hands, the duties on which amounted to 275,000*l.* liable to be demanded at any time by government. He concluded by observing, it was incumbent on the directors to shew they had done every thing in their power to prevent the present measure.

The chairman said, he was of opinion, had the proceedings of

the directors been read, there would have been no necessity for proposing the foregoing resolutions. He trusted now those resolutions had been put, there could be no objections to reading the proceedings. With respect to what had been mentioned concerning the spices, he was sorry to observe a very improvident bargain had been made by the company's servants. The duty was upwards of 300,000*l.* on those spices; but he could assure the court it was not intended by government to take those duties in advance, but only as the articles were consumed. He trusted the reading their proceedings would put an end to the discussion.

The proceedings of the court of directors, containing a preliminary correspondence with Mr. Dundas; the opinion of the company's counsel in favour of the king's legal right to appoint a governor; minute of a conversation between the chairs and Mr. Dundas, with a subsequent resolution of the court of directors, recommending, under all the circumstances, an acquiescence in the appointment; also a letter from Mr. Dundas to the chairs, dated the 29th instant, protesting in very strong and pointed terms against any dereliction of the powers of the crown to appoint a governor for Ceylon; having been read by the clerk;

Sir Francis Baring said he was of a different opinion from the counsel whose sentiments had been just read. He conceived the present establishment was only adopted for the purpose of throwing patronage into the hands of Mr. Dundas and his majesty's ministers. This cannot be an appointment to provide for any particular party, unless they know not how else to provide for the persons they are about to send

send out. It has been stated, that the establishment is to be very small; what was the suite of lord Mornington? *that*, indeed, must be in the recollection of the court. What now is to be the suite of the Hon. Mr. North? He is to have a secretary, a private secretary, a sub-secretary, who is to have an assistant secretary, two clerks, and three gentlemen to learn the languages. Why not send a person conversant in the languages, and maintain him yourselves?

The deputy chairman (Mr. Bosanquet) contended at considerable length, that the right of the appointment was in the crown, as much so as the appointment of a governor to Botany Bay, or any other place. He thought it safe in the hands of government, and could not see that it was any advantage to the East India company.

Mr. Jones Adair contended that it was not a question of prerogative, but of patronage; and concluded by moving that the discussion be adjourned to a future day.

Mr. Rous informed the court, that his opinion had not been formed upon the charter of 1758, or upon the opinions of the attorney and solicitor general of that day; but upon the spirit of the various acts of parliament made for the regulation of the government of India.

Mr. Jackson opposed the motion of Mr. Adair, in a speech of much length, in which he contended, that by this appointment the trade of the East India company would be considerably injured. That as the grant was exclusively theirs, so ought to be the appointment of a government. It had been so for more than 150 years past. A simi-

lar contest took place after the capture of Pondicherry by an union of forces; but lord Pigot claimed Pondicherry for the East India company. Sir J. Lindsey at that period went out, and exercised his powers in favour of the crown. Where now, asks the nabob, is the power of this great company, who have so long governed in India? The popularity of the company was about to experience a rapid decline, when sir J. Lindsey was called home, by which measure India was saved. He went into considerable length as to the general tendency of the appointments on the East India company's concerns, and concluded by moving the following amendment:

“That this court do agree in opinion with the court of directors in their resolution of the 25th inst. but, at the same time, that this court agree with their court of directors on the inexpediency of taking any further steps at present, after reference to the written declaration of the right hon. Henry Dundas, in his letter of the 16th inst. read this day, they confidently rely on their care and vigilance, that this temporary appointment shall not be drawn into a precedent for establishments, which, if made permanent, must materially affect the rights and interests of the company under the present charter.”

Mr. Henchman seconded the amendment. The chairman read an extract of a letter from Mr. Dundas, in which it stated, that the government of the island of Ceylon was to be given up to the India company on the conclusion of peace, and that they, in the mean time, were to have the exclusive trade of the island.

Sir Francis Baring suggested the propriety of both the original resolutions,

lutions, as made by Mr. Huddleston, and Mr. Jackson's amendment being adjourned, upon the propriety of which a long conversation took place between Mr. alderman Lushington, Mr. Twining, the deputy chairman, Mr. Henchman, lord Kinnaird, sir Stephen Lushington, Mr. Huddleston, Mr. Grant, sir Francis Baring, Mr. Randle Jackson, Mr. Durant, and Mr. Knox.

After which the chairman put the question of adjournment; and upon a division there appeared,

For the adjournment - 41

Against it - - - - 37

Majority for the adjournment 4

FEBRUARY.

Admiralty Office, Feb 6, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris in the Tagus, on the 20th of January, 1798.

SIR,

I inclose letters from the captains of L'Aigle, Alcmene, and Mercury, Speedy and King's Fisher sloops, reciting the captures of French and Spanish privateers, made by the ships and sloops under their commands. The judgment displayed by captain Pierrepont, joined to his spirited conduct, and that of the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop King's Fisher, in the action with the Betsey, does credit to them, and honour to his majesty's arms; and the activity of all the cruizers under my command is worthy of commendation.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.
1798.

Mercury, at Sea, Jan. 15.

My Lord,

I had the honour to acquaint you, in my letter of the 6th inst. of having captured Le Benjamin French ship privateer, belonging to Bourdeaux. I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that, this morning, Cape Finisterre bearing east half north 40 leagues, we discovered two sail to leeward, and, upon chasing them, soon found they were armed vessels. They continued near together until the Mercury came almost within gun shot of the sternmost, intending, as I supposed, to support each other; but, upon being close-pressed, they steered different courses, and I was enabled to come up with only one of them, after a chase of eight hours, who fired a few shot, and struck his colours. She proves to be Les Trois Sœurs French brig privateer, belonging to Rochelle, pierced for 18 guns, but mounting 16 six-pounders, and 100 men, copper-bottomed, sails remarkably well, and only five days out of port on her first cruize. I have the honour to be, &c.

THO. ROGERS.

King's Fisher, Tagus, Jan. 12.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that on the morning of the 8th instant, the Burlings bearing east, distant fifty leagues, at day-light we discovered a ship in our weather quarter, and soon after perceived her to bear up, and stand towards us; at nine we tacked, and at half past she hoisted French colours, and began firing, which we returned as we passed on different tacks, but at too great a distance to do much execution; she then wore: finding we could not weather her as I wished, we shortened sail for her to get abreast

(B) of

of us, when we began to engage, and continued for an hour and a quarter; falling little wind, and our jib-boom being carried away, she shot a-head of us, and endeavoured to make off, crowding all sail, and firing her stern chasers. Having got out another jib-boom, and the wind freshening, at one P. M. we were enabled to renew the action, which was continued for half an hour, when she struck. She is called *La Betsey*, a ship privateer, fitted out at Bourdeaux, copper-bottomed, pierced for 20 guns, but mounting only 16 six-pounders, and had on board 118 men, one of whom was killed; the first and second captain and six seamen wounded; the second captain and three seamen since dead of their wounds. She had been out fifteen days, but made no capture.

The damages sustained by the *King's Fisher* in hull, sails, and rigging, are trifling; and I am happy to add, that one man only is slightly wounded.

I beg to express my entire approbation of the steadiness and good conduct of the officers and ship's company during the action, and have the honour to be, &c.

CH. H. PIERREPONT.

Copy of another Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship *Ville de Paris*, in the River Tagus, Jan. 20, 1798.

SIR,

I inclose a letter I have received from captain Williams, commander of his majesty's store-ship *Gorgon*, whose judgment in bearing away for Lisbon, upon the intelligence he had obtained, meets my full approbation, and you will acquaint the lords commissioners of the

Admiralty with his subsequent success.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.
Gorgon, Tagus, Jan. 16.

My Lord,

I have the pleasure of acquainting your lordship, that at half past noon, on Saturday the 13th, in lat. 46 deg. 9 min. long. 7 deg. 33 min. Cape Finisterre bearing S. 20 W. distance about seventy leagues; I fell in with and retook the *Anne* brig, of Dartmouth, bound from Newfoundland to Lisbon. She had been taken fifteen days by a French privateer; and whilst exchanging people, another brig, under national colours, bore down upon us, who, after a few shot being fired at her, struck to his majesty's ship under my command; she proves to be *Le Henri*, a French privateer, from Nantes, carrying 14 guns, and 108 men; she had thrown five of her guns overboard, had been out five days, and taken nothing. I immediately ordered my first lieutenant Archbald, with Mr. Tritton and sixteen other supernumeraries belonging to *L'Aigle*, to take possession of her, and proceed in company with me to Lisbon, where I have the additional pleasure to inform your lordship she is safe arrived, and have every reason to expect the brig will shortly join us. I am, &c.

RICH. WILLIAMS.

This Gazette also contains accounts of the captures of a French privateer ship, of 20 guns and 90 men, copper-bottomed, and a fast sailer, by his majesty's sloop *L'Aigle*, capt. Tyler; *Le Buonaparte* French privateer, carrying two guns, some swivels, and 40 men, by the *Lively*, capt. Hope; a Spanish schooner privateer, mounting four carriage guns and 12 swivels, with 40 men, new and coppered, by

by the Speedy, capt. Downman; and L'Henrouffe Nouvelle French ship privateer, of 22 guns, and 130 men, by the Indefatigable, captain sir Edward Pellew.

6. A general court of proprietors of bank stock was held at the Bank, convened by public advertisement, at the instance of nine proprietors, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of a subscription to the books now opened for receiving contributions for the public service, to be made by the Bank in its corporate capacity." At twelve o'clock the directors came in, and Mr. Thornton officiated as *locum tenens* for the governor (Mr. Raikes), whose absence, he informed the court, could not be avoided. He stated the purpose for which they were assembled, and directed the secretary to read the requisition of the nine proprietors at whose desire the meeting had been called. After Mr. Best had read the letter,

Mr. Foster (the banker) informed the court, that he had serious doubts in his mind, whether as a corporate body, that meeting had a right to dispose of the property in bank stock, not being able to say how those members who were not present could be bound by their determination. He professed himself a friend to the measure about to be proposed, but wished for information on this head.

Mr. Thornton said, that having himself no doubt of the power of the present meeting, he had not directed the counsel for the Bank to attend, or to give his opinion on the subject; but informed the court that their solicitor (Mr. Kaye) was present, who would give them every satisfactory information in his power.

Mr. Kaye then read various ex-

tracts from their charter, and other official documents, tending to prove, that the body of the proprietors were to be governed by the majority of voices to be collected at a general meeting.

Mr. Foster again rose. He said his doubts were still unsatisfied; and before the meeting proceeded to the adoption of any thing decisive, he submitted to it the propriety of taking the opinion of their counsel on the subject of his doubts.

Mr. Smith (of the house of Smith and Devisme) called the attention of the proprietors to the alarming situation of the country. He exhorted the meeting to be alive to the present exigencies, to lend their best aid to avert the surrounding difficulties, and by their conduct of that day, set an example worthy of the imitation of all other corporate bodies in the kingdom: and concluded by moving, "That the governor or deputy governor of the Bank of England, be directed by this court to subscribe at the books now opened for receiving contributions for the public service, the sum of ———"

Mr. Bosanquet stated it as his opinion (in answer to his friend Mr. Foster), that he had no doubt in his mind, but that the court then assembled had full power to come to any resolution they might think fit, by which the proprietors, in their corporate capacity, were bound to abide.

Mr. Alderman Lushington seconded the motion of Mr. Smith, and began a very long speech, by expressing his assent to the sentiments expressed by Mr. Bosanquet, relative to the right the present meeting had of voting any part of the surplus of the profits of the corporation to be applied to any specific purpose. The alderman then drew a picture of the state of

this country, contrasting it with France, and reminded the meeting of the sacrifices made at the period of the revolution. The question now, he said, was not, whether one form of the constitution or another should be preferred, but we were now contending whether this day three months we should have any constitution at all. He entreated them to reflect on the importance of the moment, and the necessity of great exertion. An example had been set, he said, by the highest personage in the kingdom, which many appeared to think would have had a better effect, had the sum given been larger. He had taken much pains to acquire information, as to the means of the personage he alluded to; and as it was well known that the civil list was appropriated by act of parliament; and that the only sum which his majesty had at his own disposal, was the sum of 60,000*l.* per annum, which was given not for the purposes of dissipation, but for those beneficent purposes to which it was constantly applied by that great personage. This then was the only income possessed by his majesty, out of which he had most generously given one third. He trusted that this high example would have its effect, and induce others to offer a liberal aid to the services of government.

Mr. Edward Kemble expressed his sorrow that the doubts of any individual member should, for an instant, have delayed the meeting from coming to a resolution. For his own part, he said, he was but a small holder of bank stock; but was it ten times its present amount, most willingly would he give it, should it contribute to the downfall of an implacable and ambitious enemy, or to the restoration of peace. He entreated that some member

would now move to fill up the blank.

Mr. Thornton observed, in consequence of what had fallen from Mr. Lushington, respecting the contribution of a high personage, and he thought it prudent to state, that a communication on that subject had been sent to the governor, from authority that might be relied on, that in contradiction to the various rumours which had gone abroad, an income of 60,000*l.* per annum, derived from the civil list, was the whole sum at the disposal of his majesty—nor was there any sum of money, in this or any other country, which he could appropriate to this purpose.

Mr. Hunter then moved, that the blank be filled up with the sum of two hundred thousand pounds.

Several members were for half a million.

Mr. Smith begged leave to fill up the blank with the sum mentioned by his friend (Mr. Hunter), which being done, the question was put, and carried unanimously.

Shrewsbury, Feb. 7. About three weeks ago, as lord Berwick's workmen were employed in digging his lordship's new piece of water, between Ternbridge and the river Severn, in a ploughed field, yet at a very little more than plough-depth, beneath the surface of the earth, they came to an enclosure of large stones, within which were ranged three large glass urns of very elegant workmanship, one large earthen urn, and two smaller ones of fine red earth. Each of the urns has one handle, and the handles of the glass urns are elegantly ribbed. The glass urns were about twelve inches in height, and ten in diameter. The large earthen urn is so much broken that its dimensions cannot be made out: but on its handle are stamped the letters SPAN, which are supposed to be the workman's

man's mark; the small urns are about nine inches high. Within the glass urns were the remains of burnt bones and fine mould; and in each a fine glass lachrymatory, consisting of the same materials as the urn, which are a most beautiful transparent light green. Near one of them was a part of a jaw-bone, with a grinder quite perfect therein. An earthen lamp, and a few Roman coins of the lower empire, of no value, were discovered in the same place. The whole was covered with large flat stones, whereon was laid a quantity of coarse rock stone; from which extraordinary care to preserve these remains, as well as from the fine quality and colour of the glass, it may be presumed to have been the burial place of some family of distinction, resident in the neighbouring colony of Uriconium. One of the glass urns, and part of another, the fragments of the larger earthen urn, one of the small ones, one of the lachrymatories, the lamp, and a few coins, are the only parts of this most curious discovery which were rescued from the spades of the workmen.

9. This day at one o'clock, the lord-mayor, attended by a numerous body of respectable merchants, bankers, &c. appeared upon a temporary hustings erected in the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary contributions for the service of the country. The whole area of the Exchange was crowded with the most respectable merchants and traders of London, to the number of many hundreds.—The lord-mayor, in a short speech, having stated the object of the meeting, Mr. Bosanquet said, they were now called upon, in a crisis of danger and difficulty, to step forward in defence of their coun-

try. It was not necessary for him to remind them of the contest in which we were engaged: it was admitted by the merchants of London, that we were struggling for the preservation of a constitution diffusing invaluable blessings, and protecting all ranks of men from oppression and tyranny. The merchants of London, he was certain, would ever support the high character for patriotism and liberality, which they had so successfully established; and he hoped, that the present subscription would not only aid the public service in a very material degree, but, as a proof of the general feeling and sentiments of the country, would be universal. He wished it to extend from one end of these kingdoms to the other, that the world may be convinced, that Britons are unanimous in their determination to defend their constitution and government, as by law established, against the utmost efforts of a ferocious and inveterate enemy. Mr. Bosanquet concluded his speech with proposing several resolutions, stating the necessity of the subscription, from the conduct of the enemy; and proposing that books should be opened at the Exchange for subscriptions, to be afterwards forwarded to the Bank of England; recommending at the same time to all bodies corporate, mayors and chief officers of cities and towns in the kingdom to call meetings, and promote subscriptions, in their respective districts. The resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and loud shouts of applause. The thanks of the meeting were then returned to the lord mayor, and books were immediately opened, to which great numbers appeared crowding to enter their names.

Before the meeting broke up;
(B 3). Mr.

Mr. alderman Watson stepped forward, and exclaimed—"One cheer for Old England," which was immediately given with great enthusiasm; and it was followed by another—for "The King."

As soon as the meeting was dissolved, four separate books were opened on the hustings; and at the close of the day, the exact sum subscribed in cash was 46,534l. 34s. 6d. which, if calculated for the time the books were opened, is at the rate of 400l. a minute.—The number of subscribers was 218, and the subscriptions from one guinea to 3000l. which last sum was the donation of the house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. with the promise of continuing it annually during the war. Several other subscriptions were also set down as annual; and the whole are free gifts, without any reference to a composition in lieu of taxes.

The manager of Covent-garden theatre, with a laudable spirit of patriotism, devoted the profits of this night's entertainment to the voluntary subscription for the defence of the country. After the play an interlude, consisting of loyal and patriotic songs, was given. There was not a crowded house, but a large and elegant audience; and as the price of admission to the boxes and pit was advanced, and all the performers and servants of the house played gratuitously, the profits must have been considerable.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 13.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Coast of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Cork, the 4th Instant.

SIR,

Please to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty,

the accompanying letter to me from captain Frazer of his majesty's ship Shannon, giving account of his having captured, off Cape Clear, on the 2d instant, a large French ship privateer, mounting 24 guns and 150 men, with which he arrived here last evening.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Shannon, Cove of Cork, Feb. 3.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that yesterday, at three P. M. being six or eight leagues to the southward of Cape Clear, with his majesty's ship under my command, I saw and gave chase to a ship in the N. E. She at first hoisted English colours, but on the Shannon's firing a shot towards her, she hauled them down, hoisted the national flag, and fired her stern chases; continuing to do so (without effect) until the Shannon's shot fell far beyond her, when she struck her colours, and brought to at five P. M.

She is called Le Duguay Trouin, a privateer of St. Malo, commanded by citizen Legue, mounting 24 six pounders, several of which were thrown overboard during the chase, and armed with 150 men.

She sailed from St. Malo the 3d of November, but having been forced into the river Benois, in Brittany, by bad weather, she had been only eight days from thence; she had taken nothing until early in the morning of the day I fell in with her, when she captured the Wilding, of Liverpool, Henry Ward, master, from Jamaica, 23 of whose crew I found on board her. I have to regret the extreme haziness of the weather all day, which prevented any object from being seen at more than four or five miles distance, otherwise I think I must have seen and re-captured that ship; but

but it blowing very fresh at west, it was late in the night before the prize could be secured and the prisoners shifted, which having done, I thought it necessary, from the number on board, and the state of the Shannon's rigging, which had suffered much in the late gale, to proceed for this port.

Le Duguay Trouin is 112 feet long on the gun deck, and 30 broad; she is very well found in every thing as a privateer, and sails fast. I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. FRASER.

Vice-Admiral Kingmill, Cork.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of a Spanish letter of marque, of 6 guns and 17 men, by the Aurora, capt. Digby.

13. The lord mayor held a court of common council, in consequence of the requisition he received while sitting in the last court, for the purpose of considering a motion for voting a sum in aid of the voluntary contributions at the bank of England, for the defence of the country.

Mr. deputy Welch introduced the motion, observing, that at this momentous crisis, it was necessary for something more than professions to be done; he would therefore move, that the sum of 10,000l. be voted.

After several gentlemen had given their opinion on the subject, the amended motion was negatived, and the court almost unanimously agreed to vote 10,000l. and the chamberlain signed the book for the same.

The resolution was ordered to be printed in the papers.

After the court broke up, several of the aldermen and commoners subscribed their names for various sums in a book, which was produced by Mr. Kemble.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 17. This gazette gives an account of the capture of Le Mars, of Nantes, privateer, 16 guns and 220 men, by capt. lord A. Beauclerk, of the Dryad.

19. In the court of King's-bench came on before a special jury the cause of Ferguson v. Addington.

Mr. Ferguson addressed the jury, and stated, that he was plaintiff in this case against sir William Addington, and he had no doubt but he should convince the jury that a more aggravated case never came before a court of justice. The defendant had proclaimed him to his country as a violator of the laws of his country, and of having incited the people to hatred and contempt of the king's person and government. Upon this charge he had seized and imprisoned him, and treated him with every species of insult. It was unnecessary for him to state, that a charge of this kind was at all times, and under any situation, a most serious charge; but, at a moment like the present, it was infinitely more so. Party zeal and prejudice now ran so high, that a man accused of such an offence, could not expect to have his defence heard dispassionately by the public. In the peculiar situation in which he stood, such an attack might have proved his utter ruin. He had lately been called to the bar, after an opposition from some gentlemen, which he hoped, upon cool reflection, they were as able to reconcile to their consciences as he was willing to forget it. But he wished to ask the jury, how a man accused of such an offence could come into a court of justice to undertake the defence of the rights of others, and to call for the due administration of

that law, of which he was accused of being a violator? Even the noble judge upon the bench, with all his desire to do strict and impartial justice, must feel his mind in some degree prejudiced from a charge like this, because he could not be exempt from the infirmities of human nature. He trusted that no prejudice would be excited against him from the circumstance of his appearing in person to plead his own cause; but his character was involved upon this occasion, and no other person could so well state what his feelings were, and what were the motives which induced him to bring this action. If it had not been for that reason, he certainly should have profited by the eloquence and ingenuity of the learned gentleman below him (Mr. Erskine), from whose zeal and friendship he had every thing to expect. From the general interest which this case had excited, it appeared to him to be impossible that it could be raised by his individual injury, gross and aggravated as it was. The public shewed by the interest which they took in this cause, that they thought their interests and their liberties were at issue. The question for their decision was simply this, Whether a magistrate had a right, under the pretence of obeying an act of parliament, to take up an individual for exercising his rights as a free subject? With respect to the mode in which this defence was to be carried on, he begged to say one word: he did not expect to have met with so formidable an opponent as Mr. White upon this occasion. But though he saw him attending as solicitor for the defendant, he had no doubt but that the Treasury would no more pay him than they would the damages which the jury might think

proper to award in this case. But, in any capacity, Mr. White was a most formidable opponent, particularly when supported by the first law officers of the crown. Under these circumstances, it might be supposed that he felt some alarm; but he felt no kind of uneasiness, and he was sure the jury would soon be discharged from their duty. The attorney-general had, upon many occasions, stated, and particularly at the Old Bailey during the trials for high treason, that he never commenced a prosecution which his conscience did not call upon him to do; he (the attorney-general) had stated, that his character was more dear to him than all the wealth of this world, and he wished to transmit it, untainted, to his children. He believed the attorney-general was perfectly sincere in this declaration; but then it convinced him, that great misrepresentations must have been practised upon that learned and right honourable gentleman in this case, to induce him to undertake this defence. He desired the jury to consider who this defendant was; he was Sir William Addington, a person whose conduct as a justice of peace was not very immaculate. He had appeared before that court very often, and had been found guilty, at least of error. This ought to have been an additional reason to the attorney-general to have been more minute in his inquiries into the case before he undertook this defence. He requested they would recollect, that the defendant was a magistrate appointed under the authority of the act of the 32d of the king, for the prevention of felonies, &c. within the city of London and the adjacent parts. Magistrates of this kind were not in the same situation, nor had they the same duties to perform,

perform, that those independent gentlemen, who undertook that important office, had; and it was rather singular to observe, that this act, for the first time, introduced the words *fit and able men*, as the persons who were to fill that office; in this they had deviated from the good old practice of our ancestors, who, when they were describing the necessary qualifications of a magistrate, used the terms *good, lawful, and worthy men*. The words *fit and able* were rather singular to apply to a magistrate. It might be very proper to say, a *fit and able* soldier, a *fit and able* sailor, or even a *fit and able* hangman; but surely it was an expression that, of all others, did not belong to a justice of the peace.

Mr. Ferguson then proceeded to read several extracts from the statutes of Edward the 3d and Richard the 2d, relating to the office of justice of the peace. He said, he read those extracts to shew, that those justices were not what they were required to be by the old law of this country, and to convince juries that they ought to be much more jealous of such men as these, than they ought to be of independent gentlemen, who took that troublesome office without any pecuniary object whatever. Upon this subject he begged to read an extract from Blackstone's Commentaries, which treats of the danger of having improper characters in that situation. These were all the observations he should make with respect to this defendant, and would leave it to the jury to draw their own conclusion from what he had said. He would now state to the jury the circumstances of this case: in the first place, he should state to the jury, that the act under which the defendant

pretended to have acted was an act of the 36th of the present king, better known by the name of the "bill for the better prevention of sedition," &c. With respect to this and the other treason bill, he should not now say one word—if the eloquence of the best and greatest man this country had produced, and who had now retired after many ineffectual efforts for the safety of the country, had proved useless, and had had no weight upon the country, it would be highly improper for him to intrude any observations upon the court; but whatever infringement this bill had made upon the liberties of the people, still he admitted that if the defendant had acted fairly upon it, then this action could not have been maintained. This act gave great powers to magistrates. No meeting could be held unless a public and specific notice of it was given; and the magistrates have authority to disperse any meeting assembled in consequence of the notice, in certain cases. The clause which applied to his case was the 7th, which enacts, that if any person shall *wilfully* and *advisedly* maintain any proposition, or hold any discourse, tending to turn into contempt, or excite discontent against his majesty's person and government, the magistrates who may be present are authorised to take him into custody. It was for the jury to consider whether he had been guilty of this offence; and, if he had not been guilty, to give such damages as in their judgment the justice of the case required.

He should now proceed to state the circumstances of this case:—There was an advertisement of the London corresponding society, inserted in an evening paper, and signed by seven householders. He

was

was not a member of that society, but he had the highest esteem for it, on account of its uniform endeavours to procure a reform in parliament upon the principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. There was nothing in that advertisement to which any honest man could hesitate to sign his name. After this advertisement had been published, a hand-bill from the magistrates of Bow-street was posted up, declaring such intended meeting to be illegal; but he apprehended such a declaration had not the power of making it illegal, if the meeting in itself was not so. The executive committee of the corresponding society, who were anxious in every respect to conform to the law, sent to the police-office, in Bow-street, to know upon what ground this meeting was declared to be illegal, but they were not informed. The meeting was held upon the 31st of July, and he would prove to the satisfaction of the jury, that so far from having said or done any thing at that meeting which could be construed into sedition, there was not a single part of his conduct which would not convince them that his whole object was to make the people act peaceably, and disperse when they were called upon so to do. To prove that this was the tenor of his conduct, he would call a Mr. Law, a man as respectable as any who then heard him. Mr. Ferguson then proceeded to state what Mr. Law would prove, but as Mr. Law was afterwards examined, we think it unnecessary to detail the whole of it twice.

During the time he was in the field, there was a rumour that the proclamation had been read in another part of the field: he made inquiry into this fact, and being in-

formed that it was so, he then advised the people to disperse, and said there could be no good in having thousands of good citizens butchered. Much stress might be laid on the word butchered, but certainly without justice; for he used it as a strong argument to induce the people to disperse quietly. But even if, in the warmth of public speaking, or from the feelings that animated him at that moment, he had used a strong expression, it would not be sufficient to inculcate him, because the act required that they should be spoken wilfully. When he used that expression, no notice of it was taken by the defendant; on the contrary, he said, "that is right, sir, that is right, sir; you speak like a man." But afterwards, when he said, "We shall soon see, citizens, whether the magistrates of Bow-street are the interpreters of the law of England," the defendant immediately called out, "seize that fellow!" and his orders were obeyed. In considering how his conduct fell within the meaning of the sedition bill, in which, for the first time, were used the words *government* and *constitution*, it would be necessary to consider the meaning of those two words.—If the government and constitution were to be separated, and the former was to be taken to mean the king's ministers, then, indeed, there would be an end to all our liberty.

Mr. F. was proceeding to put cases in which men might find fault with ministers, when he was interrupted by

Lord Kenyon, who said, the plaintiff ought not to make his own defence the means of unnecessarily abusing others.

Mr. Ferguson contended, that he was only shewing what the consequence

quence of this act would be, if so large an interpretation were given to it. With regard to the constitution, which, though mentioned in this act of parliament, had never before been referred to in any statute, it was not so easy to describe it. The only thing like an act of parliament, in which the constitution was mentioned, was the declaration of king William at the glorious period of the revolution.—He should therefore endeavour to shew what the constitution was, by reading what our ancestors thought were infringements of it.

[Mr. Ferguson here proceeded to read the preamble of the Bill of Rights.]

“Whereas the late king James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers, by him did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom: by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of the laws, without consent of a parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: by issuing, and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court, called the court of commission for ecclesiastical affairs: by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: by raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament; and quartering soldiers, contrary to law: by causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when pa-

pists were both armed and employed, contrary to law: by violating the freedom of elections of members to serve in parliament: by prosecution in the court of king's bench, for matters and causes only cognizable in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

“And whereas, of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders: and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subject: and excessive fines have been imposed: and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted: and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.—All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.”

He hoped that the word *constitution* had not been inserted in the act of parliament to which he had referred, in order to deceive the people. The rights and liberties of the people were a part of the constitution; and he who said any thing against them was guilty of bringing them into contempt, and was liable to punishment by this act.

He assured the jury, that he felt himself unconcerned as to the event of this case, except in as much as upon it depended, in a very essential degree, the liberty of the subject. The jury were infinitely more concerned than he was; and whatever the event of it might be, he should have the satisfaction of thinking that he had done his duty.

ty. He would now leave this case to the decision of the jury, and he trusted they would return such a verdict as would satisfy their country, whose rights they were bound to maintain — their conscience, whose dictates they could not spurn with impunity—and their God, in whose name they had sworn to do justice.

He then called Mr. Law, but

The attorney-general said, he ought first to prove the notice required by act of parliament to be given to magistrates; but having requested permission to proceed with the other part of his evidence,

Lord Kenyon gave him permission.

He then called

Mr. Law, who premised his evidence by saying, he did not belong to the London corresponding society, nor was he acquainted with the plaintiff. He was present in the field on the 31st of July. He saw the defendant getting upon the stand, or tribune, and taking out his watch. At one o'clock they began business: there were signals displayed from the three stands, or tribunes, by a handkerchief. The business began by reading the advertisement, and the address to the nation: having gone on for about ten minutes, there was a noise among the people, that the proclamation had been read in another part of the field. The first expression he (witness) heard the plaintiff use to the defendant was, "has the proclamation been read?" The answer was, "that is your business; sir, not mine." After a short period had elapsed, some people called out that it had been read. The plaintiff then addressed himself to the surrounding crowd, and said, "Citizens, I recommend it to you. to disperse, and return peaceably

home; it will be a pity that honest inoffensive men should be butchered." The defendant said, "you are right, sir." The plaintiff said, "Citizens, be assured that we shall soon know, whether the Bow-street magistrates are to be the interpreters of the law of England." The defendant then called out, "take that fellow into custody!" The plaintiff was taken out of the tribune, and by accident got a hurt in the eye.

Arch. Ruthin was at the Brown Bear when the plaintiff was in custody: the witness received an order to take a letter from the plaintiff, but desired him previously to seal it: the plaintiff said it was of a private nature. The witness delivered the letter to the magistrates at Bow-street, Mr. Ford and the defendant; the letter was opened by the defendant. Upon his cross-examination he said the plaintiff had assented to the letter being opened.

The plaintiff then called

Mr. L. Kyd, the barrister, who said the plaintiff had sent for him to attend him at Bow-street. He remembered a private letter having been taken up by the defendant, who addressed the plaintiff, and put some question to him respecting the nature of the letter; the plaintiff said it was of a private nature.—Some conversation then passed, which the witness did not recollect, and at last the letter was opened by the authority of the defendant, who took upon himself that if it was of a private nature it should be returned. The plaintiff gave no authority for its being opened; it was opened and returned; it was a French one. On his cross-examination by Mr. Law, he said that he saw the plaintiff did not object to its being opened, and it was understood, that if it was of a private nature

nature it should not go further than the magistrates.

Mr. Clarkson, attorney for the plaintiff, then proved the notice served on the defendant.

The attorney-general said, he was not surprised that this cause was not tried in the usual way. The act of parliament, however, required that it should contain the ground of the action, and no evidence should be received that did not apply to the charge contained in the notice; therefore, it was clear that the notice ought to have been proved first.

Lord Kenyon said, he was sorry the attorney-general had not referred him to the words of the act before, for he was now convinced he had acted wrong in suffering the other evidence to be given first.

The attorney-general then stated, that the act required that the name and residence of the attorney for the plaintiff should be stated on the back of the notice, which was not done in the present instance.

Mr. Ferguson said, the notice complied with the spirit of the act.

Lord Kenyon said, the words of the act were express, and he could not deviate from them. He ought to erase the notes which he had taken. He was aware, when he took them, that he was doing that which he should hardly have done if the plaintiff had employed counsel. He should always be glad to grant indulgence to any person who came to complain of an injury, but in the present case, the positive words of the act of parliament must be complied with. His lordship said he recollected that Mr. justice Yates used to say that this act ought to be complied with in the strictest manner, because it was the only rule the magistrates had

for their conduct. Upon the whole, he was clearly of opinion that this objection could not be got over, and therefore the plaintiff must be nonsuited.

20. This gazette contains an account of the capture of *Le Jason* privateer, of Nantes, 12 guns and 108 men, by capt. Durham, of the *Anson*; also of *La Branche d'Olive*, French merchant brig, and *Le Cultivateur de Rochelle* brig, and an armed *chasse-marée*, by capt. Herbert of the *Amelia*.

28. Some labourers digging for limestone on the summit of a cliff near Penarth Point, in the county of Glamorgan, discovered the remains of four human bodies, lying about five feet beneath the surface of the earth: two large stones were placed edge-ways, one on each side, and a third on the top, forming something like a coffin. How long they have lain there, no conjecture can be formed; several teeth were perfect, but the bones mouldering into dust; the appearance of four skulls certified that so many bodies were placed as it were in one coffin. In the course of the two following days the remains of three more bodies were found nearly on the same spot. By the direction of Thomas Bridges, esq. of Kymmin cottage, the bones were all carefully collected, deposited in a wooden case, and decently interred in the church-yard at Penarth.

This day came on, to be heard before sir W. Scott, a cause that much attracted the attention of the court, inasmuch as it was connected with the new law of divorce in France. This suit was instituted by Mr. Woodmason against his wife, to obtain a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, on a charge of an adulterous intercourse with a person of the name of Freeborn. The plaintiff
and

and his wife were both natives of France, but left that country at an early period of their lives, and came to England. In 1771, the plaintiff paid his addresses to the defendant, and they intermarried in the subsequent month of February. This marriage was proved by a person who was a witness to the ceremony, and also by the confession of the defendant herself: it was solemnized in England. Mr. Woodmason was much older than his wife; for some time after the marriage, they resided at Battersea, and from thence removed to Leadenhall-street. In 1789, the defendant left England, and went, accompanied by a relation, to Paris, where she resided with her father and mother for some years; during all this period she had a separate maintenance allowed by the plaintiff, who continued to reside in London. In 1795 she returned to London, for the purpose of procuring from the plaintiff an additional allowance. On this occasion she continued in London for about seven weeks; but during this period she did not cohabit with the plaintiff. She then returned to Paris, and in a short time afterwards sent a letter to a relation in England, stating, among other things, that she was going to be divorced from the plaintiff by the law of France, and to marry a Mr. Freeborn. Proceedings for a decree of divorce were soon afterwards had in the marriage court in Paris, and a sentence of separation pronounced according to the French law. Evidence was also adduced to prove that the defendant and Mr. Freeborn cohabited together; and that, in consequence of the before-mentioned sentence, she constantly acknowledged him to be her husband. After the civilians were heard on both sides, the learned

judge observed, that the evidence adduced in this case had satisfactorily proved that Mrs. Woodmason had lived in France with Mr. Freeborn on the footing of a matrimonial connexion, and that a divorce had actually taken place by the existing laws of that country. Under these circumstances, sir William was clearly of opinion, that the plaintiff had established a case that entitled him to a sentence of divorce from bed and board, which the learned judge accordingly pronounced in the usual form.

MARCH.

1. This day, about half past three o'clock, the following persons were brought to town from Margate, where they had been apprehended on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the French government: Arthur O'Connor, esq. proprietor of a Dublin newspaper, called the Press; John Binns, one of the members of the corresponding society, a secretary to a division, and the same who was tried at Warwick in August last [see our last vol. p. (130)] for sedition; James Fevey, alias Quigley, alias captain Jones, alias col. Morris; John Allen, a native of Ireland; and Jeremiah or Patrick Leary, servant to Mr. O'Connor.—See March 8.

Admiralty Office, March 3.

The following letter was received at this office, through the hands of Capt. M'Douall, commanding at Yarmouth, from Lieutenant Treble.

His Majesty's armed cutter Cobourg,
SIR, *February 26.*

I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday morning, at seven o'clock, having Cromer bearing S. 67 W. distant 16 leagues, we fell in with, and, after nine hours chase, (during which we ran one hundred miles,

miles, one half the time blowing a hard gale of wind at W. N. W.), we came up alongside and captured La Revaches French lugger privateer, of 16 guns and 62 men, after a running fight of two hours, close alongside.

She attempted to board us twice, but being repulsed, and a well-directed broadside having brought her main and mizen masts by the board, and shot her fore yard away, they called for quarter.

We had no sooner taken possession of her, than, with the utmost difficulty, and all the exertion we possibly could make use of in getting the prisoners shifted, and our own people back, when she sunk, having received above forty shot between wind and water. She had seven men killed and eight wounded.—I am happy to add, we had only two men slightly wounded; the damage we sustained is mostly in our masts, spars, sails, and rigging. She was a remarkable fine fast sailing vessel, had only cruized six days, entirely new, fitted out for a month's cruise, and the largest lugger that sailed out of Calais.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Jeffery, master, and Mr. Rolf, mate, for their attention, assiduity, and prompt execution of my orders, as well as all the officers and crew, who deserve the highest commendation for their alacrity in knotting, splicing, and shifting sail in variable weather, and through a variety of courses, having been exposed to a sharp and well-directed fire from the stern chases and musquetry for near two hours before the action commenced.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES WEBB.

Robert M'Douall, esq.

This Gazette also contains accounts of the capture of La Legere

French privateer, out twenty days from L'Orient, and bound to the West Indies, mounting 14 eight pounders, and 4 thirty-two pound carronades, and 130 men; and an American ship, called Eliza, from Boston to Amsterdam, which had been taken by a French privateer; both by his majesty's ship Phaeton, captain Robert Stopford;—also, Le Pour Epie French lugger privateer, mounting 4 swivels, with 17 men, by the Resolution lugger, Mr. Broad.

Admiralty Office, March 5.

This Gazette contains accounts of the captures of L'Alexandrine French lugger privateer, carrying 4 swivels, 1 carriage gun, and 28 men, by his majesty's ship Charon, captain Manby; and La Souffleur, mounting 4 carriage guns, 2 swivels, and 40 men, by the Cameleon, captain Bowyer.

Admiralty Office, March 6.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 4th instant.

Inclosed is a letter from captain Bowyer, of the Cameleon sloop, which I received this morning by the officer who brought in La Souffleur French privateer, captured by the said sloop on the 2d instant.

Cameleon, March 3, 1798.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that, on Thursday the 1st of March, at ten A. M. Guernsey bearing south eight leagues, I observed a cutter, gave chase, and at half past five P. M. it falling little wind, and by the help of her oars she escaped under the forts on the Isle of Bas. If I had got three leagues more distance to run I should have captured her. At three A. M. of the 2d, saw a cutter,

cutter, gave chase, and at four took possession of her. She proves to be the Souffleur, thirteen days from Cherbourg, mounting four carriage guns, two swivels, and 40 men, and having captured this cruise the vessels as underneath, three of the masters being on board me; and I am in hopes to retake some of those vessels, the wind being south. I have, &c. R. R. BOWYER.

P. S. I have sent the privateer into port, and going in chase.

Peggy sloop of Cardigan, James Prichard, master, from Dover to Penzance, with wheat and barley.

Camilla brig, John M'Kenzie, master, from Hull to Plymouth, with coals.

Delaval, Charles Mann, master, from Sunderland, laden with coals, bound to Plymouth.

Betsey, of Guernsey, Thomas Townsend, master, from Guernsey, bound to Plymouth, with wine.

7. From the account of Fanny Martin, wife of the boatswain, now at New York, it appears, that the mutiny which took place on board the Hermione frigate, in August last, and of which very imperfect accounts have reached this country, was headed by William Farmer, the master's mate; that the captain, nine officers, and a lieutenant of marines, were murdered and thrown overboard; that a few days afterwards, the vessel got into Lagaira, from whence she was permitted by the governor to go to that city.—Officers murdered, captain Pigot, lieutenants Spriggs, Douglas, Fenshaw; Mr. Percy, purser; Dr. Sanfom; Mr. Manning, captain's clerk; Mr. Smith, midshipman; Mr. Martin, boatswain; and a lieutenant of marines, name forgot.

8. The members of his majesty's most honourable privy council met

yesterday at eleven o'clock, and O'Connor, Binns, Fevey, and Allen, were brought up to be examined. Warrants were on Monday night issued for the apprehension of several persons who were thought to be implicated with the above-named prisoners; and a Mr. B. of Charter-house square; a Mr. Burnham, of Hampstead; and a Mr. Evans, of Plough-court, Fetterlane, were taken into custody. The officers went to the house of Mr. Evans yesterday morning, who appears to be secretary of the corresponding society, and at whose house they usually held their meetings, and where the prisoners, Fevey, Binns, and Allen lodged; the two latter in the apartments of a Mr. and Mrs. Smith, who were examined to prove their having lodged in the apartments which they occupied of Mr. Evans. This house having been searched, several letters were found, directed from Fevey, *alias* colonel Morris, who then went by the name of Jones; but, during his absence from England, while in Ireland, to which place he accompanied the brother of Binns, he assumed the title of Captain, and afterwards that of Colonel. The papers seized were examined; and the meeting adjourned till seven in the evening. On the council assembling again, Mr. B's papers, of Charter-house square, were examined, and himself called in; but, nothing appearing against this gentleman, he was discharged, and his papers given up to him. At eight this morning, O'Connor, Binns, Fevey, and Allen, were conveyed under the care of his majesty's messengers, and several of the police officers, to the Tower, where they were received by four wardens and a serjeant's guard, and placed in separate apartments,

ments. Mr. O'Connor appeared much dejected, and scarcely spoke to any of the persons who were conveying him to the state prison. Leary, the servant of Mr. O'Connor, was at the same time sent, under the care of Mr. East, to the house of correction, in Cold-Bath fields.—(See March 1.)

Admiralty Office, March 10, 1798.

A list of Vessels captured by his Majesty's ship *Dædalus* and *Hornet* sloop, under command of Henry Lidgbird Ball, Esq.

Snow Rebecca (American), from Charleston in America, bound to the Island of Goree; part of her cargo, pitch, tar, dry goods, tobacco, coffee, melasses, and gunpowder. The naval stores and gunpowder taken out and landed at this port, and the vessel liberated.

Ship President (American bottom with an English cargo) bound to Goree, taken by the enemy off the Islands de Los, and re-captured off the mouth of the river Gambia; laden with salt. Vessel and cargo returned to the owner here, on salvage being paid.

Ship Quaker (late belonging to Liverpool, retaken), 260 tons, 10 guns, 36 men, trading on the coast, bound to the Island of Goree, laden with merchandise, and 337 slaves.

Sloop Ocean, retaken, late belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, from Goree, having been trading on the coast, bound to the Island of Goree; laden with cloth, iron beads, and ten slaves.

Schooner *La Prosperité* (French), from Goree, bound to Goree, laden with Guinea corn. Disposed of here.

Armed ship *Bell*, 20 guns, destroyed at Goree.

(Signed)

H. L. BALL.

1798.

Admiralty Office, March 13, 1798.
Extract of a letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Coast of Ireland; to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Cork the 4th instant.

The Greyhound captured a Spanish ship, named *La Pesta de Buenos Ayres*, laden with hides and tallow, from Monte Video to Bilbao, which stood into the convoy. She is brought in here by the *Magnanime*, along with the *James* of Liverpool, outward-bound Guineaman, which having beaten off one French privateer, had since stood an action of an hour and an half with another, but was captured after losing her master and boat-swain, who were killed, and had two seamen wounded, one of whom is since dead. This ship was re-captured by the *Magnanime* on the 28th ult. in lat. 45 deg. 52 min. lon. 11 deg. 7 min.

13. In consequence of a hackney coach being found standing at a very early hour near the Methodist burying-ground in Tottenham-court road, with the dead body of a child in it, an alarm was given, and upon a general search in that ground, it was discovered that great quantities of bodies had been from time to time removed, for the purposes of dissection.

14. Forgeries of a new description were discovered at the Bank, of which some accounts will be given hereafter in the trials of Messrs. Adamson and Wilkinson.

19. This morning about ten o'clock, Mr. Barrett of Cheap-side, a wholesale dealer in the Manchester line, was apprehended by Lawrence, a city marshal's man, at the Cross Keys, Blackfriars Bridge, on a charge of having forged several bills on the house of

(C)

Mr.

Mr. Seanfield, in Watling-street, who is also in the Manchester line. He was taken to the Poultry Compter; whence he sent to the lord mayor, requesting he would indulge him with a private hearing, to which his lordship consented.—His examination came on at seven in the evening; previous to which, two officers were sent to his house by his lordship, to seize all his papers and letters, as it was expected that some important matters would be developed respecting certain forgeries in which Messrs. Adamson, Wilkinson, and Kavana, are involved; which turning out to be the fact, he was remanded to prison. Two officers each took hold of an arm till they arrived at the gate of the compter; when the turnkey went forward to open it, and left the prisoner with his partner. Mr. Barrett availed himself of the moment, made a sudden spring from under his arm, and effected his escape. The cry of ‘Stop thief’ resounded from every quarter; but the prisoner’s voice was among the loudest: he directed his course down Walbrook; but such a confusion ensued, that no one laying hold of the right person, (though many were stopped) he got clear off.

Admiralty Office, March 20.

The London Gazette contains an account of the capture of La Sophie French cutter privateer, of four guns and twenty men, belonging to St. Maloes, by his majesty’s cutter Telemachus, lieutenant Thomas Newton.

30. This day Thomas Cadell, esq. was unanimously elected alderman of Walbrook ward, in the room of William Gill, esq.

Admiralty Office, March 31.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s Ships

and Vessels on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, at sea, the 21st of February, 1798.

SIR,

You will herewith receive letters from capt. lord Henry Powlett, of his majesty’s ship the Thalia, and capt. Downman, of the Speedy sloop, the first giving an account of the capture of a French privateer, and the latter detailing an action between the Speedy and another of the enemy’s privateers, which does great honour to her captain, officers, and company.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

Thalia at Sea, February 6, 1798.

On the 5th instant, at four, A. M. Cape Finisterre bearing S. W. seventy leagues, I came up with and captured the Antoine French privateer brig, mounting 16 guns and having 70 men: she was returning from a cruise to Rochelle, having captured five neutral vessels. I remain, Sir, &c. H. POWLETT.

Speedy, Tagus, February 16, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 3d instant, at daylight, being seventeen leagues west of Vigo, we discovered a brig bearing down on us with all sail set.—At three P. M. being within half a mile of us, she hauled her wind, and opened her fire; on which we made all sail to close, engaging her until half past five, when she tacked, and made sail from us. I immediately tacked, continuing to engage till half past seven, when, from her advantage of sailing and little wind, she got out of gunshot. Owing to the great swell, we received little damage, having only our fore top-mast shot through, with some of the running rigging cut. It falling calm, and the vessels separating against all our efforts with

with the sweeps, I had the mortification, about twelve o'clock, to see her fire several guns at our prize that we had taken the day before. Owing to the good conduct of the master, who, with 12 men, were on board the prize, battered down twenty-six Spaniards, and made their escape in a small boat. At day-light a breeze of wind sprung up, which enabled us to fetch her. At eight o'clock she, being within gun-shot, tacked, and made all sail from us, rowing with her sweeps at the same time. We chased her until noon, when they finding she had the heels of us, shortened sail, wore, and stood towards us, with a red flag flying at the main top-gallant-mast head. At half past twelve, being within pistol-shot, we began to engage her, with the wind upon the larboard quarter. At two observing her fire to slacken, I thought it a good opportunity to lay her on board, but at that instant she wore, and came to the wind on the starboard tack; but finding us close upon her starboard quarter, and from our braces and bow-lines being shot away, our yard coming square, she took the opportunity to put before the wind, and made all sail from us. We immediately wore after her, firing musquetry at each other for twenty minutes, and so soon as the lower mast was secured, set our studding sails, and continued the chase until seven P. M. when we lost sight of her, from her superior sailing. I then hauled our wind, and made short tacks all night to fall in with our prize; at day-light saw her to windward; at ten P. M. retook her, with ten Frenchmen on board. I learn from the prize-master, the brig is called the *Papillon*, 360 tons burden, pierced for 18 guns, mounting 14, four twelve and ten

nine-pounders, manned with 160 men. We had five men killed, and four badly wounded. I have to regret the loss of lieutenant Dutton, and Mr. Johnston, boatswain, amongst the killed. I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's notice Mr. Marshall, master, for his good conduct during the action. Every praise is due to the ship's company for their good behaviour. All our lower masts, bowsprit, main boom, both top-masts, and most of the yards shot through, with all the standing and running rigging cut, I thought proper to put into Lisbon to repair our damage. I have, &c.

HUGH DOWNMAN.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Wallis, Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Proserpine*, to Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. dated Yarmouth Roads, the 29th of March, 1798.

I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's ship under my command anchored here this evening. On Monday morning last, St. Abb's head bearing south-west 12 or 14 leagues, I fell in with a Dutch galliot, bound from Rotterdam to Altona, ten days out. Finding him close on wind, which was then at north-west by west, I was well assured he could not be bound to Altona, and have an idea that he was bound north about to France: and having neither brief, register, nor any paper to warrant his being on the coast of Scotland, I have thought proper to bring him in here: he now says he was bound to Montrose, and that he promised an Englishman at Rotterdam to carry the cargo there; he has no paper of any kind to shew any such transaction. The vessel was built in Holland last year, and the master of her says she belongs to himself and a gentleman at Limburg. He

(the master) has been a prisoner in England eighteen months of this war, and was taken commanding a Dutch vessel. He and his ship's company are all natives of Holland. Under these circumstances I have no doubt but both the vessel and cargo ought to be condemned.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. Captain of his Majesty's Ship Canada, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Pertuis d'Antioche, March 14, 1798.

I beg leave to inform you, that on the night of the 13th instant, I stood into the Pertuis d'Antioche with his majesty's ships under my orders; and anchored near Basque Road; and have the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the boats of the squadron captured the vessels mentioned on the list which accompanies this letter.

The list of captures contains five brigs and four chasse-marées, bound from Bordeaux to Rochefort, laden with wine, brandy, &c.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of Le Chasseur barque French privateer, belonging to Bayonne, of 16 guns; also of his majesty's ship Echo having driven on shore, to the northward of Camperdown, and destroyed a French cutter privateer, mounting 10 guns.

31. Thomas Raikes, esq. and Samuel Thornton, esq. were chosen governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England for the year ensuing.

APRIL.

Admiralty Office, April 2, 1798.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, from Captain Sir J. B. Warren, of His Majesty's Ship Canada, to Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. Commanner in Chief,

&c. &c. has been received at this Office.

*Canada, Plymouth Sound,
SIR, March 30, 1798.*

I beg leave to inform your lordship, that on the 22d instant, at seven A. M. the Anson having discovered a sail in the east quarter, which appeared to be a large frigate, I made the signal for a general chase, and continued the pursuit, with variable winds, until half past twelve at midnight, when captain Stopford, in the Phaëton, brought her to action. The enemy endeavoured to escape into the river Garonne, but struck upon the Olive Rocks, near the Cordovan Light House; she was left by most of her crew, who had previously thrown her guns overboard. The ship being bilged, and having otherwise suffered much, it is probable, from the situation she remained in, it will not be easy to get her off. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WARREN.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Queen, in Port Royal Harbour, January 9.

SIR,

Having yesterday received a letter from captain Ricketts, of his majesty's ship Magicienne, giving an account of his having, with the ships under his command, attacked and captured the vessels therein mentioned, in Guadilla bay in the island of Porto Rico, and under the protection of the enemy's forts; I transmit herewith a copy of the said letter, for the information of the right hon. lords commissioners of the Admiralty, who, I am confident, will with me highly approve of his gallant conduct; as well as that of the captains,

captains, officers, seamen, and marines, under his command.

H. PARKER.

La Magicienne, off the Isle of
SIR, *Zachu, Dec. 28.*

Having received information that several brigs and schooners belonging to the enemy were in Guadilla Bay in the island of Porto Rico, I proceeded there, with the king's ships named in the margin *. On the 27th at noon, we anchored close abreast of the forts; and, after an hour and a half cannonading, captured every vessel under their protection. To captain Carthew I am indebted for the gallant and able support that I on this occasion met with (as well as on many others since the *Regulus* has been under my orders). Captain Mends, who commanded the boats that took possession of the vessels, executed that service much to his own honour, and highly to my approbation. Indeed every officer and man belonging to the squadron is fully entitled to my best thanks and praises. I am, &c.

W. H. RICKETTS.

La Magicienne, 5 wounded; *Regulus*, none killed or wounded; *Diligence*, 1 wounded.

Vessels captured in Guadilla Bay; *Le Brutus* privateer, of 9 guns; one ship, three brigs, and one schooner.

Extract of another Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board His Majesty's Ship *Queen*, in Port-Royal Harbour, January 1.

I am to desire you will be pleased to acquaint the right hon. the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that, since my letter of the 29th October, the French corvette *La Republique Triomphante*, of 14

guns and 110 men, has been captured by his majesty's ships *Severn* and *Pelican*.

3. The *Pallas* arrived in Plymouth Sound from a cruise off the coast of France. Soon after she had anchored, a heavy gale of wind came on from the S. by W. attended with a most tremendous sea, which continued with increasing violence until about seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, when she parted from one of her anchors, and drove much nearer to the shore before her other anchors could bring her up. The yards and top-masts were then struck, and she rode with an apparent degree of safety until half past eight, when she again began to drive. The crew now cut away all her masts, to prevent her holding so much wind; but notwithstanding all their exertions, she did not bring up, though with three anchors ahead, until the after part struck on the rocks in the Bay, between Withy Hedge and Mount Batten Point.—The tide, by this time, was at strong ebb, and the ship remained with her head to the sea, being kept in that situation by means of her cables and anchors, until a quarter past three o'clock; the sea making a free and tremendous break over her. Though now quite aground abaft, the sea raised her forepart so much, that the cables parted, and the surf heaving her broadside round, beat against her with so much fury, that she was every minute completely hid from the view of the spectators.—While she lay in this situation, every hope of the crew being saved seemed at an end; but providentially, from the circumstance of her drawing less water forward than abaft, every succeeding surf forced her bow round

* *La Magicienne*, *Regulus*, *Diligence*.

nearer to the land, until she got again nearly end on with her stern to the sea. The hope of the ship holding together, and the prospect of a chance that the crew might be able to save their lives, were now revived, especially as the tide was ebbing very fast. The ship being quite aground fore and aft, she was thus made to heel towards the shore, and by the latter fortunate circumstance the crew were sheltered from the violent beat of the sea, and exposed only to the spray which every minute formed a cloud over them. In this state the ship lay till eleven o'clock, when the crew were out of danger, and by noon the tide had left her so as to enable the officers and men to get ashore with safety. The gale abated about one, and the crew, with the people from the dockyard, began to get out the stores, the greater part of which will be saved. A more melancholy scene, for at least two hours, could not be witnessed, as no other prospect appeared during that time than the loss of the whole crew, because, in their then situation, no assistance could possibly be given to them, either on the land or sea side. On board the *Pallas* one man only lost his life, and he was killed by the fall of the main-mast. The ship was reduced to such a state of wreck, that she could not be got off, and it was expected she would fall to pieces the next flood tide.

A boat belonging to the *Canada*, in attempting to go to the relief of the *Pallas*, was upset, and Mr. Massey, acting lieutenant of the *Canada*, and three seamen, were unfortunately drowned.

4. As John Mellish, esq. of Albemarle-street, St. James's, and Hammell's, Hertfordshire, was returning to town from following the royal hounds, with his friends, Mr.

Joseph Bosanquet and Mr. ——— Poole, in a chaise and four, they were stopped on Hounslow Heath by three highwaymen, who, after robbing them, without resistance, of their money and gold watches, fired wantonly into the chaise as they went off; the ball, supposed to be fired by the third villain, after the robbery was committed, penetrated Mr. M's forehead, just below his hat, and was believed to have found its way down towards the back of his neck, so that it was impossible for the united skill of Messrs. Rush, Blizard, and Cline, who attended him, to extract it. In this situation it was supposed to have remained, without any visible effect on Mr. M's health; who immediately executed his will, and was, till Sunday thereafter, perfectly composed. A delirium and violent fever then came on, in which he continued till five in the morning, when he died. His head was opened by the surgeons, but no ball could be found; whence it is conjectured to have dropped out shortly after he was wounded. The brain had received a very violent contusion. The murderers afterwards stopped Mr. Frogley, the surgeon who was sent for; and not only robbed him, but obliged him to turn back from his errand, which they made him tell, so that he was forced to return in a hired carriage.

Admiralty Office, April 10.

Extract of a letter from Captain Gunter, of his Majesty's sloop *Nautilus*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, April 4.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that at noon this day, 12 leagues to the eastward of Scarborough, I felt in with two French privateers, a brig, and a schooner; and, after a chase of six hours, I captured the
brig

brig Legere, three days from Dunkirk, with 10 guns on board (pierced for 16), and 60 men. On my getting near them they parted, when I made the Narcissus's signal to chase the schooner, but without success, as she escaped by superior sailing.

Enclosure from Sir Edward Pellew, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Falmouth, April 7.

Cleopatra, Falmouth, April 6.

SIR,

After separation from Sir Edward Pellew, I had the good fortune, on the 26th ult. at half past two, in the morning, to discover a ship standing to the northward, and immediately gave chase, and in an hour and a half came alongside, and, after giving her all our larboard guns, she struck, and proved to be the Emilie French ship privateer, en razée, a very fast sailer, from l'Orient, mounting 16 six-pounders and 2 brass twelves, manned with 110 men, out 39 days.

ISRAEL PELLEW.

Babet, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, Jan. 17.

SIR,

It is with great pleasure I acquaint you that Lieut. Pym yesterday afternoon captured (in the pinace, the launch following), after a most desperate resistance, the French republican schooner la Desirée, mounting 6 carriage guns, and having on board 46 men. I discovered her in the morning, half way between Martinique and Dominique, standing towards me; soon after the wind died away; and she, having made us out distinctly, took to her sweeps, and rowed off; which Lieutenant Pym observing, volunteered attacking her in the boats. To this I alone consented from the knowledge I had of his resolution and good conduct. The two

boats contained but 24 men; he was three leagues from the ship, and had been rowing four hours before he got within reach of their cannon; from which they kept up an incessant firing till he boarded. He reports that the officers and men under him behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity. I am sorry to add that we lost a very valuable seaman, and had five wounded; amongst the latter a Mr. Affinhurst, a young gentleman of very promising expectations, and a volunteer on the occasion. The enemy had 3 killed, and 15 badly wounded. She had been out six days from Guadaloupe, and had taken one American brig from St. Vincent, bound to Boston.

J. MAINWARING.

[This gazette also contains an account of the following captures: viz. Le Lynx privateer, of 18 guns and 70 men, by Capt. Pierrepont, of the King's-fisher; the St. Joze Spanish lugger, 6 guns, 44 men, by Capt. Downman, of the Speedy; Le Cæsar privateer, 16 guns, 80 men, and Le Pont de Lodi, 16 guns, 102 men, by Capt. Legge, of the Cambrian; Le Dragon schooner, 12 guns, 80 men, and le Dix-huit de Fructidor sloop, 10 guns, 75 men, by Capt. Western, of the Tamer; La Decidée privateer, 10 guns, 80 men, and Le Scipion, 20 guns, and 160 men, by Capt. Totty, of the Alfred; La Cérés privateer, 14 guns, by Capt. Mitford, of the Matilda; L'Espoir, 8 guns, 66 men, by Capt. Champion, of the Zephyr; a Spanish schooner, 6 guns, 8 swivels, by Lord H. Paulett, of the Thalia; a Spanish merchant ship of 600 tons, 8 guns, and 45 men, with a valuable cargo from Monte Video to Cadiz, by Captain Hood, of the Zealous; also, six privateer sloops, belonging to Guadalupe,

daloupe, and 14 merchant ships and vessels, by the Squadron under admiral Harvey.]

11. Mr. Roger O'Connor was apprehended at his apartments in Craven-street, in the Strand, by Sylvester the messenger, and two of the officers belonging to Bow-street. He was brought up to the secretary of state's office, and a warrant made out for sending him back to Dublin; for which place he was conveyed last night by the messenger, accompanied by the police officers.

The commission for trying Messrs. O'Connor, Favey, Binns, Allen and Leary, under a charge of high treason, was opened at Maidstone. The commissioners were Mr. justice Buller, Mr. justice Heath, Mr. justice Lawrence, Mr. serjeant Shepherd, Mr. serjeant Rose, recorder of London; Mr. serjeant Runnington, and Mr. serjeant Palmer. After the commission had been read by Mr. Knapp, the court adjourned.

The court was this day opened at half past eleven; lord Romney, Mr. justice Buller, and Mr. justice Heath, on the bench. The list of grand jurors being called over, the following gentlemen answered to their names:

Sir Edward Knatchbull, bart. Sir John Gregory Shaw, bart. Sir William Geary, bart. Sir John Dixon Dyke, bart. Charles Townshend, esq. Henry Oxendon, esq. William Hammond, Esq. Nicholas Bromel Toke, esq. Lewis Cage (the younger), esq. Edward Austin, esq. George Grote, esq. Geo. Childern, esq. Francis Motley Austin, esq. Edward Hussey, esq. John Larkin, esq. Thomas Bret, esq. Edward Peach, esq. Henry Woodgate, esq. William Francis Woodgate, esq. James Chadman, esq. George Smith, esq. George Talbot Hatley Foote, esq.

The grand jury being sworn, Mr. justice Buller delivered to them an excellent charge; after which they withdrew for the purpose of considering the bill to be presented to them. A prodigious number of witnesses were sworn in court to give evidence before the grand jury; and the court adjourned. The attorney-general, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Garrow, attended as counsel for the crown. Mr. Plomer is to conduct the defence.

A general court was held at the East-India house, for the purpose of electing six directors, by ballot, to serve four years, in the room of

Hugh Inglis, esq.
Paul Le Mesurier,
Thomas T. Metcalfe, esq.
John Manship, esq.
Geo. W. Thellusson, esq.
And sir Francis Baring,

who go out by rotation.

At six o'clock the glasses being finally closed, were delivered to the scrutineers, who at a late hour reported the numbers to be as under-mentioned:

Simon Frazer, esq.	1470
Charles Mills, esq.	1496
Thomas Parry, esq.	1403
Abraham Robarts, esq.	1467
David Scott, esq.	1068
George Tatem, esq.	983
John Huddleston, esq.	740

Next day J. Bosanquet, esq. and sir Stephen Lushington, bart. were elected chairman and deputy-chairman for the year ensuing; the chairs, with John Roberts, esq. were appointed a secret committee, under the act of 26th George the third.

12. Peter Perchard, esq. was unanimously elected alderman of Candlewick ward, in the room of Thos. Wright, esq. deceased.

Admiralty Office, April 14.
Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral

miral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Coast of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Cove of Cork, the 6th inst.

SIR,

I herewith transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from the hon. captain De Courcy, of his majesty's ship *Magnanime*, containing particulars of the capture of two French privateers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Magnanime, Cork Harbour, April 6.

SIR,

I avail myself of the earliest means of acquainting you, that, when the service assigned to me by your order of the 6th of March had been nearly accomplished, chase was given by his majesty's ship under my command to a French privateer brig, which, at the distance of about five miles, was, on the dawn of the 16th of the same month, observed to hawl athwart the fore-foot of the little convoy submitted to my guidance.

The gale being fresh, and favourable to the *Magnanime's* best sailing, it was trusted she would very speedily arrive up with the object of pursuit; but that end was not attained till, at the expiration of twenty-four hours, a space had been run of 256 miles, although the privateer had, in her flight, given a very manifest advantage, by steering in a circuitous manner.

The satisfaction of capturing so fast-sailing a privateer has been much increased by a knowledge, subsequently obtained, of its having been the design of her commander, in a confidence of his vessel's unrivalled sailing, to hover round the convoy till a favourable moment should occur for attacking

its least protected part. The privateer is named *l'Eugenie*, was captured in lat. 42, and lon. 12, was manned, when chased, with 107 men, and armed with 18 guns, eight of which appear to have been thrown overboard, whilst pressed in the pursuit.

Under similar circumstances of wind and weather, pursuit was again given, by the ship under my command, to a ship which reconnoitred us early on the morning of the 1st of April.

The chase was continued with doubtful effect for some time, when at length, after a pursuit of 180 miles, in 18 hours, she made a signal of surrendering. Her force consisted of 20 guns (but pierced for 22), and 137 men, and, like *l'Eugenie*, appears to be coppered and perfectly new. Her name *L'Audacieux*.

The ease with which she ran round us, within six hours after being taken possession of, manifested how much we were indebted for the capture of her, to her very bad steering. Sixteen of her guns were thrown overboard in the chase.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. DE COURCY.

Vice-Admiral Kingsmill.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of a French schooner privateer, armed with one six-pounder and eight swivels, with 21 men, commanded by *Monf. François Dore*, by his majesty's armed brig *Terrier*, lieut. Lowten; —also the *Merveilleuse* schooner privateer, *Lefevre*, mounting six guns, (five of which were thrown overboard in the chase) and 39 men, by his majesty's armed vessel the *Wright*, captain Campbell, together with the recapture of three brigs, laden with coals, viz. *Spalding*, of Boston; *Ranger*, of Yarmouth;

mouth; Elizabeth, of Wells; which had been taken by the French privateer the same morning.

15. This morning at ten, the duke of Portland, the lord chancellor, Mr. Pitt, the attorney and solicitor general, Mr. Wickham, and Mr. White, the solicitor, met at the secretary of state's office, to examine several persons brought up from Manchester, on a charge of treasonable practices, and the witnesses against them. Proofs of a deep and most dangerous conspiracy, to aid the enemy in their attempts at invading this country, are every day becoming more manifest.

Admiralty-Office, April 16.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Henry Trollope, of his Majesty's ship *Russell*, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Spithead, April 14.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that on the 14th ult. his majesty's ship *Jason*, in company with the *Russell*, burnt a small French brig, in ballast, bound from Brest to Nantz: and on the 20th ult. his majesty's ships *Russell* and *Jason* captured the *Bon Citoyen*, a French brig privateer, of 12 guns and 65 men, from Granville; had been out 14 days, and taken nothing.

I am, &c.

HENRY TROLLOPE.

Maidstone, April 17. Copies of the indictment found against Mr. O'Connor, and the rest of the prisoners confined in our gaol for high treason, were delivered to them, together with lists of the jury and witnesses. Upwards of 200 persons are summoned on the jury. The number of witnesses on the part of the crown is 101; and the indictment is of an extraordinary length. The following is an abstract of the indictment;—

There are three treasons laid in the indictment, and seven overt acts. The same overt acts are charged to each species of treason. The first treason is compassing the king's death—the second, adhering to, aiding, and comforting, the king's enemies—the third, compassing, imagining, inventing, devising, and intending to move and stir certain foreigners and strangers (that is to say, the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and the men of France under the government of the said persons) with force to invade this realm.

17. On Easter Monday last, information was given at the excise-office, that a party of smugglers, with three loaded carts, would be in town that day (by way of Croydon), together with one full of small arms, and that they would, no doubt, make a desperate resistance. A party of officers and a company of dragoons were sent, and met them, as described, near Croydon; but only found in company with the carts (besides the drivers) two persons, of the names of Johnson and Tapsell, who were well known in the smuggling trade, the others having returned, supposing the goods to be out of danger. The carts were seized, and the men apprehended and lodged in the New Gaol, in the Borough; where they were accommodated with an apartment, the window of which faced a court-yard that led up to the door of the gaol. About eleven o'clock this morning, a person requested to see the prisoners, who, it appears, had previously put fire-arms through the iron grates of the window where the prisoners were. This person remained in conference for some time; when Johnson requested one of the turnkeys to go to the apartment where

he

he slept, to fetch him his sleeve-buttons; and while he was gone the visitor asked the other turnkey to let him out. The outer door being opened for that purpose, Johnson and his comrade burst suddenly out of the room, and each presented to the turnkey a blunderbuss, and prevented him from shutting the door; he suffered them to escape, supposing, as they had irons under their trowsers, he should be able, with assistance, to overtake and secure them; but their plan was too well executed; for a person was waiting two hours before the prison with three very capital horses to assist their escape; and he was also furnished with arms; these horses they mounted, and threatened with instant death any person who dared to molest them. They then went off full-speed, to the great astonishment of a number of spectators. The person who held their horses while they mounted, was secured, and underwent an examination at Union-hall, and afterwards was committed to the New Gaol. Mr. Allport, the head-keeper, unluckily had left town for Ryegate early in the morning.

19. A court of common council was held at Guildhall, present the lord mayor, nine aldermen, sheriffs, and a number of commoners.

Previous to any other business being entered upon, the lord mayor communicated the nature of the conference he had had with the duke of York, on the subject, in what state the citizen was in, in regard to volunteer corps: that his lordship had convened the aldermen and deputies together, and found only the ward of Cornhill had associated. He then read some resolutions of that ward, and a letter he had just

received from Mr. Dundas, in relation to forming armed associations in the several wards.

The lord mayor also read a resolution from the board of directors of the Phoenix fire-office, offering their men to act as artillery men, to be attached to the volunteer corps of the citizens of London, or in any other manner, as his lordship and the magistrates should think best.

The letter of Mr. Dundas, and the resolution of the directors, were ordered to be entered upon record.

Mr. Samuel Dixon, after paying a very handsome compliment to the latter gentlemen for their patriotic resolution, moved the thanks of the court to them, which was unanimously agreed to, and the lord mayor was desired to communicate the same.

Sir W. Plomer then moved the thanks of the court to the lord mayor, for the elegant entertainment he gave the corporation on Tuesday last, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Stokes introduced a sketch for forming the city into districts, for the inhabitants to be trained to arms, and read several motions to give it effect.

A number of gentlemen, after expressing their earnest desire to give every support in their power to further the desired purpose of arming for the protection of the city, thought it would be most efficacious to leave it to the magistrates to act in such manner as they should be advised.

After a long debate, or rather conversation, Mr. Stokes agreed to withdraw his original propositions; and moved, 'That the lord mayor and aldermen be desired to form the wards of the city into such districts as they shall think proper for train-

training the inhabitants to the use of arms.'

Mr. Samuel Dixon seconded the motion.

Alderman Combe said, if there was *a man* in the kingdom that could or would hesitate for a moment in associating for the defence of his country against any foe whatever, he had to thank God he did not know *that man*. The alderman then informed the court, that the lord mayor had requested the aldermen to meet at the Mansion-house to-morrow on the subject.

Mr. Simmonds objected to Mr. Stokes's motion; and moved, by way of amendment, 'That the right hon. the lord mayor be requested to convene his brethren the aldermen, to consider Mr. secretary Dundas's letter,' which was agreed to.

Old Bailey, April 19. Robert Reeves, the stock-broker, who was tried and found guilty, last January sessions, of forging scrip receipts, with intent to defraud a Mr. Ashforth, but whose judgment had been respited on account of a defect in the indictment, was again indicted for an offence precisely similar, with an intent to defraud a Mr. Parry.

The circumstances, as stated by Mr. Garrow, and afterwards proved, were as follow.

The prisoner had acted as Mr. Parry's broker, and had obtained near 10,000*l.* of him, for which he had deposited scrip receipts for the loyalty loan of 7,500*l.* all of which turned out to have been forged. The facts were proved beyond a doubt. An objection was taken on a point of law, and disallowed by the court.

The prisoner called witnesses to his character, which, prior to this

transaction, had been in every respect upright.

Lord Kenyon summed up the evidence; and the jury immediately found the prisoner—*guilty*.

19. A magistrate from Bow-street, with a party of officers, went about twelve last night, to a public house in Compton-street, Clerkenwell; and seized, by virtue of a warrant from the secretary of state's office, 14 persons, a division of the London corresponding society.—They were conveyed in six coaches to Clerkenwell sessions-house, where they underwent an examination, and whence three of them made their escape: the others were sent to the New prison, Clerkenwell.

20. The seizure of the division of the London corresponding society, and their papers, at Clerkenwell, led to farther discoveries: and last night, about eleven, a large party of Bow-street officers arrested the head body, called the executive committee, which had long met, very secretly, in a large old building in the passage leading out of Newcastle-street, Strand, into Craven-buildings, next door to the back entrance of the Queen of Bohemia's head. In this place 16 members of the society were last night found sitting, with a box, books, papers, &c. and several desks, as if the secretaries of the different divisions were there to take down the minutes of the resolutions of the executive committee. There was also an elevated seat like a pulpit, and in high sittings, in this situation, the members were apprehended.

Old Bailey, April 21. David Wilkinson was indicted for having feloniously and falsely made, forged, and counterfeited a certain bill of exchange for 273*l.* purport-

purporting to have been accepted by Messrs. Favell and Co. and for having uttered and published the same, knowing it to have been forged and counterfeited, with intent to defraud the governor and company of the bank of England. There was another count, alleging it to have been with intent to defraud Mess. Favell and Co.

Mr. Garrow observed, this was a prosecution instituted by the bank of England for the protection of that paper credit so essential to the existence of this great commercial country. The case appeared to him one of the shortest and most conclusive against the prisoner that he had ever considered. The bill in question, the forgery of which was imputed to the prisoner, was drawn by himself, payable to his own order, on a respectable house, Messrs. Favell, Bousfield, and Co. and purporting to have been accepted by them. It might happen that a forged promissory note, bill of exchange, or other instrument of such nature, might, after passing through various hands, be presented by a person ignorant of the fact of the forgery; but in this case he was afraid it was impossible for the most charitable person to entertain a doubt whether the prisoner could have had the note in question in his possession without the most perfect knowledge of its being forged. There were but three grounds on which a man could have a right to draw a bill upon another; either that he had some transactions in trade with him; or that he had made a deposit of money, which, through the medium of the bill, he sought to withdraw; or that without such deposit he had his permission to draw upon him as an indulgence or accommodation. It would, therefore, be for the prisoner to

shew that he had one of these grounds for drawing on the house of Favell and Co.; and it would be incumbent on him to shew further, that, having so drawn the bill, it was presented to and accepted by them. It was to be observed, that the prisoner was the sole indorser of the bill, and was the only hand through which it had passed from the first making of it, until it was presented to the bank to be discounted. On the subject of hand-writing, it might, perhaps, be difficult to prove it, where initial letters were only used, unless by some person who actually saw them written: yet he had no doubt he should be able to offer evidence that the acceptance was the hand-writing of the prisoner himself, as well as the body of the bill; but even if he could not prove so far, still if he could prove that any one else had forged the acceptance; and that the prisoner knew the initials of F. B. and Co. importing to be the names of Favell, Bousfield, and Son, were not their writing, he would be guilty of a capital offence, and it would be the bounden duty of the jury to find him so. The prisoner had been a considerable linen-draper, and had credit on the bank for bills accepted by good houses to a considerable amount, and made use of that credit to enable him to discount the bill in question. It was the course of the business of discounting at the bank for every person to deliver in a day before a list of the bills he wished to have discounted. Such a list had been delivered by the prisoner in his own hand-writing, including the bill with the forgery of which he was charged; and this circumstance, in his mind, was conclusive that he uttered it, well knowing it was forged.

William

William Cuel, a clerk in the discount office at the bank, proved, that the bill in question had been discounted for the prisoner in the month of February last. He said he was acquainted with the prisoner's hand-writing, and believed the list of the bills delivered in by the prisoner, among which was this particular bill, to be his hand-writing, as well as the bill itself, and the acceptance. He had never seen the prisoner write, but knew the writing by its being similar to other bills and papers on which he had transacted business at the bank. The witness produced the warrant, made out by himself, and passed to the drawing office, authorising the prisoner to draw for the amount of the bills discounted, which was 635l. 18s. In this warrant the bills were enumerated, and the one in question among the rest.

Isaac Wilson, clerk to Smith, Payne and Smith, the prisoner's bankers, said, he believed the bill, indorsement, and acceptance, to be the hand-writing of the prisoner.

Mr. William Bousfield said, he was not at all acquainted with the prisoner at the bar; knew nothing of the bill; never had any communication with the prisoner, nor saw him. The acceptance was not the hand-writing of himself, or either of his partners; nor was any person authorised by either of them to accept bills.

Mr. Bousfield, jun. deposed to the same effect.

Mr. Jones, their clerk, also said, the acceptance was not the writing of any in the firm.

Mr. Favell, the other partner, was, from illness, unable to attend in court. Mr. Pearson, his apothecary, stated, that his removal from his house would be attended with considerable danger.

Mr. serjeant Shepherd contended, that, in a case of so much importance to the prisoner, no evidence ought to be admitted to prove the acceptance not the hand-writing of Mr. Favell, but the evidence of Mr. Favell himself.

Lord Kenyon said, it was true, the prisoner had an important stake, and it was therefore the duty of the court to be strict with regard to the evidence against him; but the rule of law, on which to determine, was the same in criminal as civil causes. The law did not require impossibilities. It was of the utmost importance that the community at large should be convinced justice was impartially administered, and therefore every objection raised by the counsel in favour of prisoners ought to be duly weighed; but in this instance he had no doubt. Here was a person prevented from attending by the visitation of God; and the question was, Whether evidence ought to be received of his hand-writing?—He was clearly of opinion it ought.

The prisoner was now called upon for his defence: He observed, that, painful as his situation was, standing at the bar of a court of justice, on a charge for a capital offence, and with a wife and five children in dreadful suspense as to his fate, yet it admitted of considerable alleviation from the reflection of his own innocence. It was a satisfaction to him to know he was before a jury of tradesmen, whose knowledge of business would enable them to form a just idea of his grounds of defence. They must, from their own experience in commercial concerns, be aware that the business of this country depended on that credit and confidence which existed between man and man in the various transactions of commercial

commercial dealing, and that it was by a degree of confidence almost unlimited, this nation was supported. To this confidence he was indebted for his situation. He now entered into a very long history of his partnership with a Mr. Adamson, and subsequent dissolution of their partnership. He stated, that he continued his wishes to serve Mr. Adamson, attended to his business in town when he was at Manchester, and performed various good offices for him. That Adamson being embarrassed for cash, was desirous of having the advantage of his (the prisoner's) privilege of discounting at the bank, it being customary for the bank to discount for each person only to a certain extent. To enable him to do this, he had requested the prisoner to draw bills upon his (Adamson's) customers, in order that Adamson's name might not appear, and that by this means he might have the advantage of a double discount account, one in the prisoner's name, and one in his own. To this he assented, and transactions in such form were carried on to a very large amount. There was nothing fraudulent in it. The jury knew it was the practice of merchants of the first respectability, and that in fact many would be unable to carry on business without having recourse to it. It was serving another without any other hazard than that of the failure of the parties. He was perfectly satisfied of the solvency of Adamson, and nothing ever occurred to make him apprehend any danger. He was always furnished with the names of the parties he drew upon by Adamson, and never had any communication with them himself. Adamson always got them accepted, and then returned them to him to get them

discounted at the bank. He said he should prove that all the discounts were paid over to Adamson. That, with respect to the identical bill on which he was indicted, it was in the hands of Adamson before it was indorsed, and that when he discounted it, he gave the amount of it to Adamson. This he trusted would prove, that, when he presented the bill, he did not know it was forged. He then alluded to his conduct when Adamson was apprehended. So far from his having any fears of being implicated in a charge of forgery, he was only alarmed at the idea of his name being upon so many outstanding bills. He did not abscond, but went to his attorney, and to Adamson's own house, endeavouring to get what he could to indemnify himself. What inference was to be drawn from this, but that he was innocent? He said, upon receiving a letter from Mr. Winter, the solicitor to the bank, he immediately attended him, and was ready to give every explanation. Having made these and many other remarks, he observed, that his case had much engaged the attention of the commercial world, and that many unfavourable accounts of his conduct had been inserted in public prints. He conjured the jury to discharge their minds from any prejudice which they might have adopted in consequence of such misrepresentations, to consider impartially and candidly the nature of the transaction, and that he had voluntarily come forward to meet the charge. He rested his case in their hands, with the firmest reliance that, from a full review of his conduct, they would not hesitate in declaring his innocence of the forgery.

Several witnesses were called, who went the extent of proving that

that notes had been given to Wilkinson for debts due to Adamson; but their testimony by no means came up to the defence.

The rev. Rowland Hill was called to the prisoner's character. He said he had known him many years, that he always considered him as a man of undisguised honesty; that his conduct as a father and a husband was affectionate and exemplary. He could not have believed a man, who always appeared so innocent and upright, capable of committing the offence imputed to him.

Lord Kenyon, after observing in general terms upon the importance of the question to the prisoner and the public, proceeded to sum up the evidence, which he conceived left no doubt as to the prisoner's guilt. He had given all the attention he was capable of both to the prisoner's defence and the evidence in support of it, but could not see how either affected the main charge, which was, uttering the bill knowing it to have been forged. His lordship wished he could have drawn any inferences from the defence favourable to the prisoner. If it furnished the jury with any, he trusted they would run before him in giving the prisoner the benefit of them.

After his lordship had delivered his charge, the prisoner wished to address the jury. He was informed such an indulgence was unusual, nevertheless it should be granted to him, as the court desired nothing so much as his having every opportunity of explaining his conduct to the jury.

The prisoner then entered into a further explanation of his transactions with Adamson. He said he expected Adamson's books would have been produced, which would

have explained every thing for the last nine months.

The jury retired for 40 minutes, and, when they returned into court, pronounced the prisoner—*guilty*.

Mr. Wilkinson is a respectable good-looking man about forty. His deportment, during the whole of his trial, was such as manifested the utmost fortitude. The questions put by him to the witnesses were judicious. During the interval when the jury were consulting, he expressed no anxiety. He heard the verdict with firmness, and retired from the bar with apparent composure.

Joseph Adamson was indicted for falsely and feloniously making and forging a certain bill of exchange, purporting to be drawn by Thomas Stevens, of Manchester, upon Messrs. Bowles and Beechcroft.

Mr. Garrow opened this prosecution. He said all the signatures to the bill, and the several indorsements, were forged, except that of the prisoner. He recommended the jury to divest themselves of any prejudice against the prisoner, on account of what had occurred on the last trial. If there was any difference in the guilt of either of the prisoners, it was in favour of the one at the bar. The bill in question was drawn on an engraved plate. It would be proved that the prisoner had procured this plate to be engraved for Stevens; but instead of transmitting all the copies to him, he had unfortunately kept back some, to be employed for his own purposes. It was one of these copies he had filled up and discounted at the bank.

The evidence of Mr. Cuel, and the parties whose names appeared upon the bill, satisfactorily proved the guilt of the prisoner.

Mr.

Mr. Kaye, the solicitor to the bank, proved the confession of the prisoner to the fact of this and other forgeries. The confession was not extorted by threats or promises, but was voluntary on the part of the prisoner.

The prisoner said, he had not intended to have troubled the court with any defence. He wished to have relied wholly on the merciful administration of justice, which he knew would be applied to his case; but having learnt that Wilkinson had endeavoured to thrust the whole of the guilt of the transactions on him, he thought it his duty to God and his country, to state that he knew nothing of the bills being forged till they were presented to him by Wilkinson. It was by his persuasion he had taken the part for which he was now called on to answer; and if he had erred, he had erred through ignorance.

Mr. judge Buller summed up the evidence. He observed, that, from what had occurred on the former trial, he had every reason to believe the defence of the prisoner at the bar was well-founded, and that he was to a certain degree the instrument of Wilkinson; but this consideration ought not to weigh a feather in the minds of the jury, as the charge had been clearly proved. It might, however, be of importance to the prisoner, in an application to the crown for a remission of punishment.

The jury immediately pronounced the prisoner—*guilty*.

Adamson's conduct on the trial was the reverse of Wilkinson's. He appeared extremely ill and dejected.

23. This being St. George's day, the society of antiquaries met at their apartments in Somerset-place, in pursuance of their statutes and charter of incorporation, to elect a

president, council, and officers of the society, for the year ensuing; whereupon George earl of Leicester, Thomas Astle, esq. John Brand, A. M. Owen Salusbury, Brereton, esq. sir H. C. Englefield, bart. rev. Dr. Hamilton, Craven Ord, esq. John lord bishop of Salisbury, John Topham, esq. Jos. Windham, esq. and Thomas Wm. Wrighte, A. M. 11 of the old council, were re-chosen of the new council; and Francis Annesley, esq. Sir George Baker, bart. Reginald Pole Carew, esq. hon. Rob. Fulk Greville, sir Arch. Macdonald, knt. chief baron of the exchequer, Francis duke of Leeds, Samuel Lysons, esq. Chas. Townshend, esq. John Willett Willett, esq. and Brownlow lord bishop of Winchester, ten of the other members of the society, were chosen of the new council; and they were severally declared to be the council of the society for the year ensuing. And, on a return made of the officers of the society, it appeared that George earl of Leicester was elected president; John Topham, esq. treasurer; Samuel Lysons, esq. director; Thomas William Wrighte, A. M. secretary; and John Brand, A. M. secretary for next year.

The loan was taken, this day by Messrs. Curtis, Boyd, Solomons, Goldsmid, and Ward. The terms are the most advantageous that have ever been obtained by the public. They are as follow:

150l.—3 per cent. consols.	at $48\frac{3}{8}$ £.72	11	3
50l.—Reduced	$47\frac{1}{2}$	23	15 0
Long ann. 4s. 11d. at			
13 $\frac{1}{8}$ years' purchase	3	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
			<hr/>
		99	10 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

The bonus is only to be found in the discount on prompt payment. The above very beneficial terms, Mr. Pitt stated, were obtained from

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the benefit which is likely to result to the stockholder from the measure, now in its progress through parliament, of the sale of the land-tax.

24. The gazette contains a letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker, dated March 12, Cape Nicola Mole, giving an account of about a dozen small French ships of war, from one to sixteen guns, recently captured on that station.

25. Eight officers of the 15th dragoons appeared at court on this day, with the gold chains and medallions presented to them by the emperor, in gratitude for having rescued him from the French, in a skirmish in Flanders, by their bravery.

25. About twelve at noon, one of the Battle powder-mills, belonging to Mr. Harvey, and a drying-house and store-room nearly adjoining, were, by some unknown accidental communication of fire, blown up, with two tremendous explosions, and totally destroyed. Three men employed in the mill were forced into the air with the works, and one of them, an elderly man, rent to atoms; different parts of his limbs having been picked up at considerable distances from each other: the other two fell, sadly lacerated, into an adjacent piece of water, out of which they were both taken alive, but in no situation to give the least account of the accident. One of the unfortunate sufferers complained first of extreme heat, drank a cordial which was offered him with great avidity, then said he was excessive cold, and shortly after expired. The other, we are informed, survived nearly two hours, during which he at several intervals faintly exclaimed ' 'tis not all over yet;' but said nothing more: they both died with-

out agony. Seven separate buildings were completely destroyed, though only two reports were clearly distinguishable. The quantity of powder which exploded exceeded 15 tons weight; and the damage is estimated at upwards of 5000*l*. Mr. Harvey's house, situated about 100 yards from the nearest building blown up, is so shaken and disjointed, that it must be entirely taken down: a heavy sandstone from the mill was carried several yards over the roof of the above dwelling, and a variety of pieces of timber over a large wood to the distance of nearly half a mile. The vertebræ of the back and neck of the old man, who was in the mill when the accident happened, were taken from the branches of a lofty tree; and other parts of his mangled body were collected at incredible distances from the spot where it was precipitated. The trees near the spot were totally stripped of their infant foliage and blossoms; and a horrid scene of devastation presented itself. A number of workmen are at present employed in clearing the ruins, in order to erect new buildings, which we understand are to be at secure distances from each other, and in other respects so contrived as to be rendered less liable to communicate fire from one to the other, in case of an accident in either.

26. A special court of aldermen was held; there were present the lord mayor, fifteen aldermen, recorder, and two sheriffs. The committee appointed on Tuesday last, to consider the best means of carrying the resolutions then agreed to into effect, presented a report, recommending it to each alderman to repair to his ward, and call the inhabitants together for the purpose of forming associations for learning the

the use of arms, or to enrol themselves as extra-constables, to act upon an emergency, as the case may require. A copy of the report, and of a printed plan, was ordered to be sent to each alderman and his deputy, who were requested to hold their first meeting on Tuesday next; the aldermen were also desired to consult with their common council, on the best means of making the returns of persons between 15 and 60, agreeable to the act for the defence of the kingdom, &c.

From the London Gazette, April 28.

Admiralty Office, April 28.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Sea, the 22d inst.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that l'Hercule, of 74 guns, was taken by his majesty's ship Mars last night.

The inclosed copy of a letter from lieutenant Butterfield will best show to their lordships the spirit and judgment manifested upon this occasion. No praise of mine can add one ray of brilliancy to the distinguished valour of capt. Alexr. Hood, who carried his ship nobly into battle, and who died of the wounds he received in supporting the just cause of his country. It is impossible for me not to sincerely lament his loss, as he was an honour to the service, and universally beloved; he has fallen gloriously, as well as all those who are so handsomely spoken of by lieutenant Butterfield. I have appointed him to the command of l'Hercule, to carry her into port; and I have given a temporary appointment to

captain James George Shirley to command the Mars, and lieutenant George White, first of the Royal George, to command the Megæra. Lieutenant Henry Combe, the second, will deliver to you this dispatch.

I have the honour to be, sir,

your most obedient

humble servant,

BRIDPORT.

Mars, at Sea, April 22.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that the ship chased by his majesty's ship Mars yesterday, per signal, endeavoured to escape through the Passage du Raz: but the tide proving contrary, and the wind easterly, obliged her to anchor at the mouth of that passage; which afforded captain Hood the opportunity of attacking her, by laying her so close alongside as to unhinge some of the lower-deck ports, continuing a very bloody action for an hour and a half, when she surrendered.

I lament being under the necessity of informing your lordship, that his majesty has, on this occasion, lost that truly brave man, captain Hood, who was wounded in the thigh late in the conflict, and expired just as the enemy's ship had struck her colours. This ship proves to be l'Hercule, of 74 guns, and 700 men, her first time at sea, from L'Orient, to join the Brest fleet.

I cannot sufficiently commend the bravery and good conduct of the surviving officers and men, who merit my warmest thanks: I must particularly recommend to your lordship's notice Mr. Southey, the signal midshipman.

Lieutenants Argles and Ford are the only officers wounded. Capt. Hood, and captain White of the

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marines,

marines, are killed. Lieut. Argles, though badly wounded, never quitted the deck.

From a number of the people being with lieutenant Bowker in charge of the prize, I cannot at present inform your lordship of the exact number of killed and wounded; but from the best information circumstances afford, I think about 30 killed and as many wounded, most of them dangerously.

I have the honour to be,

my lord,

your lordship's most obedient
humble servant,

W. BUTTERFIELD.

Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. &c.

It appears also, by a letter from admiral lord Bridport of the 21st inst. that his majesty's ship Jason had captured on the preceding day a new gun brig, named l'Arrogante, carrying 6 long twenty-four-pounders and 92 men.

28. In the court of king's bench, Mr. Williams, who was convicted on the 24th of June, 1797, of a libel on the Christian religion, by publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason,' was brought up in custody of the keeper of Newgate to receive judgment.

Mr. justice Ashurst pointed out the enormity of his offence, the minute parts of which he would forbear to particularise. Although the Almighty did not require the aid of human tribunals to vindicate his precepts, it was nevertheless fit to show our abhorrence of such wicked doctrines, which were not only an offence against God, but against law and government, from their direct tendency to dissolve all the bonds and obligations of civil society. It was upon this ground the Christian religion constituted part of the law of the land. But if the name of our Re-

deemer was suffered to be traduced, and his holy religion treated with contempt, the solemnity of an oath, on which the due administration of justice depended, would be destroyed, and the law be stripped of one of its principal sanctions, the dread of future punishment. This crime was further aggravated by the motive in which it was conceived; there could be no temptation, no sudden impulse of passion to which man was so often exposed by the frailty of his nature,—it could have only proceeded from a cool and malignant spirit. Mr. justice Ashurst then proceeded to observe upon the affidavit made by the defendant, in mitigation of his punishment, in which it was stated that this pamphlet had been published in 1794 by others, of whom no notice had been taken. This, in his mind, he said, led to a contrary inference; impunity was an encouragement to crimes, and if there were others wicked enough to commit so atrocious an offence, this circumstance showed the necessity for arresting its progress, and made it a more incumbent duty to repress it by some salutary example. The defendant had also stated, that he was not conscious of committing an offence by the publication. To this he must reply, that a child who had only common attention paid to his education, could not be ignorant of its impious and wicked intent: but ignorance was no sort of excuse: every person in the situation of the defendant ought to know that every thing which he sent out into the world, was consistent with religion, law, decency, and morality. Under all these circumstances then, if the court did not pass so severe a sentence as the enormity of the offence required, it would be in consequence of Mr.

Erskine's

Erskine's interference in his behalf.

Mr. justice Ashurst then pronounced the judgment of the court, which was, that the defendant be imprisoned in the house of correction for one year, there to be kept to hard labour, and that, at the expiration thereof, he shall give security to the amount of 1000*l.* for his good behaviour the rest of his life.

The defendant asked if he might be accommodated with a bed in his confinement?

Lord Kenyon said, that his sentence was light, very light indeed, considering the nature of his offence, which was horrible to Christian ears. He had known a case of less enormity, where the defendant was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Maidstone, April 30. The state prisoners were this morning escorted by a party of the Kent volunteers and sheriff's officers, from our gaol to the court-house. About two o'clock lord Romney, Mr. justice Buller, Mr. justice Heath, Mr. justice Laurence, and serjeant Shepherd, took their seats on the bench, and the prisoners were placed at the bar. The indictment being then read, Mr. Plomer, on the part of Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Binns, insisted the prisoners ought neither of them to answer the indictment, because the copy, required to be delivered to them by act of parliament, differed in several instances from the original one. He pointed where, in the copy, the words 'armed force' were used, instead of 'armed men,' and the word '*said,*' was omitted in the copy. He observed, that his reason for taking the objection was, because the prisoners were really not prepared to enter upon their defence, and that, if the objection

was over-ruled, he should apply to the court to grant farther time. He would show the affidavits of the prisoners to the attorney-general, and trusted to his candor for postponing the trials after he had seen them. A conversation ensued between the attorney-general, Mr. Plomer, and Mr. Dallas, which ended in an agreement to postpone the trials, provided the prisoners waved all objections to form in the copies of the indictment. The court was accordingly adjourned till Monday, the 21st of May, at seven in the morning.

MAY:

Admiralty Office, May 1.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Bridport, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship the Royal George, at Sea, the 26th of April.

Herewith you will receive, for their lordships' information, a copy of a list, transmitted to me by capt. Stirling, of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Mars, on the 21st instant.

List of killed and wounded, &c. on board his majesty's ship Mars, in action with the French national ship L'Hercule, the 21st of April, 1798.

Alexander Hood, captain, killed.
James Blythe, second midshipman, killed.

Seamen, 11 killed, 3 died of their wounds.

George Argles, third lieutenant, wounded.

George Arnould Ford, fifth lieutenant, wounded.

Thomas Southey, midshipman, wounded.

Seamen, 36 wounded, 3 missing.
Boys, 2 wounded.

MARINES.

Joseph White, captain, killed.

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One corporal killed.

Privates, 2 killed, 2 died of their wounds.

Serjeants, 2 wounded.

One drummer wounded.

Privates, 16 wounded, 5 missing.

Total—17 killed, 5 died of their wounds, 60 wounded, and 8 missing—in all 90.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of a French lugger privateer Jupiter, mounting 8 carriage guns, and manned with 36 men, by his majesty's cutter Cruiser, lieutenant Wollaston.

Admiralty-Office, May 5.

The gazette contains an account of the capture of the Batavian republican brig Le Courier, pierced for 12, and mounting 6 four-pounders, and a number of swivels, and manned with 30 men, by his majesty's sloop Scorpion, captain John Tremayne Rodd: she had taken the Lark brig, of Whitby, coal-laden, which the Scorpion retook;—also, La Sans-souci French privateer lugger, mounting 1 twelve-pounder carronade, and 2 brass fours, and 27 men, by his majesty's cutter Telemachus, lieut. Newton.

May 7. This morning, about four o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out at the house of a Mr. Bull, a tallow-chandler, in Gerard-street, Soho. A servant-maid had sat up for her master, a major in the army, who lodged on the first floor; but, grown impatient for his return, she retired to bed in the garret, in the next room to that where Mrs. Bull and three children slept, leaving, it is supposed, the candle and fire burning in the kitchen. In less than two hours after, the mistress was alarmed by a loud knocking at the hall-door, and supposing that the major was returned, called to the-maid to rise and let her master in: but she was soon undeceiv-

ed by the cries of "fire! fire!" which succeeded, and instantly hurried down stairs with her children, having desired the maid to follow her. The unfortunate woman, however, anxious, perhaps, to save some of her little property, neglected to obey, and the fury of the flames, increased by the current of air, rushing in through the hall as Mrs. Bull retired, cut off her retreat. The upper part of the house was so secured, she could not get out upon the roof, and the fire gaining rapidly upon her, she had no resource but to throw herself out of a window in the two pair front. A watchman, standing below, in an effort to save her fall, caught her by the leg; but this did not prevent her body from coming to the ground with such violence that she was carried speechless to the Middlesex hospital, where she has since died. Notwithstanding every exertion to arrest the progress of the fire, it soon communicated to the house adjoining it on the right side: but all the inhabitants were alarmed in sufficient time to make their escape; one of these, Mr. Crozian, an engraver, who lodged in the second floor, unfortunately returned with a hope to save three copper-plates on which he set much value. He was followed by a Mr. Hyde, with whom he had spent the night until a late hour, to the very door of the apartment, but the heat was so great Mr. H. was obliged to retire, and Mr. C. who ventured in was suffocated, and every means used by the faculty to restore him proved ineffectual. Mrs. Bull's house was entirely consumed, and all the property it contained destroyed; but it was fortunately insured: the other house was not entirely consumed, and a good deal of the property was saved.

IRISH PARLIAMENT.

May 7. In the house of lords on Monday, on calling over the names of the lords who made default on the call of the house on Tuesday last, when the clerk came to the name of the lord bishop of Derry,

Lord Chancellor said, he could not help calling their lordships' attention to the very peculiar circumstances in which the lord bishop of Derry stood. He had taken the trouble, he said, to look into the journals of the house, and he found that it was now upwards of twenty-four years since his lordship (the bishop) had attended his duty in that house.—For the greater part of those twenty-four years he had been absent, without intermission, from the country, and had uniformly for that period neglected his duty in parliament. This was a case which called for some attention from the house. There was, he observed, a law of very old standing in Ireland, which made the temporalities of a bishop liable to sequestration for continued absence from duty; and he thought when a bishop possessed so ample an income as his lordship of Derry, it was right, after so long a dereliction of his duty, that the emoluments of his see should be made to contribute in some degree to the wants of this poor country. At present he did not mean to trouble their lordships with any specific proposition on this subject; but he gave notice, that when it should come to be considered by the house what should be done with the noble lords who had made default, he should hope that those temporal lords who were absent in England would be excused; but that if any attempt were made to apologise for his lordship of Derry on that ground, he would oppose it.

Lord Glentworth presented a pe-

tition of the earl of Kingston, praying, that a copy of the indictment which had been sent up against his lordship, for the alleged murder of Gerald Fitzgerald, esq. and also the writs of certiorari, and the returns thereon, should be given to his lordship, and also that counsel might be assigned him, to enable him to prepare for his defence.—The petition was received, and an order made accordingly. He also moved, that John P. Curran, and Wm. Saurin, esqrs. might be assigned his lordship as counsel, which was accordingly ordered.

Lord Chancellor observed, that he had already given verbal directions, that a copy of the order, appointing May the 18th for his lordship's trial, should be furnished to him. He believed it would be right that an order of the house should be made for that purpose.

Admiralty Office, May 8.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Halsted, of his Majesty's Ship Phoenix, to Mr. Nepean, dated Plymouth Sound, the 6th instant.

SIR,

Be pleased to inform their lordships, that his majesty's ship under my command arrived here this day, in company with Le Brave French privateer, pierced for 22 guns, and carrying 18, which are eighteens and twelves, with 160 men. She was captured in the night of the 24th ult. in latitude 49 deg. N. longitude 16 deg. W. after some resistance, by which she had a few men killed, and 14 wounded. The Phoenix received some trifling damage in her sails and rigging, but no person hurt.—She is a very fine ship, of 600 tons, is coppered, and sails exceedingly fast. It is an additional pleasure to me to say there were about fifty English prisoners on board her at

the time, none of whom received any injury from our shot. On the 25th we retook the *Thetis*, a valuable American ship, from Charleston to London, which this privateer captured a few days before.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of *Le Hardi* schooner, of 8 guns and 60 men; and *Le Hazard* schooner, of 2 guns and 27 men, by his majesty's ship *Concorde*, captain Barton; also, *La Mutine* French privateer schooner, of 8 guns, and 61 men, by his majesty's ship *Lapwing*, captain Thomas Harvey;—also, *Le Parfait* French privateer schooner, of 10 guns, and 60 men, by his majesty's ship *Roebuck*, captain Burrowes.

May 9. At the Court at St. James's; present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.—This day, his majesty in council having ordered the council-book to be laid before him, the name of the hon. Charles James Fox was erased from the list of privy counsellors.

Admiralty Office, May 12.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Hotham, of his Majesty's Ship *Adamant*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at anchor off the Islands of St. Marcou, the 8th of May, 1798.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction of inclosing, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I yesterday received from lieutenant Price, commanding officer on the islands of St. Marcou, in which it will be found, that, by his firm and steady resistance against a very considerable force, those islands have been saved falling into the hands of the enemy.

The calm weather had for some days prevented his majesty's ships under my orders from checking the progress which the flotilla from La

Hogue might attempt to make; and, judging from the information I received from lieutenant Price on the morning of the 6th, that it was on its way to the islands, I necessarily approached them as near as the state of the weather would permit me to do. On the same afternoon, however, I was obliged to anchor; but taking advantage of a light breeze in the evening, I again weighed and stood in. At ten o'clock that night, it again falling quite calm, and fearing the flood-tide would carry us too far to the eastward, the ship once more anchored, the islands bearing W. by S. six miles.

A little before the dawn of day, the enemy commenced the attack, and the boats were soon afterwards seen placed, and keeping up a constant fire. A light breeze springing up at that time from the N. N. W. with an ebb-tide, the signal was made to weigh, and captains Talbot of the *Eurydice*, and Hagget of the *Orestes*, were directed by me to stand in as fast as possible, and attack the enemy in the manner they should judge most effectual towards destroying them, on arriving up. While going down, however, it was perceived the enemy was making his retreat in a very hasty and confused manner; and I am not altogether without hope, that the near approach of his majesty's ships in some measure confirmed the enemy in his inclination of abandoning an enterprise, which, from the very able conduct and well-directed fire of lieutenant Price, he would at all events have been ultimately obliged to do. It again falling calm, and the ships not having steerage-way, rendered pursuit on our side impossible, and enabled them to make their retreat to La Hogue.

It would be great injustice in not joining with him in his very well bestowed commendation on the conduct of the several officers and men under his command.

It may not be deemed improper to mention, that I this morning saw some pieces of paper taken from the vessel which has been towed in, and that amongst them there is a sort of return of the crew, by which it appears that it consisted of 144 men; the total force, therefore, may have been very considerable, and, there is every reason to believe, has suffered great loss.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOTHAM.

Badger, Isles St. Marcou, May 7.
SIR,

I beg leave to represent to you, that, in consequence of the information I received yesterday, and the movements of the enemy at La Hogue, I conjectured they would attack us in the night, about high water; I therefore dispatched a guard-boat, belonging to the Sandfly, with Mr. Moore, midshipman of the Eurydice, in her, to watch the motions of the enemy. About twelve o'clock he got amongst them, and made the signal of their being in motion, and about the same time we clearly heard the enemy talk, but it was so dark we could not discover them.

At day-break, I observed their line drawn a-breast of the S. W. face of the western redoubt, and having all my guns I could bring to bear well pointed, I began a steady well-directed fire on them, until the flat boats came within musquet-shot, when I observed six or seven of them go down, whilst the others took out the living part of the crews; one I am towing into the islands, and the remainder, consisting of forty-three, are re-

turning into La Hogue. I am clear, from the crowded state of their decks, that they must have received great damage and slaughter; but I am sorry to add, we had one marine killed, and 3 severely wounded, and one seaman wounded.

Lieutenant Bourne took every method in his power to assist me; but from the situation of the attack, the east island was deprived for some time of doing much; but the shells from the 68 pounders, over the length of the west island, latterly did them great damage, by flanking the N. W. side of the west island.

I beg leave to represent likewise to you, that lieutenants Maughan and Enfor, with the marines, sergeant Henderson and the party of artillery, and the seamen under my command, behaved as well as officers and men could do.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

CHA. P. PRICE.

Capt. Hotham, senior officer, &c.

Lieutenant Price, in a letter to Mr. Nepean, dated the 9th, repeats the intelligence contained in the above, and concludes thus:

“ I am sorry to announce the death of Thomas Hall, private marine, killed; Richard Dunn and Peter Williamson, marines, wounded, and Thomas Banks, seaman, wounded. But considering our receiving the fire of near eighty heavy bow-guns, from 36 to 18 pounders, for upwards of two hours, I look upon our damage as not great. We had four guns dismounted, but I got them fit for service before night. Inclosed I send you lieutenant Bourne's letter to me, the morning after the action.

I am, &c. CHA. P. PRICE.

Sandfly, East Island, St. Marcou
7th May, 1798.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you,

you, that in the affair of this morning, there were no killed or wounded in this island. I cannot speak in terms sufficiently strong, of the firm and manly conduct displayed on this occasion by the officers and men under my command; and I feel particularly indebted to lieutenant Lawrence, of the marines, ensign Carter, of the invalids, Messrs. Trotter and Moor, mates of the *Adamant* and *Eurydice*, and Mr. John Mather, commissary of ordnance stores, for their assistance, and ready execution of my orders during the action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. BOURNE.

Lieut. Price, &c. &c.

Senior officer at the islands of St. Marcou.

Admiralty-Office, May 12.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Pakenham, of his Majesty's Ship *Resistance*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Fort Victoria, Amboyna, October 21, 1797.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that the islands of Amboyna and Banda are in a very respectable state of defence, and the seamen and troops in very good health and spirits, and, from the enemy's cruizers being all captured or destroyed, as per margin, are at present very well supplied.

Prizes taken by his majesty's ship *Resistance*.

Young Frank sloop, 10 guns and 8 swivels, cut out from Ternate; Juno sloop, loaded with rice, coming into Ternate; Young Lauslin sloop, 10 guns and 8 swivels; Limbi ketch, 6 guns, off Celebes, and loaded with rice; a large corra corra, 6 ransackers, carrying a pound ball; a paddawackan, with 6 swivels; Walker sloop, 10 guns and

8 swivels, at Gonontalo, island of Celebes, by the boats of the *Resistance*; *Resource*, coppered brig, 6 guns, at Copang island of St. Timor; a large paddawackan.

13. This day, about one o'clock, sir Sydney Smith arrived at the Admiralty, who has been so long a prisoner in the Temple at Paris, under the most rigorous confinement; the executive directory having made him a particular object of their revenge, refusing every overture to release him, unless 4000 seamen were given in exchange. Finding that all hopes of an honourable exchange were vanished, from the raucour which the directory constantly manifested towards the above officer, a plan was formed in this country to effect his escape; and a foreigner of some distinction undertook to make the attempt. He went to Paris; and, having procured some blank warrants used in the office of the minister of police for the delivery of prisoners, he obtained a forged signature of the minister, directed to the gaoler of the Temple, extremely well executed, to deliver up to the bearers of it, who were national guards, the persons of sir Sydney Smith and Mr. Wright, that they might be conveyed to another prison. Four persons, on whom confidence could be placed, were accordingly employed to represent national guards; in which habit they went to the gaoler of the Temple with the forged orders for the delivery of the prisoners, who were accordingly delivered up, and put into a hackney-coach. So well was the escape conducted, that, though this event happened on the evening of April 24, it was not even known to the directory till May 4; at which time sir Sydney was out of the limits of the republic. On the 5th

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he arrived at Portsmouth, having been picked up off Havre by the Argo frigate, which, being on a cruise off Havre, fell in with an open boat at sea, with a handkerchief hoisted on a boat-hook. She immediately bore down, and picked her up, when, to the great satisfaction of all on board, it was found to contain sir Sydney Smith and Mr. Wright. The Argo was immediately detached from captain Wolley's Squadron, to land sir Sydney at Portsmouth: and on his arrival being known, a great number of persons assembled at the inn to welcome his return, and the populace testified their joy, by loud, hearty, and repeated huzzas. After taking some refreshment, he immediately set off for London. The horses were taken from his chaise by the populace, who drew him without the gates of the town. Sir Sydney was taken prisoner on the 18th of April, 1796.

Maidstone, May 21.

This morning, at seven, the judges met, pursuant to adjournment, to proceed to the trial of the prisoners indicted for high treason. The persons summoned as jurors were called. The crown challenged 25, and the prisoners the full number allowed by law. Three hours and a half elapsed before the jury were chosen; and a considerable part of this time was taken up in challenging persons *with cause*, and producing evidence to show that they had used expressions of warmth against the prisoners. Some of these challenges were admitted, and others refused. Mr. Abbott opened the case on the part of the crown; and the attorney-general detailed the whole of the circum-

stances, stating the tenor of the paper purporting to be an address to the directory of France, together with several letters of a treasonable tendency. He entered into a minute history of the conduct of the prisoners from Feb. 27 till the time of their apprehension, in order to show their design was to get to France. On the next day, the court being met, Mr. Plomer, as leading counsel for Mr. O'Connor and O'Coigley, opened the defence in an able speech, which took up four hours and a half in the delivery.—The examination of the witnesses being ended, and Mr. justice Buller having delivered his charge; the jury, after a consultation of forty minutes, returned the following verdict: James O'Coigley, guilty; Arthur O'Connor, not guilty; John Binns, not guilty; John Allen, not guilty; Jeremiah Leary, not guilty. After the jury had given in their verdict, Mr. justice Buller passed sentence of death on O'Coigley in the usual manner in cases of high treason.

Admiralty Office, May 22.

Captain Winthrop, of his majesty's ship *Circe*, arrived here this day with a dispatch from captain Home Riggs Popham, of his majesty's ship *Expedition*, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following is a copy:

Expedition, Ostend Roads, May 20.

SIR,

I beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty that, in pursuance of their orders of the 8th instant, I proceeded to sea the 14th with the ships and vessels named in the margin*, having on board the troops under

* To anchor to the eastward: Hecla bomb, J. Oughton; Harpy, H. Bazeley; Ariadne, J. Bradby; Expedition, H. Popham; Minerva, J. M'Kellar; Savage, N. Thompson; Blazer,

under the command of major-gen. Coote, for the purpose of blowing up the basin-gates and sluices of the Bruges canal, and destroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. On the 18th P. M. I spoke the *Fairy*, when captain Horton told me he had taken a cutter from Flushing to Ostend; and he understood from the people on board, that the transport schuyts sitting at Flushing were to go round immediately by the canals to Dunkirk and Ostend; and although it was impossible that any information could give additional spirit to the troops forming this enterprise, or increase the energy and exertions of the officers and seamen under my command, yet it convinced major-general Coote and myself that it was of the greatest importance not to lose any time, but to attempt, even under an increased degree of risk, an object of such magnitude as the one in question; and, as the weather appeared more favourable than it had been, I made the signal for capt. Bazeley, in the *Harpy*, to go a-head, with the vessels appointed to lie as beacons N. W. of the town of Ostend, and for captain Bradby, in the *Ariadne*, to keep between the Expedition and *Harpy*, that we might approach as near the coast as possible, without the chance of being discovered from the shore. At one A. M. we anchored; soon afterwards the wind shifted to west, and threatened to blow so much that the general and myself were deliberating whether it would not be better to go to sea and wait a more favourable opportunity, when a boat from

the *Vigilant* brought a vessel alongside, which she had cut out from under the light-house battery; and the information obtained from the persons who were on board her, under separate examinations, so convinced us of the small force at Ostend, Newport, and Bruges, that major-general Coote begged he might be landed to accomplish the great object of destroying the canals, even if the surf should prevent his retreat being so successful as he could wish. I of course acceded to his spirited proposition, and ordered the troops to be landed as fast as possible, without waiting for the regular order of debarkation. Many of the troops were on shore before we were discovered; and it was not till a quarter past four that the batteries opened on the ships, which was instantly returned in a most spirited manner, by captain Mortlock, of the *Wolvereene*, lieutenant Edmonds, of the *Asp*, and lieutenant Norman, of the *Biter*. The *Hecla* and *Tartarus* bombs very soon opened their mortars, and threw their shells with great quickness and precision. The town was on fire several times, and much damage was done to the ships in the basin. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, except those from the *Minerva*, were on shore with their artillery, miners, wooden petards, tools and gunpowder; and, before six, I heard from general Coote, that he had no doubt of blowing up the works. I now became very anxious for the situation of the major-general, from the state of the weather; and I ordered all the gun-boats that had anchored

Blazer, D. Burgess; *Lion*, S. Bevel; *Circe*, R. Winthrop; *Vestal*, C. White; *Hebe*, W. Brichall; *Druid*, C. Apthorpe; *Terrier*, T. Lowen; *Vesuve*, W. Elliott; *Furnace*, M. W. Suckling. To keep to the westward, for the purpose of making a feint to land there; *Champion*, H. Raper; *Dart*, R. Raggett; *Wolvereene*, L. M. Mortlock; *Craft*, B. M. Praid; *Boxer*, J. Gilbert; *Acute*, J. Seaver.

to the eastward of the town to get as near the shore as possible, to cover and assist the troops in their embarkation. The batteries at the town continued their fire on the Wolverine, Asp, and Biter; and as the Wolverine had received much damage, and the Asp had been lying near four hours within 300 yards of the battery, I made their signal to move, and soon after directed the Dart, Harpy, and Kite, to take their stations, that the enemy might be prevented from turning their guns against our troops; but, it being low water, they could not get so near as their commanders wished. At half past nine, the Minerva came in; and as I thought an additional number of troops would only add to the anxiety of the general, from the little probability of being able to embark them; I sent captain Mackellar on shore to report his arrival with four light companies of the guards. In his absence, colonel Ward filled two flat boats with his officers and men, and was proceeding with every zeal to join the battalion of guards, without considering the danger he was exposed to in crossing the surf, when captain Bradby fortunately saw him, and advised him to return immediately to his ship. At 20 minutes past ten, I had the pleasure of seeing the explosion take place; and, soon after, the troops assembled on the sand-hills near the shore; but the sea ran so high, that it was impossible to embark a single man; therefore I could only make every arrangement against the wind moderated; and this morning, at day-light, I went in shore, in the Kite, for the purpose of giving every assistance, but I had the mortification to see our army surrounded by the enemy's troops: and, as I had no doubt the general

had capitulated, I ordered all the ships to anchor farther out, and I sent in a flag of truce, by colonel Boone, of the guards, and captain Brown, of the Kite, with a letter to the commandant, a copy of which I inclose for their lordships' information. At ten this morning, the general's aide-de-camp, captain Williamson, came on board; and though it was very painful to hear general Coote was wounded, after all his exertions, yet it was very satisfactory to learn, that, under many disadvantageous circumstances, and after performing a service of such consequence to our country, the loss, in killed and wounded, was only between 50 and 60 officers and privates; and that the general capitulated in consequence of being surrounded by several thousands of the national troops. I inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of such minutes as were left me by captain Williamson, from which their lordships will see the sluice-gates and works are completely destroyed, and several vessels, intended for transports, burnt. I this morning learnt that the canal was quite dry, and that the works destroyed yesterday had taken the states of Bruges five years to finish. I hope their lordships will be satisfied that the enemy was surprised, and every thing they wished was accomplished, although the loss of the troops far exceeded any calculation, except under the particular circumstances of the wind's coming to the northward, and blowing very hard. If the weather had continued fine, the troops would have been embarked by twelve, at which time the return of killed and wounded did not exceed four rank and file. I cannot help again noticing the particular good conduct of captain Mortlock, lieut. Edmonds, and
lieut.

lieut. Norman, and beg to recommend them to their lordships' protection. General Coote sent to inform me that he was highly pleased with the uncommon exertions of captains Winthrop and Bradby, and lieutenant Bradby, who had acted on shore as his aide de-camp: he also noticed the assistance he had derived from captain Mackellar, after his landing. I take the liberty of sending this dispatch by capt. Winthrop, of the *Circe*, who commanded the seamen landed from the different ships; and, as he had the particular charge of getting the powder and mines up for the destruction of the works, in which he so ably succeeded, he will be enabled to inform their lordships of every circumstance. Captain Mackellar, with the officers and men on shore, were included in the capitulation; but I have not yet been able to collect an exact return of the number of seamen taken. I transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships; and have the honour to be, &c. HOME POPHAM.

To the Officer commanding the Troops of the National Convention at Ostend; dated on board his Majesty's Ship Expedition, Ostend Roads, May 20.

SIR,

I have just heard with concern that the British troops and seamen under the command of major-gen. Coote, and captain Mackellar, of the royal navy, have capitulated to the troops of the republic; and I trust they will be treated with that attention which is due to officers and men executing the orders of their sovereign. It has been the invariable rule of the British government to make the situation of prisoners as comfortable as possible; and I am sure, sir, in this instance,

you will do the same to the troops; &c. who have fallen into your hands. It will not be against any rule to exchange the prisoners immediately, but, on the contrary, add to your name by marking it with humanity and liberality; and I give you my word, the same number of troops, or other prisoners, shall be instantly sent from England to France, with such officers as you shall name, or as shall be named by the national convention, provided no public reason attaches against the release of any particular person. I have sent the officers what things they left on board the ship, and I am confident you will order them to be delivered as soon as possible. I beg you will allow the officers and men to write letters to England by this flag, as a satisfaction to their families, it being impossible for me to know who have fallen, or received wounds, which I hope will be very inconsiderable, from the accounts I have received from the shore. I beg your answer to this letter without loss of time; and confide in your liberality towards the troops under capitulation to you.

HOME POPHAM.

Extract from the Minutes left on board the Expedition by Captain Williamson, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Coote, dated 10 A. M. May 20, Ostend Roads.

Sluice-gates destroyed in the most complete manner. Boats burnt, and every thing done, and the troops ready to embark by twelve o'clock. When we found it impossible to embark, took the strongest position on the sand-hills, and about four in the morning were attacked by a column of 600 men to our left, an immense column in front, with cannon, and a very large column on the right. The
general

general and troops would have all been off, with the loss of not more than three or four men, if the wind had not come to the northward soon after we landed, and made so high a sea. We have not been able to ascertain the exact number of men killed and wounded; but it is supposed they amount to about 50 or 60.

Killed and wounded in his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the command of Home Popham, Esq. Ostend Roads, May 19.

Seamen, &c. of *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 10 wounded. 23d regiment, on board the *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 5 wounded. Asp, 1 seaman killed, lieutenant Edmonds wounded.

HOME POPHAM.

Parliament-street, May 22. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-colonel Warde, of the 1st regiment of guards, dated on board the Expedition frigate, eight o'clock, P. M. May 20.

SIR,

In consequence of the *Minerva* frigate (on board which were the four light infantry companies of the 1st regiment of foot guards) having unfortunately lost her situation in the squadron under the command of captain Popham, of the royal navy, during the night of the 18th inst. the command of the remainder of the troops, from that accident, has devolved upon me: and I have the honour to transmit to you the most correct account that I have been enabled to collect. Early on the morning of the 19th inst. the following troops, under the command of major-general Coote, viz. two companies, light infantry, Coldstream guards; two ditto, ditto, 3d

guards; 11th regiment of foot; 23d and 49th flank companies, with six pieces of ordnance, disembarked, and effected their landing, at three o'clock in the morning, to the eastward of Ostend, and completed the object of the expedition, by burning a number of boats destined for the invasion of England, and by so completely destroying the locks and basin-gates of the Bruges canal, that it was this morning without a drop of water; and, as I understand all the transports fitting out at Flushing were intended to be brought to Ostend and Dunkirk by the inland navigation, to avoid our cruisers, that arrangement will be defeated, and it will be a long time before the works can be repaired, as they were five years finishing, and were esteemed the most complete works of the kind in Europe. The troops had retreated, and were ready to re-embark by twelve o'clock the same morning, with the loss of only one rank and file killed, and one seaman wounded; but found it impossible, from the wind having increased, and the surf running so high, as entirely to prevent their regaining the boats; upon which they took up a position on the sand-hills above the beach, where they lay the whole of that day and night upon their arms.—The enemy, taking advantage of the length of time and the night, collected in very great force, and, soon after day-break this morning, attacked them on every side, when, after a most noble and gallant defence, I am grieved to add, they were under the necessity of capitulating to a very great superiority of numbers.

I herewith inclose a list of the killed and wounded, and have every reason to believe it correct: Lieut.-colonel

colonel Hely, 11th foot, killed; major-general Coote, wounded; col. Campbell, 3d guards, wounded; major Donkin, 44th foot, wounded; captain Walker, royal artillery, wounded.

I am, &c. HENRY WARDE.

This gazette also contains accounts of the capture of Le Leopard French letter of marque, by the Petterel sloop, captain Caulfield; the Renommée French privateer, by the Astrea, captain R. Dacres; and Le Chasseur, and La Dracon, (two French privateers) by the Cruiser, lieut. Wollaston.

27. In consequence of what passed in a great assembly on Friday last, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Mr. G. Walpole, met at three o'clock this afternoon, on Putney heath. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired at the same moment, without effect. A second case was also fired in the same manner, Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air. The seconds then jointly interfered, and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion, that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business was ended with perfect honour to both parties.

From the London Gazette, May 29.

Whitehall, May 29. Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1798.

My Lord,

The intelligence contained in

my last dispatches must have prepared your grace to hear of some attempts being made by the rebels, to carry their traitorous designs into execution before every possibility of success was destroyed by the vigorous measures which have lately been pursued.

For some days, orders had been issued by the leaders of the United Irishmen, directing their partisans to be ready at a moment's notice, as the measures of government made it necessary for them to act immediately. Yesterday information was received, that it was probable the city and the adjoining districts would rise in the evening; subsequent information confirmed this intelligence. In consequence of which, notice was sent to the general officers in the neighbourhood, and Dublin was put in a state of preparation. The measures taken in the metropolis prevented any movement whatsoever; but I am concerned to acquaint your grace, that acts of open rebellion were committed in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare. About half past two o'clock this morning, there was a regular attack made by a rebel force upon the town of Naas, where lord Gosford commanded, with part of the Armagh militia, and detachments of the 4th dragoon guards and Ancient British. The rebels consisted of about a thousand men, armed with muskets and pikes, and they made their attack with regularity, but were soon repulsed by the Armagh militia, and then charged and pursued by the 4th dragoon guards and Ancient British; and I understand their loss amounted to near two hundred. Two officers and a few privates have been lost of his majesty's forces. It gives me pain to relate, that a small detachment at
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the town of Prosperous has been surpris'd, and a detachment at the village of Clare cut their way to Naas, with some loss. There was also an attack on a small party of the 9th dragoons, near Kilcullen, which suffer'd, but in the course of the day, general Dundas was enabled to come up with a considerable body of the rebels near the hills of Kilcullen, where they were entirely routed, with the loss of 200 men. There were also several bodies collected last night in different parts near Dublin, which were attacked by the Rathfarnham cavalry; and by a detachment of the 5th dragoons, and dispers'd with some loss, and some prisoners and horses were taken. A rebel party; however, assembled at the borders of the county of Dublin, near Duri-boyne, and overpowered some constables, and afterwards took the baggage of two companies, guarded by a small party of the Reay fencibles, coming to town, and have, during the course of this day, committed many outrages; several of them, however, have been kill'd, but the body remains undispers'd. The city is tranquil, and I have no doubt will remain so this evening, and I trust that to-morrow we shall entirely disperse that body of the insurgents which has not been entirely routed to-day.

I must add that the mail-coach going to the north was attacked, within a few miles of Dublin, by a select body, well armed; the passengers were taken and the coach burned. The Galway mail-coach was also attacked in the town of Lucan, but the rebel party was driven off before its destruction was effected.

In consequence of this desperate conduct of the rebellious, I issued the inclosed proclamation,

1798.

with the advice of the privy council.

I shall, in a future dispatch, detail to your grace the particular services which have been performed, but at present I am not furnished with regular reports, except from lord Gosford, who appears to have acted with great firmness and decision.

I am, &c. &c.

CAMDEN

His grace the duke of Portland,

&c. &c. &c.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Viscount Gosford, Colonel of the Armagh Militia, and Major Wardle, of the Ancient British Light Dragoons, to Lieut.-Gen. Lake, dated Naas, Thursday Morning, Eight o'Clock, 24th of May, 1798.

This morning, about half past two o'clock, a dragoon from an out-post came in and inform'd major Wardle, of the Ancient British, that a very considerable armed body were approaching rapidly upon the town. The whole garrison were instantly under arms, and took up their positions according to a plan previously formed, in case of such an event happening. They made the attack upon our troops, posted near the gaol, with great violence, but were repuls'd; they then made a general attack in almost every direction, as they had got possession of almost every avenue into the town. They continued to engage the troops for near three-quarters of an hour, when they gave way, and fled on all sides. The cavalry immediately took advantage of their confusion, charged in almost every direction, and kill'd a great number of them. A great quantity of arms and pikes were taken, and within this half hour, many hundreds more were brought in, found in pits near the

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town,

town, together with three men with green cockades, all of whom were hanged in the public street. We took another prisoner, whom we have spared, in consequence of his having given us information that will enable us to pursue these rebels; and from this man we learn that they were above a thousand strong: they were commanded, as this man informs us, by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dressed in yeoman uniform, but unfortunately made his escape; his horse we have got.

When we are enabled to collect further particulars, you shall be made acquainted with them. About thirty rebels were killed in the streets; in the fields, we imagine, above an hundred; their bodies have not yet been brought together.

It is impossible to say too much of the cavalry and infantry; their conduct was exemplary throughout.

Dublin Castle, May 25, 1798, half past three, P. M.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Dundas, to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated Naas, May 25, 1798.

In addition to the account I had the honour of sending you yesterday, I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that about two P. M. yesterday, I marched out again to attack the rebels, who had assembled in great force on the north side of the Liffey, and were advancing towards Kilcullen bridge: they occupied the hills on the left of the road leading to Dublin, the road itself, and the fields highly inclosed on the right. The attack began between three and four; was made with gallantry; the infantry forcing the enemy on the road, and driving them from the hills on the left; the cavalry,

with equal success, cutting off their retreat. The affair ended soon after four. The slaughter was considerable for such an action; one hundred and thirty lay dead—no prisoners.

I have the further satisfaction of stating to your lordship, that his majesty's troops did not suffer in either killed or wounded. The rebels left great quantities of all kinds of arms behind them, and fled in all directions.

This morning all is in perfect quietness. General Wilford, from Kildare, joined me last night, an officer with whom I serve with unspeakable satisfaction.

The troops of every description, both officers and men, shewed a degree of gallantry which it was difficult to restrain within prudent bounds.

Captain La Touche's corps of yeomanry distinguished themselves in a high style.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to send to your grace a copy of a message which I sent this day to both houses of parliament, in consequence of the proclamation referred to in my other dispatch of this day; and I request you will lay the same before his majesty.

Both houses of parliament have unanimously voted addresses in answer to the said message, which I shall have the honour to transmit to you to-morrow, with an account of what passed in each house upon the occasion.

I have the honour to be,

with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

your grace's most obedient,
humble servant,

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

Camden,

Camden,

I have thought it my indispensable duty, by and with the advice of the privy council, under the present circumstances of this kingdom, to issue a proclamation, a copy of which I have ordered to be laid before the house of commons.

C.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1798.

JUNE.

Whitehall, June 1. The following dispatch has been this day received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, May 28, half past 4, P. M.

My Lord,

Intelligence has been received that the insurrection is spreading southward, and it has broke out in great force in the county of Wexford; and I have to inform your grace, with infinite concern, that the rebels in that quarter have assembled in such force that they have cut off a party of 100 men of the North Cork militia, who were sent to meet them. Col. Foote, who has returned to Wexford, states the number of the rebels to be at least 4000; and a great number of them mounted. Measures are taken to march against this body; and I hope they will be met and defeated. I have received accounts from col. Campbell, at Athy, between whom and general Dundas the communication has been stopped, that he has had partial engagements with the rebels: that at Monastereven and Carlow they have been defeated, and 400 killed at the latter place, and 50 at the former. He also informs general Lake, that his men are in high spirits. I will not close this letter till the last moment of the mail

leaving Dublin, that I may give your grace the last information.

CAMDEN.

Nine o'clock, P. M. No farther accounts have been received from the country since the middle of the day. General Lake went to Naas last night, and is not yet returned. I enclose your grace the publication put forth this day by the Roman catholics.

To such of the deluded people, now in rebellion against his majesty's government in this kingdom, as profess the Roman catholic religion.

The undersigned Roman catholics of Ireland feel themselves earnestly called on to remonstrate with such of the deluded people of that persuasion as are now engaged in open rebellion against his majesty's government on the wicked tendency and consequences of the conduct which they have embraced. They apprehend, with equal horror and concern, that such deluded men, in addition to the crime committed against the allegiance which they owe to his majesty, have in some instances attempted to give to their designs a colour of zeal for the religion which they profess! — The undersigned profess equally with them the Roman catholic religion; some of them are bishops of that persuasion; others are heads of the leading families who profess that religion; and others are men of the same persuasion, who, by an honourable industry, have, under the constitution now sought to be subverted, raised themselves to a situation which affords them, in the most extensive sense, all the comforts of life. The undersigned, of each description, concur in entreating such of the deluded, who have taken up arms against the established government,

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vernment, or entered into engagements tending to that effect, to return to their allegiance, and by relinquishing the treasonable plans in which they are engaged, to entitle themselves to that mercy which their lawful governors anxiously wish to extend to them: a contrary conduct will inevitably subject them to loss of life and property, and expose their families to ignominy and beggary—whilst, at the same time, it will throw on the religion, of which they profess to be advocates, the most indelible stain. On this point, the unfortunately deluded will do well to consider, whether the true interests or honour of the Roman catholic religion are likely to be most considered by the bishops of that persuasion, by the ancient families who profess that religion, and who have resisted every temptation to relinquish it—by men who, at once professing it, and submitting to the present constitution, have arrived at a state of affluence which gratifies every wish—or by a set of desperate and profligate men, availing themselves of the want of education and experience in those whom they seek to use as instruments for gratifying their own wicked and interested views. At all events, the undersigned feel themselves bound to rescue their names, and, as far as in them lies, the religion which they profess, from the ignominy which each would incur, from an appearance of acquiescence in such criminal and irreligious conduct; and they hesitate not to declare, that the accomplishment of the views of the deluded of their persuasion, if effected must be effected by the downfall of the clergy—of the ancient families, and respectable commercial men of the Roman catholic religion. The undersigned in-

dividuals of each of which description hereby publicly declare their determination to stand or fall with the present existing constitution.

[It is signed by the four titular archbishops, by 22 titular bishops, by the lords Fingall, Southwell, Gormastown, and Kenmare; sir Edward Bellew, sir Thomas Burke, and several other leading men among the catholics.]

Whitehall, June 2. The following dispatch has been this day received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, May 29.

My Lord,

I have only time to inform your grace, that I learn from general Dundas, that the rebels in the Curragh of Kildare have laid down their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders. By a dispatch I have this instant received, I have the further pleasure of acquainting your grace, that sir James Duff, who with infinite alacrity and address has opened the communication with Limerick (that with Cork being already open), had arrived at Kildare whilst the rebels had possession of it, completely routed them, and taken the place.

I am, &c.

CAMDEN.

P. S. The south is entirely quiet, and the rebels in the neighbourhood of Dublin are submitting and delivering up their arms.

Official report from major general sir James Duff, dated Monasterevan, May 29.

I marched from Limerick on Sunday morning, with 60 dragoons, the Dublin militia, their field-pieces, with two curricule guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged of the utmost importance to government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached

I reached this place in 48 hours. I am now at seven o'clock this morning (Monday), marching to surround the town of Kildare, the head-quarters of the rebels, with 7 pieces of artillery, 140 dragoons, and 350 infantry. I have left the whole country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps. I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail-coach, which I will escort to Naas. I am sufficiently strong: you may depend on my prudence and success. My guns are well manned, and the troops in high spirits. The cruelties that have been committed on some of the officers and men have exasperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations I will endeavour to inform you.

I am, &c. JAMES DUFF.

Tuesday, 2 o'clock, P. M. Kildare.

P. S. We found the rebels retiring from the town, on our arrival, armed. We followed them with the dragoons. I sent on some of the yeomen to tell them, that, on laying down their arms, they should not be hurt. Unfortunately, some of them fired on the troops; from that moment they were attacked on all sides: nothing could stop the rage of the troops; I believe from 200 to 300 of the rebels were killed. We have 3 men killed and several wounded. I am too much fatigued to enlarge.

J. DUFF.

Admiralty-Office, June 2. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of La Violetta French privateer sloop, belonging to Guadaloupe, of 6 guns and 36 men, by his majesty's ship Amphitrite, captain Ekins; the Jeuse Nantaize French privateer, of 4 guns and 39 men, by the Garland, of 6 guns and 18 men, tender to his majesty's ship Prince of Wales,

Mr. Francis Banks. La Revanche French schooner privateer, of 12 brass six-pounders and 88 men; Le Brutus French lugger privateer, of 6 six-pounders and 50 men; the St. Antonia Spanish schooner, pierced for 16 guns, but had 6 six-pounders only mounted; Les Huit Amis French ship privateer, of 20 six-pounders and 160 men; all by his majesty's ship Endymion, sir Thomas Williams.

Dublin Castle, June 2. Accounts have been received from major-general Eustace, at New Ross, stating that major-general Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated. Gen. Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon Fort. The rebels are in possession of Wexford; but a large force is marching to dislodge them.

Whitehall, June 4. The following dispatch has been this day received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, June 2.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that a dispatch was this day received by lieutenant-general Lake from colonel L'Estrange, of the King's County militia, which states, that the town of Newtown Barry had been attacked yesterday morning by a very considerable body of rebels from Vinegar Hill. They surrounded the town in such a manner, that colonel L'Estrange at first retreated, in order to collect his force. He then attacked the rebels, drove them through the town, with great slaughter, and pursued them several miles, until night obliged them to return. Above 500 of the rebels were killed. Col. L'Estrange's detachment consisted

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of

of 230 of the King's County militia, 17 dragoons, and about 100 yeomen. Colonel L'Estrange speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of the troops, and gives much praise to major Marley, who volunteered on the occasion. I have accounts from Mr. Cornwall, that a picquet-guard of his yeomen surprised, in the night, a party of rebels endeavouring to enter the county of Carlow, and completely defeated them.

CAMDEN.

This gazette also contains accounts of the capture of *Le Furet* French privateer schooner, belonging to Guadaloupe, of 2 guns and 27 men; *Le Hardi* French privateer schooner, belonging to Guadaloupe, of 4 guns and 47 men; *La Rosiere* French privateer schooner, of 2 guns and 15 men.

6. The execution of Mr. Reeves, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Adamson, took place in the front of Newgate. Great interest was made for the two latter, and the deliberations of the privy council on their case lasted above two hours and a half.

8. O'Coigley, for high treason, was executed at Pennenden Heath. He persisted to the last in his innocence of ever having carried on an improper correspondence with the French.

Whitehall, June 9. The following dispatch has been received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, June 4.

My Lord,

Yesterday a dispatch was received from major-gen. Loftus, conveying information from lieut. Elliott, of the Antrim militia, that the troops in Gorey, consisting of 30 of the Antrim militia, a subaltern detachment of the North Cork, the Gorey yeoman cavalry, Ballykeer, and part of the Camolin cavalry, at-

tacked the rebels at Ballycanoe, about three o'clock on the 1st inst. defeated them, and killed above 100 of them. I have the satisfaction to inform your grace, that the city remains tranquil. The patience, the spirit, and continued exertions of the yeomanry are unequalled, and I cannot sufficiently applaud the indefatigable zeal of major-general Myers, who has undertaken the arrangement of them with a promptitude and ability which has been of the most essential advantage. I am, &c. CAMDEN.

Dublin Castle, June 5, five P. M.

Major Marley is just arrived from major-general Loftus, and brings an account that the major-general, finding that colonel Walpole's detachment had received a check, thought it prudent to move to Carnew, which he effected without the loss of a man. It appears that colonel Walpole had met with the main body of the rebels in a strong post near Slievebuy Mountain, and having attacked them, he was unfortunately killed by a shot in the head in the beginning of the action, when his corps, being in a situation where it could not act with advantage, was forced to retire to Arklow. The loss was 54 men killed and missing, and 2 six-pounders. Capt. Stark, capt. Armstrong, and capt. Duncan, were wounded, but not dangerously; and sir Watkins William Wynne received a contusion in the hand.

Whitehall, June 10. The following dispatch has been received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, June 8.

My Lord,

I am to acquaint your grace, that early this morning lieutenant-general Lake received an express from major-general Johnson, dated the 5th inst. at New Ross. The major-general

general states, that the rebels had on that morning attacked his position at New Ross, with a very numerous force, and with great impetuosity; but that, after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed. The loss of the rebels was prodigiously great. An iron gun on a ship carriage was taken, and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrick Byrne, leaving several iron ship guns, not mounted. General Johnson states, that too much praise cannot be given to the forces under his command; and that to major-general Eustace, and indeed to every individual, he was in the highest degree indebted for their spirited exertions. The major-general severely regrets the loss of that brave officer lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. A return of killed and wounded of his majesty's forces has not been received, but it appears not to be considerable.

CAMDEN.

Whitehall, June 12. The following dispatches have been this day received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, June 9.

My Lord,

It is with the utmost concern I acquaint your grace an insurrection has broken out in the county of Antrim; and, in order to give your grace the fullest information in my power, I enclose to you an extract of a letter received this morning by lord Castlereagh from major-general Nugent. I am in great hope, from the numbers and spirit of the loyal in that part of the country, the insurgents may be quickly checked. I am, &c.

CAMDEN.

My Lord, *Belfast, June 8.*

I have the honour to report to your lordship, that, in consequence of information which I received

early yesterday morning, of an intended insurrection in the county of Antrim, having for its first object the seizure of the magistrates, who were to assemble that day in the town of Antrim, I apprehended several persons in Belfast. I did not receive the intelligence early enough to prevent the insurgents from taking possession of Antrim. and I am not, therefore, acquainted with their first proceedings there; but I prevented many magistrates from leaving Belfast; and many others, being officers of yeomanry, on permanent duty, did not attend the meeting. I ordered the 64th regiment, and light battalion, and 100 of the 22d light dragoons, under col. Clavering, and lieut.-col. Lumley, with two 5½ inch howitzers, and 2 currie six-pounders, to proceed with the utmost dispatch through Lisburn to Antrim. I also ordered from the garrison 250 of the Monaghan militia, with lieut.-col. Ker, and 50 of the 22d dragoons, together with the Belfast yeomanry cavalry, with major Smith, to proceed under the command of colonel Durham, with 2 currie six-pounders, through Carmoney and Templepatrick to Antrim, to co-operate with the other detachment. The dragoons under lieut.-col. Lumley having made the attack upon the town, without waiting for the light battalion, were fired upon from the windows of the houses, and were consequently obliged to retreat, with the loss of (I am sorry to add) three officers of that excellent regiment, killed and wounded, and the two currie six-pounders. Col. Clavering, on his arrival near Antrim, finding the rebels pouring into that town in great force, very judiciously took post on a hill on the Lisburn side, and reported his situation to major-gen.

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Goldie.

Goldie. In the mean time, col. Durham, with his whole detachment, proceeded to within half a mile of Antrim, and, after a cannonade of half an hour, drove the insurgents completely out of the town, and retook the two curriele guns, together with one brass six-pounder, very badly mounted, of which it seems the rebels had two, supposed to have been smuggled out of Belfast. The colonel then proceeded, without the loss of a man, through the town, (which, for obvious reasons, suffered much) to Shane's Castle and Randelstown, in which direction the principal part of the rebels fled; he remains there still for orders from me. Lord O'Neil, I am sorry to say, is dangerously wounded. Lieut.-col. Leslie, of the Tay fencibles, reports to me, from Carrickfergus, that lieut. Small, with a detachment of 20 men of that corps, in the barrack at Larne, defended themselves most gallantly against the attack of a numerous body, and maintained their post with the loss of 2 killed and 3 wounded, including the lieutenant. I have ordered them into headquarters at Carrickfergus. The Glenarm yeomanry (60 strong) being also threatened by an attack in the course of the day, took possession of Glenarm Castle, where they will maintain themselves, if possible. Brigadier-general Knox, having heard of a party of the Toome yeomanry being made prisoners by the insurgents, sent to me very early this morning to offer to march, by Toome bridge, into the county of Antrim, which I have desired him to do, in order to liberate col. Durham's detachment, and enable them to cross the country on their return to Belfast. Although the insurrection has been pretty general in the county, I do

not find they had much success: but I have not received, as yet, any reports from Balleycastle, Ballymena, Ballymoney, Portglenore, and other places in the northern parts, in which yeomanry are stationed. As my information led to a general rising in the county of Down, I have been obliged to call in all the small detachments of the York fencibles to Newton Ardes. Col. Stapleton has every thing in readiness, to move at a moment's warning. The yeomanry are all on permanent duty throughout the counties of Down and Antrim; and I have distributed arms to 140 loyal men in Belfast, who will be attached to the Monaghan and Fifeshire regiments, and thereby become very useful. Offers of service are very numerous. I cannot close this letter without expressing to your lordship my entire approbation of the conduct of the troops of all descriptions, in this part of the northern district. Their zeal and attention to their duties cannot be surpassed; and I trust that when occasion offers, they will act in that concert which is so much to be wished for in military service. Lieut.-col. Lumley, I am afraid, is badly wounded in the leg; cornet Dunn is killed, and lieut. Murphy slightly wounded, all of the 22d light dragoons. I understand, but not officially, that some yeomanry from lord Hertford's estate (I believe the Derriaghy) were with the dragoons when they made the unsuccessful attack on Antrim, and they retired to Antrim Castle, where they were relieved by col. Durham. Col. Durham deserves my warmest praise for his judicious and spirited conduct. He speaks in high terms of the detachment under him, and particularly the Monaghan militia. The rev. Steele Dickson was taken

up the night before last, and sent prisoner here, where he will be confined in a place of safety, as well as many others, whom it is now necessary to apprehend. Your lordship may depend upon my individual exertions in this unpleasant contest; and as I am ably supported, I make no doubt that we shall prevent the rebels from gaining any advantages, and ultimately oblige them to return to their allegiance. I shall write again to-morrow, should any material event occur. G. NUGENT, major-gen.

Dublin Castle, June 9.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inclose herewith, to your grace farther particulars respecting the action at New Ross, which have been received in a letter from major-gen. Johnson, to lieut.-gen. Lake, of which I transmit your grace an extract, with two returns annexed.

CAMDEN.

Extract of a Letter from Major-general Johnson, to Lieut.-gen. Lake, dated at Ross, June 7.

I send you a return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops engaged on the 5th instant. Their numbers you will, I trust, find not great, when you take into consideration the numbers they were opposed to. I likewise send a return of the ordnance, ammunition, and standards, taken from the rebels. The number killed cannot be ascertained. In my former letter I was prevented, by a pressure of business, doing justice to the merits of several officers, to whom I am highly indebted for their extraordinary exertions: General Eustace, col. Crawford, A. Q. M. G. lieut.-colonels Stewart, 89th regiment, commanding light infantry; Maxwell, Donegal militia; majors, Vandellure, Clare militia; Vesey, county of Dublin militia; Melli-

font, my aide-de-camp, and major of brigade Sandford, are entitled to my fullest praise. I should not omit lieut. Eustace, the general's aide-de-camp, who is a very promising young man. To lieut. col. James Foulis, commanding the Mid-Lothian cavalry, and capt. Irvine, commanding the detachment of the 5th and 9th dragoons, I am no less indebted. I cannot say too much in favour of capt. Bloomfield, B. H. artillery, and capt. Thornhill, commanding the royal Irish flying artillery, whose very great exertions contributed very essentially to our success. We had a great loss in col. lord Mountjoy. Capt. Tottenham, yeomanry cavalry, and capt. Boyd, with the debus of his corps, have rendered me every possible assistance. In making mention of those particulars, I would not wish you to suppose I do not feel myself much indebted to every individual, a very few excepted.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Troops engaged at Ross on the 5th of June.

Killed, 1 colonel, 1 cornet, 1 quarter-master, 4 serjeants, 3 drummers, and 81 rank and file; also 54 horses; wounded, 1 captain, and 57 rank and file; also 5 horses; missing, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 72 rank and file, and 4 horses.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Col. lord Mountjoy, county of Dublin militia, killed; cornet Ladwell, 5th dragoons, killed; capt. Sinclair, Donegal militia, wounded; capt. Warburton and lieut. Flinter, Queen's County militia, missing; lieut. Harford, Kilkenny militia, missing; lieut. Blake and lieut. Buller, of the 89th, attached to the light battalion, missing; quarter-

quarter-master Hay, of Mid-Lothian fencibles, killed.

Return of Ordnance, Stores, &c. taken from the Rebels in the Action of the 5th of June.

1 5 half-inch howitzer, on ship-carriage; 1 iron 4-pounder on ship-carriage; 14 swivels, 1 iron 3-pounder, 1 iron 2-pounder, 14 shot of different sizes, an immensity of pikes, which were broken as soon as taken. Also musquets, likewise destroyed. A variety of standards and colours.

Whitehall, June 14, 1798. Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 10, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your grace, that yesterday evening a very large body of the Wexford rebels was driven back with great loss from their attack upon major-general Needham's post at Arklow.

The inclosed extract from the major-general's letter to lieutenant-general Lake will furnish your grace with the details of this important advantage.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland.

Arklow, June 10, half past five, A.M.

SIR,

About three o'clock, P. M. yesterday, the rebel army presented itself at my out-post in very great numbers.

They approached from Coolgrexny road, and along the sand-hills on the shore, in two columns, while the whole of the intermediate space embracing my entire front was crowded by a rabble, armed

with pikes and fire-arms, and bearing down on me without any regular order. The position I had chosen was a very strong one in front of the barrack.

As soon as the enemy approached within a short distance, we opened a heavy fire of grape, which did as much execution as, from the nature of the ground and the strong fences of which they possessed themselves, could have been expected. This continued incessantly from six until half past eight o'clock, when the enemy desisted from their attack, and fled in disorder on every side. The numbers killed have not been ascertained.— Our loss is inconsiderable, and no officer is wounded. A principal leader is among the slain.

Colonel sir W. W. Wynne, with some of the 4th dragoon guards and 5th dragoons, and part of his own regiment, and the yeomanry, charged the rebels most gallantly, and routed a strong column of them attempting to gain the town by the beach. Col. Maxwell offered his services to burn some houses in his front, near the end of the action, and effected it most handsomely, and without loss. Colonel Skerrot, of the Durham fencibles, on whom the brunt of the action fell, acted in the most spirited and determined manner; as did also colonel O'Hara, who commanded the Antrim, and covered the road on my right. The coolness and good conduct of colonel Cope, of the Armagh, does him infinite credit; and it is with the most real satisfaction I add, that the zeal and spirited conduct of the yeomanry corps were every thing I could wish.

To lieutenant-colonel Blackwood, of the late 33d, and lieutenant-colonel Cleghorn, of the Meath, who did me the honour to serve

serve with me upon this occasion, I am indebted for the most essential services, and I am happy thus to acknowledge my obligations to them both; and of the spirited exertions of Mr. Whaley, I cannot speak too highly.

I must, in justice to my aide-de-camp, capt. Moore, of the 4th dragoon guards, and major of brigade, capt. Needham, of the 9th dragoons, mention their great alertness. To the great activity and information of the former I am much indebted, and he will detail to you all other particulars. (Signed)

FRANCIS NEEDHAM.

Lieutenant-general Lake, &c. &c.

Dublin Castle, June 17, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that a letter has been this day received by lieutenant-general Lake from major-general Nugent, at Belfast, dated the 9th inst. stating that the rebels in the county of Antrim were dispersed in all directions, except at Toome, whither brigadier-general Knox and lieutenant-colonel Clavering were proceeding; and that many of them had laid down their arms.

Major-general Nugent also states, that Mr. M'Cleverty had returned from Donegarr-hill, whither he had been carried prisoner by a body of 2,000 rebels. Whilst they were in this station they disagreed, and quarrelled amongst themselves, and, from his influence and persuasion, above 1,500 left the camp, broke and destroyed their arms, and declared that they would never again carry an offensive weapon against his majesty or his loyal subjects. Many more dispersed, and the commander of them was left with 50 men only.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland.

Whitehall, June 16. Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 11.

My Lord,

I am concerned to acquaint your grace, that the accounts received from major-general Nugent this morning are not so favourable as from the details which were yesterday received I had reason to hope. A body of rebels having assembled near Saintfield, they were attacked by a detachment under col. Stapleton, who at first suffered some loss; but he afterwards put the rebels to flight. Being ordered to proceed to Newtown Ardes, col. Stapleton found the rebels in possession of the town, upon which general Nugent ordered him to retire until his force could be augmented.

There is no official account as to the body of rebels which were to be attacked by brigadier-general Knox, at Toome Bridge. Private accounts state that they have been dispersed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, June 12.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that accounts have been this day received from major-general Nugent, who is at Belfast, which state, that the information he had received of a large body of rebels having entrenched themselves near Toome Bridge, was unfounded.—One arch of the bridge had been broken down by an inconsiderable party, which had been dispersed; the

the bridge has been since rendered passable.

Colonel Clavering has reported from Antrim to major-general Nugent, that the disaffected in the neighbourhood of that town had expressed a desire to submit, and to return to their duty. At Ballymena, 150 musquets and 800 pikes had been given up to the magistrates. Many arms, 500 pikes, and a brass field-piece, have been surrendered to major Seddon.

Major-general Nugent expresses his warmest acknowledgments to the regulars, militia, and yeomanry forces under his command, for their alertness, zeal, and spirit.

Other advices state, that lieutenant-colonel Stewart, having marched from Blaris with a part of the Argyle fencibles, 30 cavalry, and some yeomanry, arrived at Ballynahinch as the rebels were beginning to collect. He relieved some yeomen who were in their possession; and the rebels fled into lord Moira's wood, whither they were pursued, about 40 of them killed, and the remainder dispersed.

By a letter received this morning from major-general sir Charles Aggill, it appears that he had attacked, with 300 men, a rebel camp at the Roar, near Ross, which he completely dispersed; 50 men were killed and their leader.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland.

Whitchall, June 18. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 14, 1798.

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that intelligence arriv-

ed this day from major-general Nugent, stating, that he had marched against a large body of rebels, who were posted at Saintfield. They retired on his approach to a strong position on the Saintfield side of Ballynahinch, and there made a show of resistance, and endeavoured to turn his left flank; but lieutenant-colonel Stewart arriving from Down, with a pretty considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomanry, they soon desisted, and retired to a very strong position behind Ballynahinch.

General Nugent attacked them next morning at three o'clock, having occupied two hills on the left and right of the town, to prevent the rebels from having any other choice than the mountains in their rear for their retreat; he sent lieutenant-colonel Stewart to post himself, with part of the Argyle fencibles, and some yeomanry, as well as a detachment of the 22d light dragoons, in a situation from which he could enfilade the rebel line, whilst colonel Leslie, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry and yeoman infantry, should make an attack upon their front. Having two howitzers and six six-pounders, with the two detachments, the major-general was enabled to annoy them very much, from different parts of his position.

The rebels attacked impetuously colonel Leslie's detachment, and even jumped into the road from the earl of Moira's demesne, to endeavour to take one of his guns, but they were repulsed with slaughter. Lieutenant-colonel Stewart's detachment was attacked by them with the same activity, but he repulsed them also, and the fire from his howitzer and six-pounder soon obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force was, on the evening of the 12th, near 5000; but as many persons

persons are pressed into their service, and almost entirely unarmed, the general does not suppose that on the morning of the engagement their numbers were so considerable.

About 400 rebels were killed in the attack and retreat, and the remainder were dispersed all over the country. Parts of the town of Saintfield and Ballynahinch were burnt. Major-general Nugent states, that both officers and men deserve praise, for their alacrity and zeal on this as well as on all occasions; but he particularly expresses his obligations to lieutenant-colonel Stewart for his advice and assistance throughout the business, and to colonel Leslie for his readiness to volunteer the duty at all times. The yeomanry behaved with extreme steadiness and bravery. Three or four green colours were taken, and one six-pounder, not mounted, but which the rebels fired very often, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. Their chief was Munro, a shopkeeper of Lisburn.

Major-general Nugent regrets the loss of captain Evatt, of the Monaghan militia; Lieutenant Ellis of the same regiment was wounded; the loss of 5 rank and file killed, and 14 wounded. Several of the yeomen infantry were killed or wounded.

The major-general expresses his acknowledgments to lieutenant-colonel Peacock, and major of brigade Machinnon, who were of the greatest service.

The Portaferry yeomanry, on the 11th instant, under the command of captain Matthews, made a most gallant defence against a large body of the rebels, who attacked the town of Portaferry—the yeomanry having taken possession of the market-house, from which

post they repulsed the rebels, who left behind them above 40 dead—many more were carried off, Capt. Hopkins, of a revenue cruizer, brought his guns to bear on the town, and was of great service in defending it.

Advice from major-general Sir Charles Asgill, dated from Kilkenny, the 13th instant, state, that on the evening of the 12th, having heard that a large body of the rebels had marched from the county of Wexford against Borris, under the command of Mr. Baginál Harvey, and were burning the town, he proceeded to its relief with 400 men, but the rebels had fled before he could arrive. They had attacked Mr. Kavenagh's house, in which were 29 men of the Donegal militia, who, notwithstanding the incessant fire kept up on them for some hours, defended themselves in the most gallant manner, and killed several of the rebels.—Nothing could surpass the determined bravery of those few men. The rebels effected their escape into the county of Wexford.

A letter received by lieutenant-general Lake from major-general Johnson, dated the 13th instant at New Ross, states, that having received information that the rebels had fitted out several boats and other craft, for the purpose of effecting their escape, he had sent lieutenant Hill, with such armed vessels as could be spared from Feathard, where they were collected, with orders to destroy the whole; which lieutenant Hill effected with his usual spirit, and without loss. Thirteen large sailing hookers and a great many boats were burnt.

I have the honour to be, &c,

CAMDEN.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

25. At

25. At a common hall holden at Guildhall this day, William Champion, esq. citizen and grocer, and Peter Mellish, esq. citizen and butcher, were elected sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

The same day, George Hibbert, esq. was unanimously elected alderman of Bridge Ward Within, in the room of sir James Sanderson bart. deceased.

Whitehall, June 26, 1798. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 21, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your grace; that brigadier-general Dunn has reported from Monaster-even, that on the 19th inst. he had sent a strong patrol, under the command of capt. Pack, of the 5th dragoon guards, towards Prosperous, from Rathangan; and that captain Pack, having fallen in with a hundred of the rebels, well mounted and appointed, he instantly attacked and defeated them, taking 8 horses, and killing from 20 to 30 men.

Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, of the 5th dragoons, having been detached to Prosperous on the evening of the 19th instant; found a body of rebels posted on a hill on the left of the town; which fled into the neighbouring bog on his approach. His advanced guard having been fired upon, as he approached, from the town, he brought two curriple guns to bear upon it, and set fire to part of the town. Much cattle was left behind by the rebels, which they had pin-

ned up near the mess-room of the barracks, together with many pikes and drums. Eight of the rebels were killed.

Yesterday morning a detachment from Mount Kennedy, under command of lieutenant M'Lann, of the Reay fencibles, and lieut. Gore, of the Mount-Kennedy cavalry, attacked a body of near 300 rebels near Ballinacush. The fire commenced from the rebels, who were posted behind a hedge on the top of a commanding hill. After an engagement of about twenty minutes; they gave way in every quarter, leaving twenty dead behind them.

It appears by letters from Cork, that an engagement has taken place between a detachment of the Caithness fencibles, assisted by a party of the Westmeath militia, and a considerable body of the rebels.—The latter were defeated, with the loss of above 100 men. His majesty's troops appear to have suffered but little in the action.

The north remains quiet.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

Parliament-street, June 26, 1798. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from brigadier-general the hon. Thomas Maitland, commanding his majesty's forces in the island of St. Domingo. dated on board his majesty's ship Thunderer, off Mole St. Nicolas, the 10th of May, 1798.

SIR,

I embrace the very first opportunity of informing you, that on the 22d of last month I came to the resolution of immediately evacuating the towns of Port-au-Prince and

and St. Marc's, with their dependencies, together with the parish of Arcahayé; and it is now with great pleasure I have the honour of acquainting you, that this measure has been carried into complete effect, without the smallest loss of any kind, and in a manner, I flatter myself, to give perfect satisfaction as far as, under the circumstances, it was possible, to all the French inhabitants and planters, whether these chose to follow the fortune of his majesty's arms, or to remain in the part of the colony about to be evacuated.

In considering the modes of effecting this very difficult but important object, there seemed to me but two in any degree practicable; the one, to withdraw the small British force, and such of the colonial troops as it was immediately possible to induce to go with us, in a precipitate manner, after blowing up the forts; the other, to state fairly my determination, and, acting as events occurred, to endeavour, in a deliberate way, to withdraw the whole of our stores and force, and at the same time to attempt to obtain some terms for the numerous inhabitants, who, either from necessity or choice, wished to remain.

The first of these measures seemed to me (however safe to the British) to be so perfectly contrary to the spirit of generosity and liberality which has ever actuated the British nation, and so certain of being attended with immediate and shocking scenes of bloodshed among the inhabitants, whose natural impetuosity of character would be increased by contending passions, deluded hopes, and different interests, that I determined at once to set it aside; and I began the 23d ultimo, in consequence of

adopting the second, to embark the heavy stores of every description; stating my full determination to all the parties concerned, and sending at the same time a flag of truce to general Toussaint l'Ouverture, at Gonaives, to acquaint him with my resolution, and leaving to his option, either to obtain the possessions we evacuated in a state of ruin, or in a state of perfect order, provided he would guarantee, in a solemn manner, the lives and properties of such persons as chose to remain.

General Toussaint immediately agreed to the last proposition, and sent to Port-au-Prince on the 28th instant a confidential officer, who, having met lieutenant-colonel Nightingall, deputy adjutant-general, on my part, on the 30th of April the accompanying agreement was mutually exchanged and ratified by both parties.

The stipulation in favour of the inhabitants and planters afforded them the only security in my power to obtain, and with which they were so entirely satisfied, that although at first they had universally resolved to follow the king's forces, yet, upon hearing of this agreement in their favour, many of them who had actually embarked, re-landed; and I think I may safely assure you, there are not ten rich proprietors who have ultimately upon this occasion quitted their properties.

By the 6th instant the whole of the heavy British stores of every description being embarked, and all the French brass guns and mortars, with such of the inhabitants as voluntarily wished to go, and all the merchandize belonging to British merchants, I ordered the parish of L'Arcahayé to be evacuated; which was accordingly done the 7th at noon. The 8th, at two o'clock in

in the morning, I withdrew the whole of the force from Port-au-Prince, and embarked it at Fort Bizoton; and on the 9th in the morning, the whole fleet sailed to its different destinations.

I have not heard from colonel Grant, who commanded at St. Marc's, but I have every reason to believe he evacuated that place on the 6th or 7th of this month, and I entertain no doubt but that he is now at the Mole, where I ordered him to proceed with his garrison.

You will readily believe, that on such an occasion much military precaution, and much exertion in all the departments must have been necessary, as well for the honour and security of his majesty's arms, as to enable me to move off within a reasonable period.

Of the conduct of the officers and men of his majesty's British and colonial forces, I have nothing to say, but what tends infinitely to their credit.

To the heads of departments I feel myself extremely indebted for the zeal and activity with which they seconded my wishes, most particularly to lieut.-colonels Nightingall and Littlehales, deputies adjutant and quarter-master generals; and to captain Spicer, commanding the royal artillery; nor can I here omit doing myself the pleasure of signifying to you what very essential aid I have received from the zeal and intelligence of Mr. Wiggleworth, his majesty's commissary-general.

To the royal navy I am under every obligation for their cordial assistance throughout the whole of this service; to captains Couchet and Ogilvie of his majesty's ships Abergavenny and Thunderer, it is principally owing that I was en-

abled to carry my wishes into early effect.

Lieutenant Young, of the navy, chief agent of transports, conducted himself in the execution of this arduous task in such a manner that I should neglect a very material, though pleasant part of my duty, were I not to seize this opportunity to recommend him in the strongest manner to your notice. He is a very old officer, but his length of services has neither impaired his zeal, nor diminished his activity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS MAITLAND,
Brigadier-general, commanding
in St. Domingo.

The honourable brigadier-general Maitland, commanding in chief his Britannic majesty's forces in the island of St. Domingo, having intimated to general Toussaint l'Ouverture, commanding the French army in the said island, his intention to evacuate the towns of Port-au-Prince, St. Marc's, and their dependencies, with the parish of L'Arcahaye; and having proposed to general Toussaint l'Ouverture, to send a person to Port-au-Prince, charged with full powers, that this object might be effected in a manner most consonant to the interests of humanity and the views of each party; and general Toussaint l'Ouverture, having consented to the above proposals, and having sent to Port-au-Prince Monsieur Huin, adjutant-general to the French army, and lieut.-col. Nightingall, deputy adj.-gen. of his majesty's forces, did meet on board his majesty's ship Abergavenny, the 30th April, 1798, when the following conditions were mutually agreed on, and have been since ratified, on the one part by brigadier-general Maitland, commanding in chief
his

his majesty's forces; and on the other by general Touffaint l'Ouverture, commanding the French army.

Conditions agreed upon between Lieutenant-colonel Nightingall; Deputy Adj.-gen. to his Britannic Majesty's Forces, and Monsieur Huin, Adjutant-general to the Army of General Touffaint l'Ouverture, who are respectively invested with full Powers for that Purpose.

1st. The towns of Port-au-Prince, Saint Marc's, and their dependencies, with their present works, and the parish of L'Arcahayé, shall be left to general Touffaint l'Ouverture in the state agreed upon between us; viz. all the iron guns to be rendered unserviceable, except three or four, by verbal agreement between us, in a given time, which shall be fixed at the period when the British forces can conveniently be withdrawn.

2d. As an express condition, and in consequence of the first article, general Touffaint l'Ouverture engages, in the most solemn and positive manner, to guarantee the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who may choose to remain.

3d. In order to facilitate and accomplish these conditions, it is agreed that there shall be a suspension of arms for a limited time, not exceeding five weeks from this day.

Done on board his majesty's ship Abergavenny, in the road of Port-au-Prince, this 30th day of April, 1798.

(Signed) HUIN, adjutant-general of the army of the French republic.

(Signed) M. NIGHTINGALL, dep. adj.-general to his Majesty's forces.

Admiralty Office, June 26, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of

St. Vincent, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Ville de Paris, the 30th of May, 1798.

SIR,

I inclose a letter from captain Digby, of his majesty's ship the Aurora, acquainting me with his having captured a Spanish brig with dispatches from the Havannah.

I am, sir, &c. &c.

VINCENT.

His majesty's ship Aurora, River Tagus, May 27, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on my return from seeing the Newfoundland convoy to the westward, I captured, on the 8th instant, in lat. 35 deg. N. long. 26 deg. W. El Receviso, Spanish brig, mounting 6 guns, Joseph Medina commander, 47 days from Havannah, with government dispatches.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. DIGBY.

Earl St. Vincent, &c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, June 26, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Prince of Wales, Basse-Terre Road, St. Christopher's, May 13, 1798.

SIR,

I herewith inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter which I have received from captain Dickinson, commander of his majesty's sloop Victorieuse, giving an account of his having been attacked off Guadaloupe by two French privateers, one of which he captured, and the other escaped, from his not being able to pursue her without leaving his con-

(F)

voy.

voy. I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Victorieuse, St. Kitt's, May 12, 1798.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that on the 7th inst. passing to leeward of Guadaloupe in his majesty's sloop *Victorieuse* under my command, with the trade of Trinidad for St. Kitt's, we saw two French privateers to the windward, who had the temerity to bear down and attack us, with an intention of carrying us by boarding. The one was a schooner of 12 guns and 80 men, the other a sloop of 6 guns and 51 men. The sloop very shortly struck, being nearly sunk, and proves to be the *Brutus*, commanded by citizen Roussel, belonging to Guadaloupe, ten days out, and had not taken any thing; had 4 killed and 4 wounded. The schooner, I am sorry to say, got off, though extremely damaged, and lost many men, owing to my not being able to chase far from the convoy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

E. S. DICKINSON.

Rear-Admiral Harvey, commander in chief, &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, June 26, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the *Prince of Wales*, St. Christopher's, the 13th May, 1798.

SIR,

I am to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that captain Warren, in his majesty's sloop *Scourge*, on the 1st instant chased on shore on St. Martin's a French privateer brig, of 14 guns.

The crew, after setting fire to

her, got on shore, and she blew up before the boats which were sent from the *Scourge* could get to her, and was consequently totally destroyed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Prince of Wales, Basse-Terre Road, St. Christopher's, May 13, 1798.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that the under-mentioned French privateers, which had been fitted out at Guadaloupe and Porto Rico, have been captured and sent into the different islands at the periods, and by the ships and vessels of his majesty's squadron under my command, as against their names expressed.

By the *Solebay*, captain Poyntz, 17th March, 1798, off Antigua, *Augustine* schooner, of two guns and 23 men.

By the *Matilda*, capt. Mitford, 29th and 31st of March, 1798, to the northward of Antigua, *Le Vanteur* sloop, of 10 guns and 64 men; and *L'Aigle* brig, of 12 guns and 86 men.

By *L'Aimable* and *Scourge*, captains Lobb and Warren, 6th and 8th ultimo, off Porto Rico, *Le Triomphe* brig, of 14 guns and 88 men: also *Chasseur* schooner, of 2 guns and 18 men; and on the 20th, by *L'Aimable* alone, *L'Espiegle* schooner, of 2 guns and 18 men; by the *Requin*, commanded by lieutenant Senhouse, the 1st instant, off St. Bartholomew's, *Mutine* sloop, of 6 guns and 44 men.

By the *Tamer*, captain Western, 2d inst. to windward of Barbadoes, *Branle-bas* schooner, of 8 guns and 82 men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Whitehall, June 26, 1798. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your grace an extract of a letter received this morning by lord viscount Castlereagh, from lieutenant-general Lake, dated Enniscorthy, the 21st instant, and a letter dated the same day at Borris, from major-general sir Charles Agill, which contain details of the advantages obtained by his majesty's forces against the rebels in the county of Wexford. Private accounts mention that lieutenant-general Lake had his horse shot under him.

I also inclose to your grace the copy of a letter from sir Hugh O'Reilly, lieutenant-colonel of the Westmeath regiment of militia, which contains a report of an action against a body of insurgents, near Cloghnakilty, and which I shortly mentioned to your grace in my dispatch of yesterday.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Lake, to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated Enniscorthy, June 21.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information, that the rebel camp upon Vinegar-hill was attacked this morning at

seven o'clock, and carried in about an hour and a half.

The relative importance of this very strong position with our operations against Wexford, made it necessary to combine our attacks so as to insure success. A column, under major-generals Johnson and Eustace, was drawn from Ross, and began the attack upon the town of Enniscorthy, situate upon the right bank of Slaney, close under Vinegar-hill, upon the right, and rather in the rear of it.

Lieutenant-general Dundas commanded the centre column, supported by a column upon the right under major-generals sir J. Duff and Loftus; a fourth column, upon the left, was commanded by the hon. major-general Needham. To the determined spirit with which these columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the short resistance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obstinately for the time above-mentioned; but on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation. Their loss is not yet ascertained, but it must be very considerable. The loss on our part is not great, the particulars of which I shall report as soon as possible. In the mean time, I am sorry to say, that lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford regiment, is killed; and that colonel King, of the Sligo, was wounded in gallantly leading his regiment. Lord Blaney and colonel Vesey, of the county of Dublin regiment, are also wounded; but, I am happy to add, that the wounds of those three officers are very slight.

I cannot too highly express my obligations, particularly to lieutenant-general Dundas, and the general

ral officers, on this occasion, for the abilities and ardour so strongly manifested by them; nor to the officers of every rank, and the private men, for a prompt, brave, and effectual execution of their orders.

To colonel Campbell, with his light battalion, I am much indebted for their very spirited attack; and great praise is due to the earl of Ancram and lord Roden, for their gallant charge with their regiments at the moment the cavalry was wanted to complete the success of the day.

It is with great gratitude I also beg leave to mention the able assistance I received from major-generals Hewitt and Cradock, and from colonel Handfield, on this, as I do on all occasions; and should be extremely wanting to myself, as well as to lord Glentworth, lieutenant-colonel Blyth and lieutenant-colonel Read (who did me the honour to volunteer their service, and accompany me from Dublin), were I to omit expressing the high sense I entertain of their active and useful aid to me this morning. I also beg leave to mention in the same warm terms my aide-de-camp, captain Nicholson.

To the rapid and well-directed fire of the royal artillery, and the gallantry of their officers and men, for which they have ever been distinguished, I consider myself this day highly indebted; and I am happy in expressing my obligations to captain Bloomfield, commanding the British, and captain Crawford, commanding the Irish royal artillery, with the officers and men under their command.

I have, &c. G. LAKE.

P. S. I have just learned that lieut.-col. Cole is slightly wounded. Inclosed is a return of the ord-

nance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the 4th of June.

Return of Ordnance, as taken from the Rebels on Vinegar-hill, 21st June, 1798.

3 six-pounders, brass, 1 three-pounder, 7 one-pounders, 1 five half-inch howitzer, 1 four half-inch howitzer. Total 13.

Rounds of Ammunition.

17 six-pounders, 30 one-pounders, 11 five half-inch howitzers.

Note.—A cart, with a vast variety of balls of different diameters, had been thrown down the hill after the action, and immense quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

ROBERT CRAWFORD, R. I. A.

Borris, June 21.

My Lord,

Having received intelligence that many of the rebels, who probably had escaped from their camps in Wexford, had collected near Blackstairs Mountain, and were prevented from proceeding farther, owing to the posts which I occupied, by lieutenant-general Lake's orders, on the Barrow, I marched yesterday morning from hence with two hundred and fifty men, in two divisions, by different routes, to attack them. I found them scattered through the country in considerable numbers; upwards of an hundred were killed, the remainder dispersed, and several arms and pikes were taken.

Lord Loftus, of the Wexford militia, commanded one party under my orders; the honourable colonel Howard, of the Wicklow, the other. The troops behaved, as usual, in the most gallant manner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES ASGILL, maj.-gen.
Right hon. lord Castlereagh.

SIR,

SIR, *Bandon, June 20.*

I have the honour to inform you, that a party of the Westmeath regiment, consisting of two hundred and twenty men, rank and file, with two six-pounders, under my command, was yesterday attacked on our march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, near a village called Ballynascarty, by the rebels, who took up the best position on the whole march.

The attack was made from a height on the left of our column of march, with very great rapidity, and without the least previous notice, by between three and four hundred men, as nearly as I can judge, armed mostly with pikes, and very few with fire-arms. We had hardly time to form, but very soon repulsed them with considerable loss, when they retreated precipitately, but not in great confusion; and when they regained the height, I could perceive that they were joined by a considerable force. I, with the greatest difficulty and risk to the officers, restrained the men, halted, and formed the greater part of them, when I saw that the enemy were filing off a high bank, with an intent to take possession of our guns.

A detachment of an hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of major Innes, on its march to replace us at Cloghnakilty, hearing our fire, pressed forward, and very critically fired upon them, whilst we were forming, and made them fly in every direction with great precipitation. At the same moment a very considerable force showed itself on the heights in our rear. A vast number of pikes appeared, and some with hats upon them, and other signals, I suppose, to collect their forces. I ordered the guns to pre-

pare for action, and very fortunately brought them to bear upon the enemy with good effect, as they dispersed in a short time, and must have left a considerable number of dead. Some were killed in attempting to carry away the dead bodies. It is impossible to ascertain the loss of the enemy; but a dragoon, who came this morning from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, reports that their loss is one hundred and thirty.

I feel most highly gratified by the conduct and spirit of the officers and men of the Westmeath regiment, and had only to complain of the too great ardour of the latter, which it was almost impossible to restrain. I cannot give too much praise to major Innes, captain Innes, and all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the Caithness legion, for their cool, steady conduct, and the very effectual support I received from them. Our loss was one serjeant and one private.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. O'REILLY.

Lt.-col. Westmeath regiment.

Lieut.-gen. sir James Stewart, bart.

Whitehall, June 26, 1798. Dispatches have been received here from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, which bring the intelligence of lieutenant-general Lake's having taken possession of Wexford on the 22d instant.

Whitehall, June 26. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 24, 1798.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit to
(F 3) your

your grace a dispatch received by lord viscount Castlereagh, this day, from lieutenant-general Lake, dated Wexford, the 22d instant, together with a letter from brigadier-general Moore, containing an account of his important successes.

I also inclose a copy of the proposals made by the rebels in the town of Wexford, to lieutenant-general Lake, and his answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

My Lord, *Wexford, June 22,*

Yesterday afternoon I had the honour to dispatch a letter to your lordship, from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information; and the inclosed copy of a letter from brigadier-general Moore to major-general Johnson, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprise and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely, as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their resolution of carrying into effect the next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above seventy prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

Inclosed is a copy of my answer to the proposal of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your lordship. The evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keughe, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roach, with a few others, are in my hands without negotiation.

The rebels are reported to be in some force within five miles of this place; it is supposed, for the purpose of submission, to which the event of yesterday may strengthen their inclination. I have reason to think that there are a number so disposed, and that I shall be able to secure some more of their leaders; but, should I be disappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I shall lose no time in attacking them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. LAKE.

From inquiry, the numbers killed yesterday were very great indeed.

Lord viscount Castlereagh.

Camp above Wexford, June 22.

Dear General,

Agreeable to your order I took post on the evening of the 19th near Fook's Mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment, under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country and communicate with the troops you directed me to join from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced-guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the 60th regiment, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were advanced to a cross-road above Goff's bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them, under lieut.-col. Wilkinson. The rebels attempted

attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the same time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The 60th regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had of themselves inclined to their left, to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes; they were, however, forced to give way, and drive, though they repeatedly attempted to form behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent, but they seemed to be numerous. I inclose a list of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit; the artillery and Hompesch's cavalry were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight. It was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the 2d and 29th regiments, under lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the 21st we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork, from

Wexford, with the inclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your farther orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering upon the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or general Lake.

I received your pencilled note during the action of the 20th; it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for: but I hear you have perfectly succeeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off. He has sent to lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

I am, &c. JOHN MOORE.
Major-general Johnson.

P. S. It is difficult to judge of the numbers of rebels, they appear in such crowds and so little order. Information states those we beat to have been between five and six thousand.

PROPOSALS OF THE REBELS.

June 21, 1798.

That capt. M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform

the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer, and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms we hope capt. M^cManus will be able to procure.

Signed, by order of the inhabitants of the town of Wexford,

MATTHEW KEUGHE.

ANSWER.

Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798.

Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction.

To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance. (Signed) G. LAKE.
To the inhabitants of Wexford.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Caroline French privateer, pierced for 20 guns, carrying twelves and fixes, most of which were thrown overboard in chase, and 105 men, and the Henry of Liverpool, her prize; also an American ship, which had been taken some days before by his majesty's ship Phoenix, capt. Halsted.

29. This day his majesty went in the usual state to the house of peers, where an end was put to the late session of parliament, by a most gracious speech from the throne; after which the lord chancellor, by his majesty's

command, prorogued the parliament to Wednesday the 8th of August.

Whitehall, June 30, 1798. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received from his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Dublin Castle, June 25.

My Lord,

I have the honour of inclosing to your grace the copy of a letter received this day by lord Castle-reagh, from major-general sir Charles Asgill, and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, by the attack on Vinegar-hill, and the town of Enniscorthy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His grace the duke of Portland.

*Kilkenny, June 24, 1798, 9 o'clock,
P. M.*

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that, early on the morning of the 23d instant, I received information that the rebels, amounting to several thousands, had escaped from the county of Wexford, and formed a camp at Killymount, and were proceeding to Gore's bridge. I instantly assembled all the force I could collect, and marched towards them. I did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating a detachment at that place, and taking twenty-four men of the Wexford militia prisoners; they marched off rapidly towards Leighlin: the troops from thence, consisting of a small party of the 9th dragoons commanded by lieut. Higgins, lieut. colonel Rochfort's, and captain Cornwall's yeomanry, killed sixty of them. Night coming on, I could not pursue them any further. By the position they took up near Shar-kill,

kill, I conceived their intentions were to form a junction with the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were able to move, I marched with 900 men to attack them, and was sorry to find they had burned the whole town, and forced the foldiers who were in it to retire before my arrival. Having cleared the town with the guns, I attacked them on all sides: about 400 were killed, the remainder fled. They were commanded by a priest, called Murphy, and their numbers are said to amount to 5000. Our loss was inconsiderable. My force consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under the command of Lord Loftus, and the hon. colonel Howard. The dragoons were commanded by major Donaldson of the 9th dragoons, and major Barnard of the Romney fencibles, with several yeomanry corps from this county and Carlow, who, as well as the other troops, are entitled to my warmest praise for their bravery and alertness on this and every occasion. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) C. ASGILL,

Major-general.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 21st of June, in the Attack of Vinegar Hill, and the Town of Enniscorthy.

Lieutenant-general Dundas's corps—major-general sir James Duff's brigade—89th regiment, 1 rank and file killed.

Needham's brigade—7th dragoon guards, 1 captain wounded.

Wilford's brigade—9th dragoons, 1 rank and file killed.—Dunlavin yeoman cavalry, 1 rank and file wounded. First battalion of light infantry, 1 subaltern killed, 1 serjeant wounded, 2 rank and file killed, 18 ditto wounded, 3 ditto missing. Sligo militia, 1 field officer wounded, 2 rank and file killed,

3 ditto wounded. Suffolk fencibles, 2 rank and file wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded.—Colonel King of the Sligo corps, wounded. Captain Dunne, of 7th dragoon guards, wounded. Lieutenant S. Sands, of the Longford corps, killed.

Major-general Johnson's corps—Royal British artillery, 1 rank and file wounded. Mid-Lothian, 1 subaltern wounded, 1 rank and file wounded. Hompesch's hussars, 2 rank and file wounded. Fifth battalion, 60th regiment, 1 captain wounded, 1 serjeant missing, 5 rank and file killed, 5 ditto wounded. Fourth battalion, 1 subaltern killed, 1 ditto wounded, 1 serjeant killed, 3 rank and file killed, 22 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing. Royal Meath regiment, 1 serjeant killed. Roscommon ditto, 1 rank and file wounded, 1 ditto missing. Dublin county ditto, 1 field officer wounded, 2 rank and file killed, 6 ditto wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded.—Lieut. Baines, of 13th foot, attached to 4th battalion killed. Major Vesey, of Dublin county regiment, wounded. Capt. Schneider, of 5th battalion, 60th regiment, wounded. Lieut. Barker, of the Kildare, attached to the 4th battalion, wounded. Lieut. Hill, of the Mid-Lothian, wounded.

Total, 2 field officers wounded, 2 captains wounded, 2 subalterns killed, 2 ditto wounded, 2 serjeants killed, 1 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing, 16 rank and file killed, 62 ditto wounded, 5 ditto missing.

G. HEWETT, A. G.

Admiralty Office, June 29, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir Thomas Williams, Commander of His Majesty's Ship Endymion, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Wexford, the 22d of June, 1798.

I beg

I beg to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, when cruising at the entrance of St. George's channel with the squadron under my command, I received information on the 19th, that the king's troops were to commence their attack on the rebels at Wexford, on the 20th or 21st. I immediately proceeded off that harbour with the ships named in the margin*, and five cutters which I had collected. Lieutenant Carpenter, senior lieutenant of the *Endymion*, was immediately dispatched in command of the cutters and ship's launches, manned and armed with carronades in their prows, to blockade the inward part of the entrance of the harbour, and to prevent the escape of the rebel armed vessels, and others, of which they were in possession, to the amount of forty or fifty sail. On the 21st, I was joined by the *Chapman* and *Weasel* sloops; which, being of light draught of water, anchored much nearer in than the frigates could venture, and thereby gave more effectual protection to the cutters and launches destined to attack the harbour and fort at the entrance of it, which fired on them. On the arrival of captain Keen, of the *Chapman*, I directed him to conduct the operations of the cutters and launches, and endeavour to possess himself of the harbour and fort, the tides being so low, and the wind blowing out, that neither of the sloops could get in. The launches proceeded to attack the fort, of which they soon possessed themselves, upwards of 200 of the rebels precipitately retreating from it, leaving behind them their colours flying, and three six-

pounders. The launches then immediately proceeded up the harbour; and, upon their arrival at the town, had the happiness to find the king's troops were just marching into it, they having entirely defeated the rebels in two separate attacks on the 20th and 21st, and who are now flying in all directions. Two of their generals, Hay and Roche, are taken prisoners. As the object of the squadron remaining at anchor here is now fully accomplished, it is my intention to get to sea to-morrow, if possible; and I am happy to be informed, since the reduction of Wexford, that the appearance of his majesty's ships and vessels off the harbour, and the measures pursued by them, has been attended with the happiest consequences, and greatly contributed to check the further progress of the horrible massacres that have been committed in the town of Wexford, disgraceful to humanity. There being a number of boats and small vessels along the coast, belonging to the rebels, which I conceived would be employed in facilitating the escape of the fugitives, I have ordered the boats of the squadron in, and destroyed about one hundred of them; in some, pikes were found concealed. The public service has greatly benefited by the judicious arrangements of captain Keen and lieutenant Carpenter, and by the zeal and activity manifested by them and the officers and people employed in the different ships, boats, and launches under their command, and otherwise.

JULY.

2. An accident which happened at Macclesfield, this day, is

* *Endymion*, *Phoenix*, *Glenmore*, *Melampus*, *Unicorn*.

thus related by the Rev. Dr. Coke. "This evening I went into the pulpit, the chapel being so full that many could not get in. While the congregation was singing the two last lines of the second hymn, an old woman cried out, "The roof is coming down." One of our friends, knowing there was no manner of danger, in a whisper desired her to hold her tongue; but it was too late. Almost universal cries and shrieks took place. The people immediately rushed out. The court, which is but small, was instantly crowded. None, I think, were hurt in the chapel; but in the court, just on the outside of the door, six women and a boy of four years old were thrown down, and, alas! alas! were trod to death! It was in vain to cry out, "Sit still, for there is no danger." Nobody gave the least attention. I never was so much distressed in my life; it being the most awful event I ever witnessed."

Whitehall, July 3. The following dispatches have been received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Kilkenny, June 26.

My Lord,

Fearing the consequences that might result from allowing the rebels who fled from Wexford to remain any length of time in this county, I preferred attacking them with the troops I already had, to waiting till a reinforcement arrived. My force amounted to 1100 men. The rebels consisted of about 5000 men. I attacked them this morning at six o'clock, in their position at Kilconnel hill, near Gore's-bridge, and soon defeated them. Their chief, called Murphy, a priest, and upwards of 1000 men, were killed; 10 pieces of cannon, 2 swivels, their colours, and quantities of ammunition, arms, cattle,

&c. were taken; and I have the pleasure to add, that some soldiers, who were made prisoners the day before, and doomed to suffer death, were fortunately released by our troops. Our loss consisted of seven men killed and wounded. The remainder of the rebels were pursued into the county of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

C. ASGILL.

Dublin Castle, June 28.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that this day advices were received from lieut. Gardner of the Antrim militia, dated from Baltinglas, the 26th instant, which state, that, early in the morning of the 25th, a very large body of rebels attacked his post at Hacketstown. They were in number many thousands. Lieut. Gardner's forces consisted of 50 Upper Talbotstown, and 24 Shebagh cavalry, 50 of the Antrim militia, 46 Hacketstown, and 30 Coolatrin yeoman infantry. He at first took an advantageous situation in front of the town; but, after a few shots without effect, the rebels filed off in every direction to surround him. He then retreated into the town to defend the barracks. A contest took place in the midst of the flame for near nine hours, for the rebels set fire to the town. They were at last repulsed with considerable loss; many dead were found in the streets and ditches, and thirty carloads of killed and wounded were carried off in their retreat. Capt. Hardy, of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry, fell early in the action. His other loss consists of 10 privates killed, and 1 serjeant and 19 privates wounded. I inclose to your grace a further account of the action near Gore's-bridge, and a return of killed and wounded,

which

which has been received from major-general sir Charles Asgill.

CORNWALLIS.

My Lord, *Kilkenny, June 27.*

I have the honour to send you inclosed a return of the killed and wounded in the action with the rebels at Kilconnel hill, on the 26th of June, and a return of the ordnance, ammunition, &c. &c. taken on that day. I have the pleasure to assure you that every thing they possessed has fallen into our hands; and, from the subsequent accounts, the loss they sustained was much greater than I had the honour of stating to you in my former dispatch. I have no doubt but this victory will restore the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow to peace and tranquillity.

C. ASGILL, major-general.
Return of ordnance, colouts, and ammunition taken.

One colours, 5 four-pounders, 5 one-pounders, 4 swivels, a few guns, and a number of pikes, which were destroyed as soon as taken; a number of shot of different sizes, with a quantity of lead and moulds.

Return of stores taken.

Black cattle, 170; sheep, 100; horses, 700;—total, 970. Also a vast quantity of bedding, blanketting, and wearing apparel.

J. LEWIS HIGGINS.

A Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the Troops engaged at Kilconnel Hill, on the 26th Instant (June 1798), under the Command of Sir Charles Asgill.

Total.—1 lieutenant, 1 corporal, killed; 1 serjeant, and 3 rank and file wounded; 5 horses killed, and 1 missing. Officer killed—Lieutenant Stones, of the Mount Leinster yeoman infantry.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of La Julie privateer, of Nantes, mounting 18

twelve and six-pounders, and manned with 120 men, by the Shannon, capt. Frazer;—also, by the schooner Recovery, capt. Ross, La Revanche, pierced for 12 guns, and had 10 guns and 54 men on board. She captured 10 vessels the last cruise, and 19 the preceding one. And, also, the French privateer schooner L'Incredible, 2 long six-pounders, 4 swivels, and 33 men.—By the fleet under the command of vice-admiral Parker, L'Hirondelle, French privateer, of 10 guns; another of 6 guns; and another of 6 guns, pierced for 10, and 40 men; by the Acasta;—also, the St. Mary de Lovaine, of 2 guns, and 25 men, by the Acasta and Ceres;—also, the Dutch lugger, Sea Hound, pierced for 14 guns, but having only 7 mounted, and 4 swivels, manned with 30 men, by the sloop Hound, captain Wood.]

Admiralty Office, July 7.

This gazette contains an account of the capture of La Zenodone, French polacca privateer, mounting 2 sixes, 6 fours, and 2 three-pounders, carrying 61 men, by his majesty's ship Caroline, capt. Luke.

Admiralty Office, July 10.

This gazette contains an account of the capture of a Spanish letter of marque, named the Union, carrying 12 guns, and 32 men, laden with tallow, hides, and herb tea, and estimated at about 10,000*l.* by the Indispensable letter of marque, of 14 guns and 32 men.

6. This night, about nine, a fire broke out at a place called Rat's castle, Diot-street, St. Giles's, in the warehouses of Mr. Gimbert, of Piccadilly, cork-cutter to his majesty. In a short time the whole of those extensive premises were burned to the ground, together with an immense quantity of cork. The whole were insured, and were reckoned

oned the most spacious of the kind in the metropolis. Several other small houses were burnt, but happily no lives were lost.

14. This morning were executed at Spithead two mutineers, Timmings and Cormick, convicted of having endeavoured to seize his majesty's gun-vessel Haughty, and deliver her up to the enemy.

21. Brian was executed at Portsmouth, for mutiny on board the Pluto.

From the London Gazette, July 14, 1798.

Admiralty Office, July 14.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Vandeput, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Halifax, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Asia, Halifax Harbour, June 23, 1798.

On the 15th of April, I put to sea with the squadron, and proceeded to the S. E. as far as latitude 29 deg. 30 min. and longitude 76 deg.; on the 22d we fell in with La Amiable Juana, a Spanish privateer of 6 guns and 46 men, which was captured by the Hind, and was sent to Halifax. On the 27th we fell in with, and, after a chase of fifteen hours, the Resolution captured, a schooner French privateer from Curaçoa, of 4 guns, and 35 men; this privateer had some time before taken an American vessel belonging to Baltimore. On the 15th of May, with the Topaze and Hind in company, having gotten intelligence that three privateers were cruising off Charleston, I ordered captain Larcom to go in search of them, and then, with the Topaze, I proceeded to-

wards this port, where we arrived on the 28th ultimo: On the 7th instant, arrived a French schooner privateer, called the Revenge, of 14 guns, and 84 men, a prize to the Thetis, who took her in latitude 38, longitude 72; she had not taken any thing. On the day following came in the Thetis and Rover, the former from a cruise, in which she had taken a French privateer of 6 guns, which was sent to New Providence. The Rover, on her passage towards Bermuda, on the 17th of May, captured and sent in a French sloop privateer of 14 guns with 57 men; she was last from Porto Rico, and had taken three American ships, as per margin.*

Admiralty Office, July 14.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal George, at sea, July 11, 1798.

The inclosed copies of letters will inform their lordships of the taking of La Seine, and the loss of his majesty's ship La Pique. On both these events I can add nothing more than to express my satisfaction on this important capture, and real concern for the accidents that have attended it. Captain Milne, with all his officers and people, are on board La Seine.

I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

Jason, Pertuis Breton, July 2, 1798.

My Lord,

On Friday last, at seven A. M. his majesty's squadron under my command, consisting of the ships named in the margin†, gave chase to a French frigate off the Saintes:

* Ship Thomas, from Liverpool to Philadelphia. Ship Merchant, from New York to Bristol. Ship Diana, from New York to Demarara.

† Jason, Pique, and Mermaid.

at 11 at night, the Pique brought her to action, and continued a running fight, till the Jason passed between the two. At this instant the land near the point de la Trenche was seen close on our larboard bow, and before the ship could answer her helm, she took the ground close to the enemy, which, we immediately perceived, had grounded also: most unfortunately, as the tide rose, we hung only forwards, and therefore swung with our stern close to the enemy's broadside, who, although he was dismasted, did not fail to take advantage of his happy position; but a well-directed fire was kept up from a few guns abaft, and at half past two she struck. Our opponent, called La Seine, was commanded by le capitaine Brejot, her force 42 guns, eighteen and nine-pounders with carronades, and 610 men, including troops; she sailed from L'Isle de France three months ago, bound to L'Orient.

In the early part of the battle, I had the mortification to be wounded, and was obliged to leave the deck; but my misfortune is palliated by the reflection that the service did not suffer by my absence: for no man could have filled my place with more credit to himself, and benefit to the state, than my first lieutenant, Mr. Charles Inglis, whom I beg to recommend in the strongest manner for his bravery, skill, and great exertions.

I come now, my lord, to the painful part of my narrative, which I am necessitated to make more prolix than I otherwise should, from the peculiar circumstances attending the engagement; and first I mention the loss of the Pique, whose officers and crew deserved a better fate. Captain Milne had led her to the fight in an officer-like

manner, but it was his misfortune, that, the main-topmast being carried away, he was obliged to drop astern: ardour urging him on to renew the combat, he did not hear me hail him to anchor, and the ship therefore grounded on our off-side, near enough to receive the enemy's shot over us, although very awkwardly situated for returning the fire. In the morning every attempt was made to get the ships off, but the Jason was alone successful: I therefore, on finding the Pique was bilged, directed the captain to destroy her, and to exert his abilities and activity to save the prize; which he, with great difficulty, got afloat yesterday evening, after throwing her guns, &c. overboard.

The carnage on board La Seine was very great; 170 men were killed, and about 100 wounded, many of them mortally. I inclose a list of the sufferers on board the Jason; and it is with great concern that among the killed I place the name of Mr. Anthony Richard Robotier, my second lieutenant, who died fighting gloriously, and by whose fall is lost a most amiable man and excellent officer. Lieut. Riboleau commanded on the main deck afterwards, and behaved with great spirit; as did Mr. Lockwood, the master, and lieutenant Symes, of the marines; my other officers of every description behaved vastly well; and the bravery and excellent conduct of the crew deserve much praise.

The Pique was exceedingly shattered in her rigging, and the Jason has not one mast or yard but what is much damaged, nor a shroud or rope but what is cut, with all the sails torn to pieces. If our ship could have remained in her first position, or our companion could have

have occupied the situation he wished, the business must have been sooner finished, without so much injury being done aloft.

It is but justice to observe that every effort was made on board the *Mermaid*, during our long chase, to approach the enemy; and I feel much indebted to captain Newman for heaving the ship off, as that was the only possible means to save her. So soon as we were afloat, the squadron under captain Stopford was seen in the offing, and being called in by signal, was of infinite service. I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STIRLING.

A List of killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ship *Jason*, in the Action with *La Seine*.

Lieut. Robotier, killed; 1 corporal of marines, killed; 5 seamen, killed; captain Stirling, wounded; Messrs. Bedford and Luscome, wounded; 9 seamen, wounded; total killed, 7; wounded, 12.

(Signed) CHARLES STIRLING.

On board La Seine, late French Frigate, July 3, 1798.

My Lord,

It is with real concern I have to inform your lordship of the loss of his majesty's ship *Pique*, under my command, on the night of the 30th ult. in action with the French frigate *La Seine*, by running on shore in the passage Breton, where, at low water, she was entirely bulged. For the transactions of that day, I leave your lordship to captain Stirling's dispatches; but must take the liberty of mentioning the entire satisfaction I had from the steady and cool behaviour of the officers and men I had the honour to command; particularly Mr. Lee, first lieutenant; Mr. Devonshire, second; and Mr. Watson, acting third; and lieutenant M'Donald of the marines; as likewise Mr. Edween,

the gunner, whose conduct in his department, deserves my warmest praise.

It is some small satisfaction to me, my lord, for the loss of his majesty's ship, that the prize was got off by the assistance given from the *St. Fiorenzo*; and her being a very strong and nearly new ship, she does not appear to have received any material damage in her hull, except from shot, as she makes very little water.

I have the honour to inclose a list of killed and wounded of his majesty's ship *Pique*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DAVID MILNE.

Rt. Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. &c.
Return of killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ship *La Pique*, in the Action with the French Frigate *La Seine*, on the 30th of June, 1798.

James Collins, sail-maker, killed; Mr. Robinson, boatswain, wounded; Thomas Andrews, boatswain's mate, wounded; Benjamin Lockwood, seaman, wounded; William Richards, seaman, missing; Benjamin Masland, Robert Sallafs, and Joseph Furfman, marines, wounded.

17. At a court of common-council, Mr. Powell moved, "that it be referred to the committee of city lands, to consider the necessity and expediency of abolishing Bartholomew fair;" which was seconded by Mr. Stokes. This motion Mr. Goodbehere opposed. It was not in the power of the court to put a stop to the fair, it being held under the charters of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A court-leet, and a court of *pied poudre*, were held from the opening of the fair to the setting of the sun. The lands which were held by the city of London in free soccage by the charters,

charters, included Smithfield market, several of the houses, and a street in joint tenancy with the earl of Leicester. Many of the householders were capable of discharging their rents and taxes by the fair. In this way it had been maintained quietly for a number of years. No misfortune of any consequence had happened, not so much as a broken head. The rising generation were amused half a day only once in a year; surely that was not too much: almost every parish in the kingdom has its revels, its amusements; and sometimes blood has been spilt. All nations, ancient and modern, had allowed sport and festivity, to prevent greater and more serious evils. Mr. Goodbehere, therefore, was decidedly against the motion. It was then proposed to shorten the period to one day; upon which Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Waithman objected on the ground that the immense crowd of people from all parts of the metropolis would render such a scheme dangerous, and be the means of losing a great number of lives. After some debate, it was referred to a committee.

17. Two causes of libel were tried before lord Kenyon, in the court of king's-bench, both founded on the sale of Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet in answer to bishop of Landaff's address. The first plaintiff, Mr. Jordan, threw himself upon the mercy of the court; stating that he bought the pamphlet of the publisher, Mr. Cuthell, and suppressed it as soon as he knew it to be exceptionable. The other plaintiff, Mr. Johnson, tried the issue, and was convicted; the tract in question being declared by lord Kenyon and the jury to be a libel.

19. About seven o'clock this morning a fire broke out on

board the Walmer Castle East Indiaman, a new ship, lately launched at the lower water-gate, Deptford, occasioned by some loose powder taking fire in the gun-room. The explosion did not do much damage to the ship. Three floating engines were sent down from London bridge to assist on the occasion. Two men on board the ship were so shockingly burnt, that they were sent to the London hospital, with little hopes of recovery.

From the London Gazette, July 21, 1798.

Parliament-street, July 21.

The dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received on the 17th instant, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major-generals Coote and Burrard; no opportunity to transmit them having occurred until the return of Mr. Jobernes, by whom they were forwarded.

Ostend, June 23, 1798.

SIR,

Not having had it in my power to send my dispatches by my aide-de-camp, captain Williamson, I take the opportunity by Mr. Jobernes, the staff surgeon, who was ordered to Ostend by his royal highness the commander in chief.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EYRE COOTE, maj.-general.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

On a Ridge of Sand-Hills, three Miles to the East of Ostend, May 19, 1798.

SIR,

I have the most sincere satisfaction to acquaint you of the complete and brilliant success attending the expedition entrusted by his majesty to the care of captain Popham, of the royal navy, and myself. The squadron reached Ostend about one o'clock this morning.

The

